

*MASTER  
NEGATIVE  
NO. 93-81308-3*

MICROFILMED 1993

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES/NEW YORK

as part of the  
"Foundations of Western Civilization Preservation Project"

Funded by the  
NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

Reproductions may not be made without permission from  
Columbia University Library



# **COPYRIGHT STATEMENT**

**The copyright law of the United States - Title 17, United States Code - concerns the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.**

**Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or other reproduction is not to be "used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research." If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of "fair use," that user may be liable for copyright infringement.**

**This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copy order if, in its judgement, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of the copyright law.**

*AUTHOR:*

LAW, JOHN WILLIAM

*TITLE:*

THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL

*PLACE:*

LONDON

*DATE:*

1866

Master Negative #

93-81308-3

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES  
PRESERVATION DEPARTMENT

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

Original Material as Filmed - Existing Bibliographic Record

874.04  
L414

Law, William John, 1786-1869.

The Alps of Hannibal. By William John Law ... London,  
Macmillan and co., 1866.

2 v. 2 fold. maps. 23<sup>cm</sup>.

1. Hannibal—Crossing of the Alps, B. c. 218.

5—13

Library of Congress

DG247.2.L41

[38b1]

Restrictions on Use:

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm

REDUCTION RATIO: 11x

IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 4-22-93 INITIALS V.W.D.

FILMED BY: RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS, INC WOODBRIDGE, CT

# VOLUME 1

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC IRREGULARITIES

MAIN

ENTRY: LAW, WILLIAM JOHN

### Bibliographic Irregularities in the Original Document

List volumes and pages affected; include name of institution if filming borrowed text.

☒ Page(s) missing/not available: VOL. 1; PAGES 1-2 an d map

\_\_\_\_\_ Volumes(s) missing/not available: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Illegible and/or damaged page(s): \_\_\_\_\_

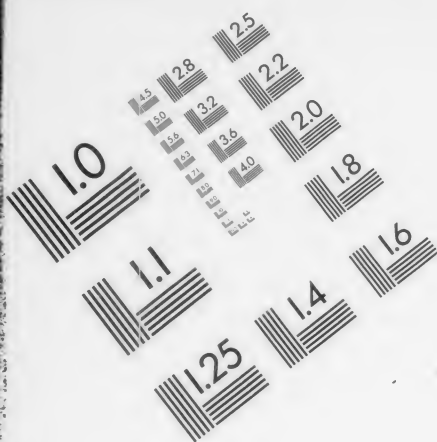
\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) or volumes(s) misnumbered: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Bound out of sequence: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) or illustration(s) filmed from copy borrowed from: Minnesota

\_\_\_\_\_ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

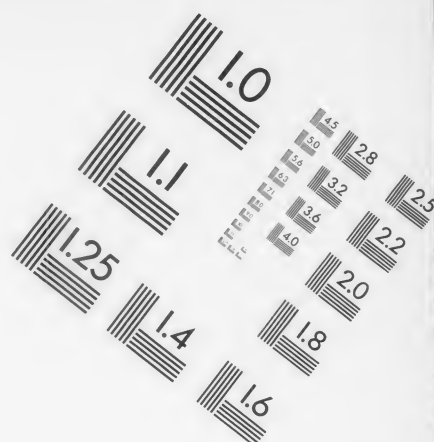
FILMED IN WHOLE  
OR PART FROM A  
COPY BORROWED  
FROM UNIVERSITY  
OF MINNESOTA



**AIIM**

Association for Information and Image Management

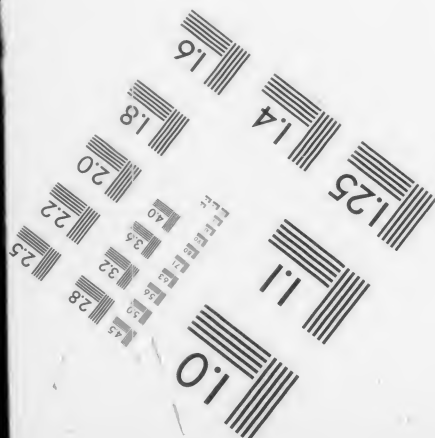
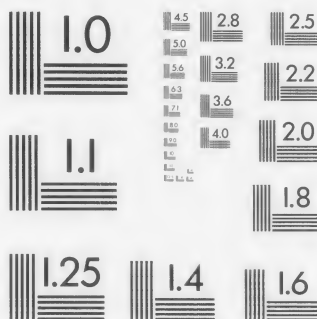
1100 Wayne Avenue, Suite 1100  
Silver Spring, Maryland 20910  
301/587-8202



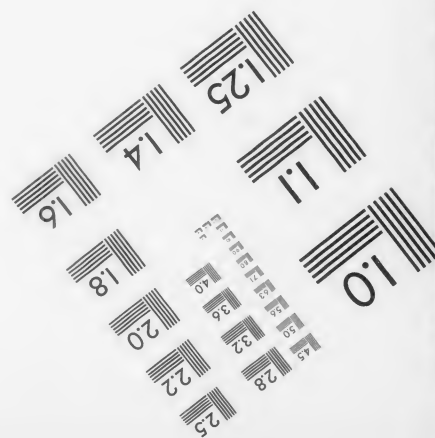
Centimeter



Inches



MANUFACTURED TO AIIM STANDARDS  
BY APPLIED IMAGE, INC.





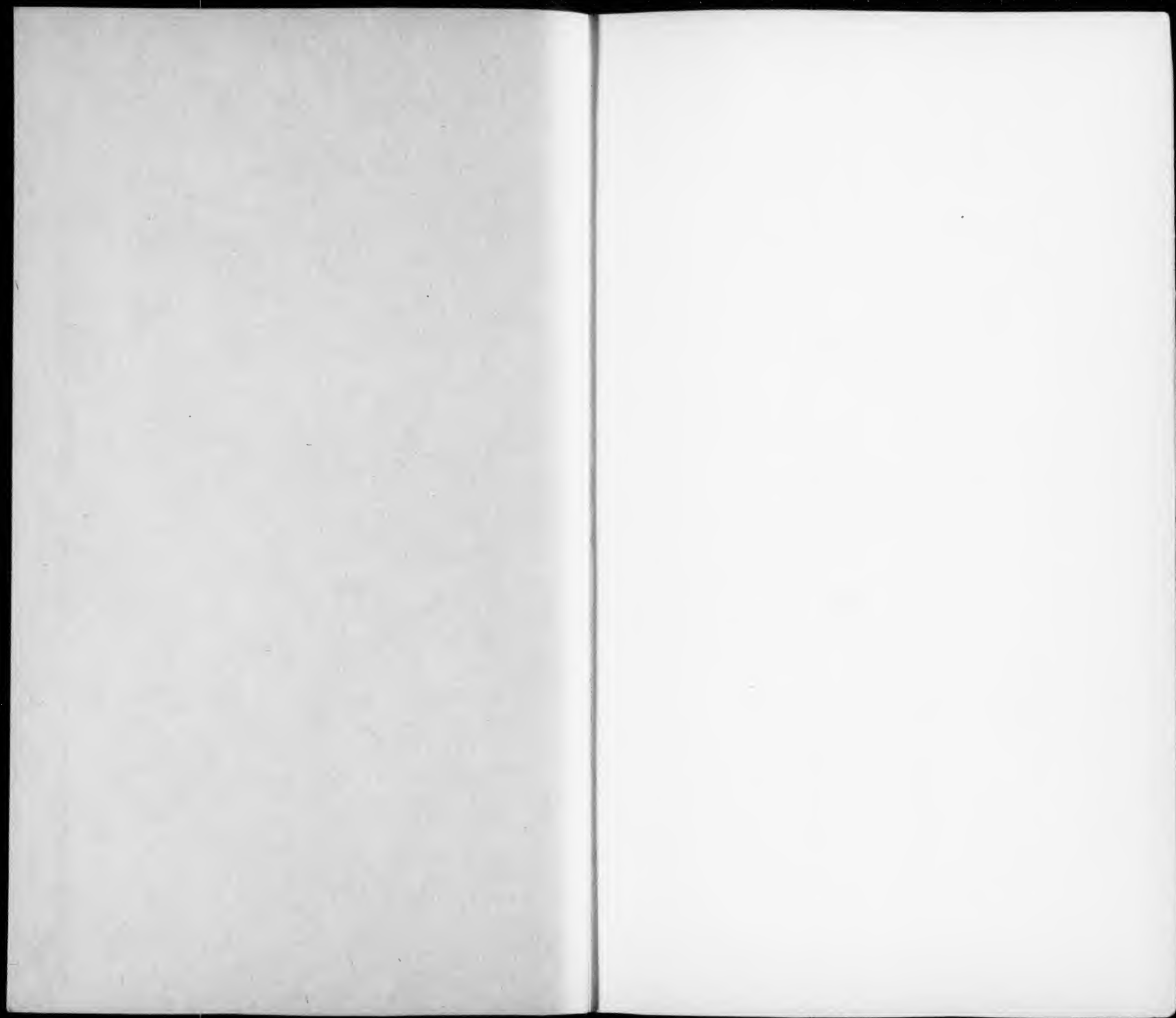




Columbia University  
in the City of New York

THE LIBRARIES





THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



THE ALPS  
OF  
HANNIBAL.

BY  
WILLIAM JOHN LAW, M.A.  
FORMERLY STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

London:  
MACMILLAN AND CO.  
1866.

[The Right of Translation and Reproduction is reserved.]

874.04  
L414

v.1

LONDON:  
H. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,  
BREAD STREET HILL.

20 Mar 93 874.04  
B. W. H. 1003 Bangs 2v 180

THESE PAGES ARE INSCRIBED

TO THE MEMORY OF

MY REVERED GRANDFATHERS,

EDMUND LAW, BISHOP OF CARLISLE,

AND

WILLIAM MARKHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK:

MEN OF LEARNING AND PIETY,

AND SINCERE LOVERS OF TRUTH.

W. J. L.

158966

## PREFACE.

SOME apology will be expected for treating at large this very old topic of dissension. A few facts must plead my excuse. At the end of July, 1854, I was sent for health to Aix-les-Bains, in Savoy; and I took with me Mr. Ellis's "Treatise on Hannibal's Passage of the Alps," then lately issued from the Cambridge University press, a work in which the march is carried over the Little Mont Cenis. At Aix I met with another new work by a savant of that country, who launches the invaders into Italy from the Col de la Seigne. A further circumstance presently kindled my interest in a subject which had been familiar to me: that an indication of one reputed track was in sight from the garden of my house. I borrowed from my physician the volumes of De Saussure, to help me in my French

and in my Alps, and amused myself during August with some comments, which I printed at Chambéry, on the speculations of M. Replat.

I left Aix on the 17th September with renewed impulse to a favourite theme, proposing for my daughter and myself a week's absence from my family, that we might cross the Little St. Bernard and return by the Col de la Seigne and the valley of Beaufort. The result was calamitous: I made my first and last descent into Italy in a state of serious illness: for nine weeks I lay within gunshot of the great precipice, without a hope of contemplating it. To avoid being snowed up for the winter at Courmayeur, I was at last moved slowly down the valley to seek a more favouring climate. So began and so ended the chance of contributing by personal investigation to a knowledge of the disputed track.

In my progress to convalescence at Nice, I found myself without employment; and a resource offered itself in the examination of Mr. Ellis's theory. I weighed its merits, and sifted them as well as I could under the circumstances; and on my return to England in April, immediately published the results. In 1856 Mr. Ellis defended himself in

two numbers of the "Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology;" and I replied promptly to each through the same channel. That warfare was to be excused; I was only criticising a new theory. If now I maintain a theory myself, and strive to overthrow all the rest, it may be asked, why further stir this worn-out controversy; has not too much been said already?

That sentiment would accord with a remark made by the last English writer of eminence who has touched the subject. Dr. Liddell says, "The controversy will probably last for ever: the data seem insufficient to enable us to form a positive judgment." This feeling of despair may be alleviated if the inquiry shall enable us to account for the failure of a few marked men, whom the world would have expected to command assent on the question. Such were D'Anville and Gibbon. But improvement has been slow, and error obstinate. Many a year has passed since the very learned Thirlwall, reviewing the efforts of a distinguished commentator, spoke of "the enormous mass of literature which has been already piled upon this theme." Mass, indeed, there is; but it is

accounted for in the remark of Niebuhr, "that even ingenious and learned men have opposed the most palpable evidence." The theme is not worn out: men of learning continue to embarrass truth in their professions to illustrate it: popular and plausible arguments hold their credit, because unanswered; and reputed difficulties are looked upon with dismay, as if they were real ones. The subject is not exhausted, and the fact that it has been worked so much is the best proof that it needs to be worked more.

When one comes to interfere in a dispute which has lasted so long, the great discouragement is, that a fit treatment of it threatens to be too copious for the patience of a reader: and I expect censure for my prolixity. But who can have the vanity to hope that inveterate error may be exterminated with a few pages? Heresies must be attacked which took root in the first days of the Roman empire, which have been cultivated in various forms to the present time; nourished by men who have adorned the literature of modern Europe. Few there are who take pains to scrutinise what is plausible, or to sift what is obscure. The laborious effort of novelty, which I have mentioned as

inviting me to the combat, has succeeded, as I know, in unsettling the faith of able minds.

In meeting with the strange contrivances offered for solving this question, one is apt to pause and say, "Must we consume time in combating such a notion as this?" But, if the notion which suggests the scruple should be countenanced by men like Schweighæuser, or Gosselin, or Letronne, or Arnold, or Ukert, there is no alternative: the unresisted sanction of such names governs the opinion of the world: and, though an error may in itself seem unworthy of refutation, the friend of truth cannot leave it unassailed. In this controversy there is nothing so extravagant that you may pass it by: the most perverse fancies are found in writers of formidable reputation. All obstacles then must be encountered: we dare not despise what the world esteems: the consequence is, that the subject must not be treated shortly, if it is to be treated safely.

Fortunately those very circumstances make the pursuit of it exceedingly entertaining. The strangeness of conceptions, whether in history, geography, logic, or grammar, which offer themselves to notice, provoke a never-ceasing interest, and entice you by degrees into the full current of the dispute. Such



has been my fate: and I offer, though not ripened as it should be, the fruit of my temptation. I have endeavoured to perceive the drift of each hostile argument: and, dealing freely with the opinions of others, may be thought not to bespeak indulgence for my own. But, in truth, I bespeak it earnestly. An old man, returning to Greek after long absence, cannot possibly be exempt from error; and when he finds, in the great names he has to deal with, none that he can in all points follow, he constantly has to apprehend error in himself. The danger is felt and acknowledged: but the fear of it will not deter from the utterance of thoughts honestly entertained. Whilst, among the varieties and complications of our subject, we are differing from those whom we greatly respect, in the process which discloses the errors of such men, we become convinced of the fallibility of all, and most conscious of the indulgence needed for ourselves.

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME ONE.

### PART I.

#### THE CONTROVERSY.

	PAGE
CHAP. I.—The Controversy: Progress and State of it . . .	1
CHAP. II.—The Subject proposed, and Method of treating it. . .	8

### PART II.

#### ON THE AUTHORITY OF POLYBIUS.

CHAP. I.—His Journey through the Alps . . . . .	15
CHAP. II.—Strictures of Dr. Ukert. Italy and the Alps. The Rhone. Direction of the March . . . . .	23
CHAP. III.—The Polybian Map of M. Gossellin. His reference to Pliny for confirming it. His Theory on the Stade . . .	38
CHAP. IV.—On the Stade of Polybius, and his Distances . . .	48

### PART III.

#### POLYBIUS INTERPRETED. PASSAGE OF THE RHONE.

CHAP. I.—Introduction. Division of the March. Three points to be fixed: the Passage of the Rhone; the beginning of Alps; the exit into the Plain . . . . .	55
--	----

CHAP. II.—Passage of the Rhone near Roquemaure indicated by the distance from the Sea; by the distance from the Island; by the single Stream . . . . .	PAGE 58
--	------------

CHAP. III.—Theory of Tarascon. Argument of Dr. Ukert. Distance from the Sea. Distance from the Island. Roman measurements in Gaul and Spain. Roads in Gaul. Policy of Hannibal. Vessels used in the Crossing. March of Scipio . . . . .	PAGE 65
---	------------

CHAP. IV.—Tarascon Theory. Arguments of H. L. Long. Distance from the Sea. Distance from Emporium. The single Stream. Strabo and the Theodosian Table . . . .	PAGE 93
---	------------

## PART IV.

## POLYBIUS INTERPRETED. THE BEGINNING OF ALPS.

CHAP. I.—The march of 1,400 stadia may be taken in two parts: 1. To the Isère, 2. To the beginning of Alps. Hannibal, crossing the Isère, went forward. Most critics make him recross the Isère and then seek the Alps. Five incidents mark the progress to the Alps: ten days; 800 stadia; along the river; country for cavalry; country of the Allobroges . . . . .	PAGE 101
---	-------------

CHAP. II.—The Mont du Chat fulfils all the requisites of Polybius . . . . .	PAGE 105
---	-------------

CHAP. III.—Adverse Theories on the beginning of Alps. Two by which Hannibal marches forward in the Island. Mr. Whitaker, going through Geneva, finds the Alps at Martigny. Mr. H. L. Long, going through Grenoble, finds them at Fort Barraux . . . . .	PAGE 142
---	-------------

CHAP. IV.—Theories of tracks south of Isère . . . . .	PAGE 164
---	-------------

## PART V.

## THE MOUNTAIN MARCH. ASCENT.

CHAP. I.—Some theories are not worked out beyond their first Alps. Those of the Cenis are laboured throughout their 1,200 stadia. Termini and distance. By the Little St. Bernard. By the Cenis. By the Little Cenis. The events of each of the fifteen days . . . . .	PAGE 185
--	-------------

CHAP. II.—Ascent to the Little St. Bernard. The forcing of the Mont du Chat, and occupation of Allobrogian town. Army rests there one day. On fourth day of marching from the town, conference with natives, who attend them for two days. Bourg St. Maurice and environs. The Reclus. Ravine and Roche Blanche. Modern evidence. Melville. Brockedon. Arnold. Character of conflict. Summit reached on the morrow, being the ninth day of Alps . . .	PAGE 193
---	-------------

CHAP. III.—Ascent to the Mont Cenis. Larauza. The Nine Days. Defile and λευκόπετρον . . . . .	PAGE 215
---	-------------

CHAP. IV.—Ascent to the Little Mont Cenis. Mr. Ellis and the Rock of Baune. The Combat. Evasion of the Text. Summaries. How Mr. Ellis shortens the reckoning of time. Two days. Two days more. His final argument for Baune. His progress from the Battle to the Summit . .	PAGE 225
---	-------------

## PART VI.

## THE MOUNTAIN MARCH. SUMMIT.

CHAP. I.—Hannibal encamps on the Summit for Two Days. He calls his Troops together and addresses them. Evidence of Italy: miscalled view. The Text considered. The following day he begins the descent . . . . .	PAGE 251
--	-------------

CHAP. II.—No practicable Summit gives a View of Italy. It is claimed for Monte Viso, by St. Simon and the Anonymous of Cambridge 1830: for Balbotet, by Folard, who is followed by Vaudoncourt and Bandé de Lavalette: for the Cenis, by Larauza, the writer in <i>Blackwood's Magazine</i> , and Mr. Ellis . .	PAGE 259
---	-------------

## PART VII.

## THE MOUNTAIN MARCH. DESCENT.

	PAGE
CHAP. I.—Descent from the Little St. Bernard. The disaster of the first day requires particular examination of circumstances told. The same phenomena still occur in the ravine below Ia Tuile. Arguments on the Descent from the Cenis. Larauza. Writer in <i>Blackwood's Magazine</i> , June, 1845. Mr. Ellis . . . . .	279
CHAP. II.—Hannibal, having completed the passage of the Alps in Fifteen Days, came down boldly into the plain of the Po, and the nation of Insubres. c. 56 . . . . .	299
CHAP. III.—On the Time employed in Descent. Many, and among them the Oxford Dissertation, differ from De Luc, who supports Polybius. Dr. Arnold on the Snow-line. His scruples on the Salassi. . . . .	308
CHAP. IV.—On Passes between Little St. Bernard and the Cenis. Brockedon. Albanis Beaumont . . . . .	327
MAP OF THE ALPS . . . . .	<i>To face page</i> 1

## ERRATA.

Page 71, line 29, for "eque" read "aque."	
" 93, " 3, for "agreement" read "argument."	
" 118, " 18, for "nom" read "nomme."	
" 122, " 33, for "equivocal" read "equivalent."	
" 156, " 29, for "marching" read "reaching."	
" 158, " 10, "from Valence" to be omitted.	
" 221, " 14, for "hushing" read "hashing."	
" 304, " 2, for "but" read "best."	
" 319, " 24, for "Vin" read "Viu."	



# THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

## PART I.

### THE CONTROVERSY.

#### CHAPTER I.

##### *The Controversy : Progress and State of it.*

SEVEN cities contended to be the birth-place of Homer. As many mountains contend to be the Alps of Hannibal. Great and good men have toiled to fix the death-hour of Alexander, and the landing-spot of Caesar in Britain. There are who hold such labours to be vain and unprofitable : and it is true that, in the variety of objects which provoke curiosity and research, the interest which they excite is not regulated by their importance. But the value of the thing pursued is alone not a test of the merit of the pursuit : the scrutiny of a question which it hardly imports us to solve may nevertheless be deserving of praise : an examination of evidence, as in the case before us, can vindicate an interest far surpassing that of the thing to be proved ; and it is enough to say, that a subject which has engaged Letronne and Ukert and Arnold, bespeaks itself worthy to be explored. When we regard the various matters which such inquiries will embrace, we make better estimate of their value ; and see danger in a doctrine which, condemning them as useless, would confine our exercise of



thinking to the exigencies of the passing day. Efforts of retrospect, even such as these, are conducive to the interests of society.

But in our subject is there need of effort? Remains there a question to discuss? Has not error been removed; and the evidence of truth been submitted to and confessed? There is no such acquiescence. The lamented Arnold, whose loss we cease not to deplore, studied the subject among the Alps themselves: in 1825 he was on the spot with Polybius in hand; in 1835 he wrote, "I have been working at Hannibal's passage of the Alps:" zealous in the tracing of military movements, he hardly reached a firm opinion on this subject, and to the last declared Polybius an unintelligible guide. Letronne and Ukert are among the later lights on geography and history; one invites us to the Genève, the other to the Cenis: while Arneth, director of the Museum at Vienna, has taught that the Carthaginians descended from the Simplon. So late as 1851, a savant of Savoy discovered their track through the Allée Blanche, hailing Mont Blanc as the *λευκόπετρον*; and Mr. Ellis in 1854 proclaims the Rock of Banne as the representative of that landmark, and the little Mont Cenis as laid down in the Chart of Pentinger. So long as there are such doubts and such difficulties among learned men, the question is not closed; truth is not established; search is still reasonable: *nec modus est ullus investigandi veri, nisi inveneris.*

*Progress and State of the Controversy.*

More than eighteen hundred years ago, Livy brought forward the course of Hannibal as a matter of controversy: and it is controverted to this day. In our own times books and pamphlets innumerable have been written upon it, exhibiting various degrees of labour and merit. The subject indeed has been agitated from time to time for the last three

hundred years, in works which the curious who have leisure may explore. A considerable list is given with Dr. Ukert's Dissertation, in his second volume, Part II. p. 563; and many are enumerated in a preface to the work of M. le Comte de Fortia d'Urban, 1821.

The earliest of modern authors, whose opinion I can quote, is Mr. Breval, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In his *Travels*, published 1726,\* he named the Little St. Bernard as the Pass of Hannibal. But, though he saw some essential points correctly, his suffrage is of no value; for, referring to Polybius, he says that Hannibal passed the Rhone at Lyons. Then, doubting whether the site of that city between the Saône and the Rhône could represent the district called the Island, he finds relief in the work of Menetrier, the historian of Lyons, whose antiquarian researches had brought him acquainted with an old canal cut from one river to the other—which, says Mr. Breval, "makes the third side of an island in every respect like that described by Polybius!"

Soon after Mr. Breval's short notice of the matter, the voluminous and wearisome commentaries of the Chevalier Polard appeared, encumbering the translation of Polybius by Dom Vincent Thuillier, which is in six quarto volumes; our subject occurring in the fourth, published in 1728.

D'Anville's notions were, I believe, first shown in a map which he published in 1739 to illustrate the march of Hannibal. I saw it for the first time on the 31st December, 1863, at the British Museum: it is entirely founded on his apprehension of Livy, and there is nothing in correction of it in his "*Ancienne Gaule*," published 1760. The labour of interpreting Polybius does not appear to have been undertaken by him, nor the necessity of such a task recognised. The

\* "*Remarks on several parts of Europe*," 2 vols. by J. Breval, Esq. late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I. 228, and Vol. II. 2.

remarks of Gibbon on the subject of our inquiry, which he states to be the result of his reading and careful reflection, are dated 1763: they appear in his miscellaneous works, published since his death, (Vol. iv. pp. 355, 418). No man could be better qualified to solve such a question: he possessed every advantage; nevertheless he made a poor business of it, and is without excuse for his abandonment of the question.

It was some years later that General Melville, on an investigation of the Alps made in 1775, came to a conclusion in favour of the Little St. Bernard. He did not publish his views on the subject, nor were they ever placed before the public till forty-three years after that date. It appears that Mr. Hampton, a translator of Polybius, must have already held the same opinion on the track; for there was a third edition of his work, published in 1772, containing a map, where the march is traced in the very line which General Melville conceived. The author calls it "A map for the expedition of Annibal, engraved, with some difference in the route, from the map of Mr. D'Anville."

In 1794 came forth an elaborate work in favour of the Great St. Bernard, which exhibits, for some purpose or other, almost every old text that is applicable to the question. "The Course of Hannibal over the Alps Ascertained. By John Whitaker, B.D. Rector of Ruan Lanyhorne, Cornwall." 2 vols. 8vo. And in 1812 was produced the work of General Vaudoncourt, "*Histoire des Campagnes d'Annibal en Italie. Par Frédéric Guillaume, Général de Brigade,*" 3 tomes 4to. Milan. I conceive that neither D'Anville in 1760, nor Vaudoncourt in 1812, were aware of the rival pretensions of the Little St. Bernard; but the intermediate writer knew them well. Mr. Whitaker had the advantage of General Melville's notes; but he did not condescend to be a copier; his taste was to be original, and he took no benefit from the assistance.

Fortunately the General imparted his notes also to M. De Luc, of Geneva, who in 1818 laid the matter of them before the world in a very able and convincing manner. "*Histoire du Passage des Alpes par Annibal. Par Jean André De Luc. Genève, 1818.*" There was a second edition in 1825. This writer also made a correction of General Melville's line, which is of the utmost importance, and essential to a just view of the subject. General Melville fixed the main pass of Alps. De Luc cleared the way for arriving at it.

From the time when M. De Luc's work appeared, this old controversy has been pushed with vigour: the learned in Germany and France, not without auxiliaries in England, have carried on a lively hostility against the Graian Alp, or Little St. Bernard. M. De Luc was first attacked by M. Letronne, in the "*Journal des Savans,*" Janvier, 1819; and the same publication, in the following December, contained an answer from M. De Luc, with M. Letronne's reply to it. The theory was supported in 1820 by the Dissertation of my friends Wickham and Cramer,\* who first came forth anonymously as "a member of the University of Oxford," and published a second edition in 1828. Their Dissertation ably elucidated the subject on many points, though in one matter I consider them to struggle against the juster interpretation of De Luc.

These are the two works which, in my opinion, support the truth. And yet, great as is their merit, adverse hypotheses have been insisted upon more strenuously than ever. That which, with these two works, I shall acknowledge as the line of march described by Polybius, is not advocated in any work since published on this particular subject; and our construc-

\* Henry Lewis Wickham, Esq. late Chairman of the Board of Stamps and Taxes; and the Rev. John Antony Cramer, late Dean of Carlisle, and Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

tion of his text on the progress to the first Alps, which is perhaps the clearest point of any that are litigated, has been blinked by all other writers, without exception. I know not how numerous the hostile list may be. I have myself met with the following :—

Criticism by M. Letronne. *Journal des Savans*. Janvier 1819. P. 22.

Do. do. Décembre, 1819. P. 783.

Dissertation sur le Passage du Rhône et des Alpes par Annibal. Par M. le Comte de Fortia d'Urban. Paris, 1821.

Hannibal's Zug über die Alpen : in the *Jahrbücher der Literatur* for July, August, September, 1823. By Arneth, Director of the Museum, Vienna.

Histoire Critique du Passage des Alpes par Annibal. Par feu M. J. L. Larauza. Paris, 1826.

Hannibal's Passage of the Alps. By a Member of the University of Cambridge. London, 1830.

The March of Hannibal from the Rhone to the Alps. By Henry Lawes Long, Esq. London, 1831 (Author of "A Survey of the Early Geography of Western Europe," 1859).

Hannibal's Zug über die Alpen. By Dr. Fr. A. Ukert. In the Second Part of Second Volume of his work, *Geographie der Griechen und Römer*, p. 559. Weimar, 1832.

Notice sur le Passage des Alpes par Annibal, ou Commentaires du récit qu'en ont fait Polybe et Tite-Live. Par le Général St. Cyr Nugues. 1837.

Récherches sur l'Histoire du Passage d'Annibal d'Espagne en Italie, à travers les Alpes. Par M. Baudé de Lavalette. Montpellier, 1838.

Géographie Ancienne des Gaules. Par M. le Baron Walckenaer. Paris, 1839.

Note sur le Passage d'Annibal. Par Jacques Replat, Chambéry, 1851.

A Treatise on Hannibal's Passage of the Alps, in which his Route is traced over the Little Mont Cenis. By Robert Ellis, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1854.

Two papers by the same author. *Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*. Vols. II. and III. Cambridge, 1856.

All these writers disclaim the scheme of march, as corrected by De Luc and the Oxford Dissertation, from the mouth of the Isère into Italy : for the partial acquiescence of my friend, H. L. Long, is not more acceptable to the truth of history than the full defiance of the rest. In this list of adversaries there is much of literary reputation, and in their zealous labours much that calls for a reply. Among them is an author of celebrity, enjoying the high commendation of one whose praise is strength. In an admirable work, unhappily not long continued, the "Philological Museum," the very learned Dr. Thirlwall, reviewing, in 1833, the Dissertation of Dr. Ukert, pronounces a deliberate eulogium on him as a geographer and a man of learning : and this is an antagonist whom I resist throughout. He is the champion too of the new doctrine—that the invaders crossed the Rhone at or near Tarascon ; which is a matter of importance, in that it affects the construction of the Greek narrative from one end of the controverted line to the other. The sceptics on this head have appeared only since the last edition of the Oxford Dissertation ; and they remain unanswered.

These persevering hostilities, to which let me add the gravely-expressed doubts of Dr. Arnold, may give excuse to the present attempt. In making the attempt, I abstain from the formula with which some modern commentators wind up



their preface. Seventy-two years ago the learned Whitaker proclaimed himself the source of "so clear a sunshine as no mistakes can veil, and no wilfulness can darken for ever again:" and among the newer theorists, my friend who sojourned at Grenoble stands convinced that his proofs "have set this long pending discussion at rest for ever." I am taught to resist the fond delusion. Seeing how the most learned have yielded to error, I cannot expect to extinguish a question that has proved so provoking to conjecture, and so seducing into paradox. Still there is hope: we are encouraged to look for the triumph of truth, if ever the causes of her confusion shall be exposed—πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισκοτισθεῖσα, τέλος αὐτῇ δι' ἐαυτῆς ἐπικρατεῖ, καὶ καταγωνίζεται τὸ ψεῦδος. Polyb. xiii. 5.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Subject proposed, and Method of treating it.*

In the year 218 before Christ, being the 536th year of Rome, Hannibal marched from Carthagenā in the month of May; he crossed the Rhone towards the end of September; and, clearing the Alps, touched the plain of Italy at the end of October.

The dates rest on the following grounds. The Greeks, as we learn from Polybius and Strabo, used to mark the seasons by the rising and setting of the Pleias or Pleiades. When Polybius in his narrative has brought the Carthaginian army to the summit of the Alps, he remarks that the setting of the Pleias is at hand; which setting is known by a recognised calculation to have been in that year, on the 26th October. Accordingly, as they actually reached the plain of Italy

in five days from the summit, we must consider that crisis of the season to have passed, and may place their arrival in the plain at the very end of October.

The crossing of the Rhone was performed fully a month before they reached the plain; for the march proceeded on the second day after crossing the river; it lasted fourteen days to the Alps; and had occupied fifteen days in the Alps when they touched the plain. Accordingly the Rhone was crossed at the end of September.

In the same sentence where Polybius states the Alps to have been traversed in fifteen days, he says that the entire march from Carthagenā was performed in five months; and, as it was completed at the end of October, we may place its commencement in the latter part of May. Moreover, the setting forth of the expedition is alluded to by Polybius in his introduction to the affairs of Greece at the beginning of the fifth book, where he draws attention to many contemporaneous events. Having said that the prætorship of the younger Aratus expired at about the rising of the Pleias, he states that about the same time, as summer was coming on, Hannibal began his march.

Livy ascribes the expedition to the same season of the year; he states the same duration of the march, and gives the same date to the end of it. On the march through the Alps, he says, nearly in the terms of Polybius, that the summit was reached on the ninth day; that the encampment there was for two days; that the constellation of the Pleiades was then setting; that the passage of the Alps was completed on the fifteenth day; and that they arrived in Italy in the fifth month from Carthagenā.

If a stranger to the subject should ask to be shortly informed upon the region which is principally concerned in the controversy, the answer might be this:—Imagine Hannibal with his army about half-way between Orange and Lyons,

near to the confluence of the Rhone and Isère; you have to trace him thence to the plain of Italy. Now you can hardly draw a line from that confluence to the Po, which has not been favoured as the line of the Carthaginian march. Almost every pass from Viso to the Simplon, with almost every route for reaching it, has found an advocate. The Chamouni valley has, I believe, escaped the views of criticism; not so the shores of Lago Maggiore, nor the Col de Bonhomme, nor the vale of Viu.

Such is the chief, but not the only question made on the track. In the march from the Pyrenees to the Rhone, all have been satisfied that it proceeded through Nîmes, excepting Mr. Whitaker, who carried it through Carcasone, Lodeve, Le Vigan and Anduse, coming upon the Rhone near Loriol, a place about nineteen miles below the influx of the Isère. In the period which has elapsed since that course was proposed, I believe that no one has adopted it, unless it was Mr. Tytler, who promptly published an eulogium of Mr. Whitaker's discoveries. When the history comes to be explained, that notion will appear inadmissible; although Mr. Whitaker considers it demonstrated, and performs the process with his usual accuracy of facts. All are now agreed, that the army passed through Nemausus, Nîmes.

But in the first movement from Nîmes there is matter for consideration. A new doctrine has lately been put forth, and supported by an authority much commended, as to the part where Hannibal, coming from Nîmes, effected the passage of the Rhone before he marched up to the Isère; so that our first business must be with his course from Nîmes to the Rhone. The crossing need not, indeed, have been effected from the point where the march first touched the river; nor is it quite necessary that the whole force should have proceeded from Nîmes to the river in one line. Still the question, where did Hannibal cross the Rhone, is not only interesting in

itself, as represented in the powerful descriptions of Polybius and Livy, but it bears importantly on matters of ulterior inquiry.

*Method of treating the Inquiry.*

As Polybius and Livy are the two writers whose histories of the Carthaginian invasion have come down to us, the point which it is sought to determine necessarily calls upon all who pretend to understand those historians to consider whether they concur in the Pass of Alps by which Hannibal came to Italy: and, if they shall be found not to concur, to say which is entitled to our belief.

Modern interpreters of these ancient narratives of Hannibal's march may then be ranked in two classes: those who maintain that the Greek historian and the Latin historian concur on the Pass of Alps by which the invasion was effected, and those who maintain that they do not concur. It is apparent that they who would identify the two tracks are far more numerous than those who insist on their disagreement: and one has to consider whether the former opinion is entitled to respect, by reason that it is the opinion of the majority. I find reason to say that it is not: for, while so many are ready to declare that Polybius and Livy favoured the same line, they rarely agree upon what that line was.

What then can have provoked so prevailing a persuasion? Has a conviction of the identity been arrived at by a separate examination of each, followed by a comparison: or has the identity been presumed, and the effort been an attempt at expedients for smoothing differences and reconciling contradictions? The latter has been the case; and many authors would have escaped the conclusions which they profess, if they had only examined Polybius as if there were no Livy, and Livy as if there were no Polybius. Instead of this, they embark in the subject, determined to make the two agree.

M. Letronne tells us, "Polybe et Tite-Live sont nécessaires à l'explication l'un de l'autre. Dans Tite-Live, il n'y a pas un seul mot à changer pour faire coïncider son texte avec celui de Polybe." In the same spirit, Général St. Cyr Nugues writes: "Il faut expliquer et concilier ces deux récits: voilà le problème." M. Baudé de Lavalette: "Il faut concilier Polybe et Tite-Live: tel est l'œuvre qui doit, en définitif, être le but de nos efforts." M. le Baron Walckenaer: "On a cru qu'il y avoit, entre le récit de Tite-Live et celui de Polybe, une contradiction; on a cherché à se déterminer pour l'un des deux: tandis qu'il fallait trouver les moyens de les concilier."

How shall we account for this predilection? Can it be that a first perusal of the two narratives produces the impression that they intend the same track? I am fully persuaded that this has never happened: no one, on tracing the outlines of the two stories, can be impressed in favour of their geographical coincidence. Whence then the prejudice? I apprehend the cause to be this: Both historians being held in great repute, both are presumed to relate the truth; and, as truth is one, to relate the same thing: and a repugnance is felt to the notion that they intend different things, unless as a last resource, on failure of the expedients of conciliation.

This principle is unsound. It assumes that which need not in any case be true, and which in this case is notoriously otherwise. The greatest historians will sometimes be in error. The wisest man, recounting facts of which he has no proper knowledge, must be liable to error. Further, on this question men celebrated in ancient times are known to have differed; and we are inquiring whether two among them did differ or not. To presume either solution of such a question is unreasonable. Livy is himself the example that there was diversity of opinion between authors of the highest credit. Writing two centuries after the invasion, he cites the historian Coelius, one whom he held in respect, as having named a

pass of Alps different from that in which he himself believed. One of these must have been in error. Whether Livy intended to follow Polybius, or to contradict him, is a question to be solved: he has not professed to solve it: he does not allude to Polybius: he adopts a large part of his events, but seems to vary the places to which he would assign them; whether he intended to vary them is a question on which it is foolish to lean to either alternative without inquiry.

Seeing how so many critics have embarked in this inquiry under the trammels of a false prepossession, let us avoid it. Also, when great modern names are adduced, when we are told of D'Anville, Gibbon, Ukert, and others, let us answer that we will heed their arguments, not their names. No human judgment stands above scrutiny. Labour and learning cannot ensure a freedom from error. Arnold imagined the elephants to be three or four nights above the snow-line; Cramer and De Luc conceived the Carthaginians marching along the Ticino; Niebuhr asserted that they crossed the Po below Piacenza; and Napoleon III. says that Scipio, landing at the mouth of the Rhone, learned that Hannibal had already entered the Alps.

Many writers are seen to confuse the two histories by applying the narrative of the one author to supply the deficiencies of the other. I approve a different principle; that, antecedent to any comparison of the histories, a separate examination must be made of the matter of each; not disturbing the scrutiny of one by blending with it notices of the other. When this has been fairly done, the similarity or dissimilarity of the results may be viewed: then only shall we be qualified to estimate the practicability of conciliation.

But, while it is necessary to keep distinct our examination of the ancient authorities, it is requisite that we should set forth the views of modern commentators together with our own. We are not to presume that the reader is already aware

of the diversities of interpretation ; and it is our business to lay them fairly before him. A very false commentary may make an impression, which it would fail to make if the rival explanation were presented with it. It is proposed, therefore, to combine defence and attack where it shall aid a comparison of one theory of construction with another.

I hope now to be excused if, in treading the way from Nîmes to the Italian plain with the first of our two great historians, I defer for a while the dissection of his evidence, that I may call attention to the value of his authority.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART II.

#### ON THE AUTHORITY OF POLYBIUS.

##### CHAPTER I.

###### *His Journey through the Alps.*

POLYBIUS explored in person the Alps of Hannibal. We know not who may have been his companions, and there has been a difference of opinion as to the time when he made the journey. He was born in the fourteenth year of the war : in the vigour of life he was withdrawn from the service of his country, as one of the hostages extorted by the grasping violence of the Roman Republic ; and about seventeen years of his mature manhood were passed in a forced separation from Greece. This gave a cast to the part which he had to act as a citizen of the world. When his liberty was regained, the crisis had almost arrived which was to ensure the universal tyranny of Rome : Cato had pronounced the doom of Carthage ; and the downfall of Greece was not to be averted by those few of her citizens who were at the same time wise and honest.

Polybius was about thirty-seven years old at the time of the Achæan exile. He had filled important posts in the state of which he was a distinguished member ; he had become

acquainted with Roman generals and Roman warfare in Thessaly and Macedonia, and such a man might already have travelled westward in search of truth. But this has never been suggested; and we may assume that his visitation of Gaul and Spain through the Alps was performed after 167 B.C.<sup>1</sup>, the date of his removal to Rome. How soon then, after this, may we suppose him to have made the journey? Was it before or after the return of the exiles? His own words are—"I shall explain these things with confidence, because I have obtained my information of the events from those who themselves belonged to the times, and have viewed the scenes of those events, and myself performed the journey through the Alps, that I might see and know" (iii. 48. 12).

Whether such information was sought in Rome or elsewhere, it would become every day more difficult to obtain, by the deaths of witnesses. It appears that, from the first arrival of Polybius in Italy, he had the peculiar indulgence of residing at Rome, while the other hostages were scattered in distant towns (xxxii. 8. 5). Being so in favour, he might after a time have permission to travel beyond the confines of Italy. The Roman purpose, of separating such a man from his country, was equally answered, whether he was within or without the Alps. He would not be more tempted to violate his faith as an hostage; for such a course would have brought speedier destruction upon all that was dear to him. Neither would the faculty of escape have been readier than in the full personal freedom which he enjoyed at Rome: he could at any time have contrived his own escape, as he promoted that of Demetrius. For himself the Alpine enterprise had its attraction; and, while he was peremptorily cut off from his own country, his duties to her suffered no worse suspension by a wandering into the west of Europe. The time too was favourable: for some years the rage of war was

<sup>1</sup> 587 u.c. of the Varronian period.

lulled in those quarters, and that embarrassment of a traveller was removed. Looking at these circumstances, and remembering that Polybius was not less than fifty-three years old when he regained his liberty in 151, we may reasonably believe that he had before that time traced Hannibal through the Alps.

A later period is far less probable. When the liberation came, the first impulse would probably lead him to seek the shores of Greece. I am not aware that there is any record of his immediate transactions: but he appears to have been in Greece early in 149, when the consul Manilius, ordered to act against Carthage, wrote to the Achæans, urging that Polybius might join him at Lilybæum: accordingly he set out, but receiving intelligence at Corfu, from which he concluded that hostilities were at an end, he returned to Greece.\*

Some have imagined that the journey was made on the termination of the exile; and have conceived the friend and preceptor accompanied by his illustrious pupil Scipio, the younger Africanus. I see great improbability in this. The one, as well as the other, had had better leisure for such an enterprise at an earlier period, whether before or after the death of Scipio's father in 160. I doubt that there is any authority for saying that they ever went through the Alps together. It would no doubt have been agreeable to both, that Polybius should have attended Scipio at the time mentioned; as afterwards at the age of seventy he attended him to Numantia. The discharge of the Greek hostages tended to cement the friendship between them: it was through Scipio's intercession with Cato, that the Achæans were permitted by the Senate to return to their country; when that venerable man settled the matter with his well-known remark, that the dispute was whether a few old Greeks should be carried to their graves

\* Fast. Hellen. iii. 99. Mr. Clinton quotes Polyb. Fragm. Vatican. p. 447.



by Roman corpse-bearers or their own.\* Scipio then went to Spain, to serve under Lucullus: but did he go through the Alps? In taking the office of Legate he courted a responsibility which others had declined, and had the credit of making a sacrifice to public duty in an unpopular service.† The occasion was pressing: he would not at such a time have exposed himself to the delays and risks of a tour of curiosity in the Alps. No Roman force had ever then crossed the Rhone: and this young officer, like other servants of the state, must have gone to Spain by sea.

M. Gosselin, (*Récherches*, ii. p. 6) speaks of Scipio and Polybius travelling together from Carthage to the Rhone, as a fact related by Polybius himself; and he refers to Polyb. *Historiar.* lib. iii. 39. This is a mistake: no such thing is mentioned there, nor I believe anywhere. M. Gosselin imagines their companionship not in going to, but in returning from the Celtiberian war. But that notion is as improbable as the other, and cannot be accepted without evidence. Scipio was still too full of weightier business: he only joined the camp in Spain in 151; and in 149 we see him serving in the first work of the war against Carthage, the author of every wise movement under an inefficient leader. And note the busy interval: he rapidly gained a reputation in Spain, though holding an inferior command. On one occasion his duties carried him into Africa, where he witnessed the battle between Asdrubal and Masinissa, and returned to Spain with a supply of elephants, the professed object of his mission. When he returned to Rome, as when he left it, the times were teeming with great events; and there was no leisure for such a man to strike away from the theatre of Roman interests for exploits on his own account in unknown Gaul and unknown Alps. I allow that Polybius's attendance on Scipio was at any time a probable result of their friendship; but if

\* Polyb. *Reliq.* lib. xxxv. 6.

† Polyb. xxxv. 4.

we assume such an incident in that space of two years, the scene of it would be Spain and Numidia, not Gaul and the Alps. Appian records their being together before Carthage at the close of the last Punic war; but does not name Polybius as being concerned in the Celtiberian war, nor notice him as present at the great battle in Numidia.

When we consider that the return of the Greeks was in 151; that Carthage was destroyed in 147, and that the fall of Corinth immediately followed; and, if we observe the extreme activity of the political interval, that interval cannot be thought a probable time for Polybius's journey through the Alps, or for the facts supposed by M. Gosselin. Still more improbable would be that later time, when the independence of his country was gone, and his own duties in assuaging her misfortunes had been fulfilled. All things considered, the historical probability seems to be that Polybius explored the tract before his exile was relieved. Gibbon may have been near the truth, when he spoke of him as "examining the country with his own eyes, where he might collect the precious remains of tradition, which the period of sixty years had not been able to efface, and where he might converse with some of the old men of the country, who had in their youth either resisted Hannibal's invasion, or followed his standard." Sixty years after the invasion denotes seven years before the termination of the Achaean exile.

Beside the probabilities which rest on the transactions of the times, on the better opportunities for active inquiry and literary employment, which Polybius enjoyed during his domicile at Rome, and the utter disturbance of such advantages in the events which succeeded his liberation, we gather evidence to the date of his journey from his own writings. The invasion of Italy by Hannibal is an early fact in that period of history which he first proposes to record, beginning in the 140th Olympiad. And his own exploration of the

Alps is announced as having been made before he wrote his account of that invasion. Niebuhr says (transl. by Smith and Schmitz, iii. 42), that the first edition of Polybius is to be placed about the beginning of the seventh century; which, (601 U.C.) was before the return of the exiles. He says also (21st Lecture, published by Dr. L. Schmitz, i. 283) that that edition ended with the carrying away of the Achæan hostages, and that a second edition was published afterwards, with the subsequent history. It is curious to notice how the historian incorporated the new matter of his further history with that of the earlier one.

He announces his history in the outset as one of fifty-three years, the matter of the two first books not belonging to that period, but containing so much of earlier events as may serve for introduction. He says, at the beginning of the first book, that he has thought it necessary to compose that and the next, in order to prepare his readers for the history: and, at the end of the second, he speaks of having completed the opening and preface of his whole history. In the opening of the third book, the fifty-three years are again announced as beginning with the 140th Olympiad, and ending with the subversion of the Macedonian empire: in fact that period, beginning from 220 B.C. was completed with the defeat of Perseus in 168, and the seizure of the Achæan exiles in 167. As we read on, the next paragraph shows that those events are not now to close the work, and that the design is enlarged. Though the limitation to fifty-three years remains in the text, we are informed that new events have arisen so momentous, events of which the author has been himself concerned in many, and an eye-witness of nearly all, that he shall undertake the task of relating them, and begin as it were another history. Pointing out the leading features of this further history, he names the Celtiberian war of Rome, the wars between Carthage and Masinissa, the wars

between Attalus and Prusias, the wars of Cappadocia and Syria, the return of the Achæan exiles, the last war between Rome and Carthage, and the events which have consummated the misfortunes of Greece. Further on, when he vindicates the minuteness of his inquiry into the causes of Hannibal's war, he speaks of his work as now intended to comprehend the destruction of Carthage and the battle of the Isthmus, and to be comprised in forty books.

There is still further evidence in the tone of the historian's remarks, showing that his original work must have been composed during the tranquillity of his residence in Italy; some things are such as he cannot have produced after the last fatal troubles of Greece had begun. When he is about to explain the institution of the Achæan confederacy in the second book, he takes occasion, c. 37, to allude to the fortunes of the Macedonian kingdom, and those of that republic; to the utter destruction of the one, and the unlooked-for growth and harmony of the other—*περὶ μὲν ταύτην ὀλοσχερῆς ἐπαναίρεσις, περὶ δὲ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς παράδοξος αὔξησις καὶ συμφρόνησις*. In the sketch of Achæan annals which follows, the same feeling of the writer is exhibited; and this not in the introductory books only; for, having closed the third book with the battle of Cannæ, he refers in the fourth to the scheme of his history; and taking up the affairs of Greece in the 140th Olympiad, notes the remarkable advance which has been made by the Achæan state. Who will believe that Polybius should thus express himself after or shortly before the last convulsion of Greece? The pride of country struggled hard to make the exile hide her degradation under some eulogium, at a time when he must in his own person have been deeply sensible of it: but that he should have poured forth those praises after the fall of Corinth, is impossible. He uttered those sentiments, not in the period of distraction and strife which followed the crushing of his country's

liberties; but when, in his Italian banishment, he would quietly and fondly indulge in some contrast between her fate and that of Macedonia.

Whatever was the precise time at which Polybius investigated the track of Hannibal, on which I have pointed out what appear to me the best grounds of argument, it seems clear that the journey was performed by him; and that, if we can rightly interpret his narrative, we thereby know the course of Hannibal. But that narrative itself is in innumerable particulars interpreted in different ways by learned men. It is natural therefore to suppose, that there is difficulty in making a right interpretation: and we have to search for the cause of this difficulty; a task which is the more necessary, as some have suggested a cause, by imputing to the historian a singular deficiency in geographical knowledge and the faculty of acquiring it. We cannot feel safe in interpreting his geographical matter, without noticing the reasons of those who declare his incompetency to deal with it.

It is true that this disparaging opinion is not general; and that some consider Polybius to have been eminently qualified for ascertaining and transmitting truth, as a politician, a soldier, and a man of learning. These are further influenced by knowing that, within forty years after the Carthaginians had evacuated Italy, he was living in familiar intercourse with distinguished Romans; that he conversed freely with those who in their youth had served against Hannibal; that his friendship was sought and adhered to by the celebrated Scipio Æmilianus and his brother, to whom the minutiae of those campaigns and the memorials of their own illustrious ancestors must have been matter of interesting concern; also that his study of the course through the Alps took place while there may have been upon it still living witnesses of the invasion.

But, though these notions seem to be true, and, being true, to recommend Polybius as one of the safest historians of any times; still, as in this inquiry importance will be attached to his designation of countries and of rivers that run through them, also to measurements of space where the termini are litigated; and since, among those who impeach him in these respects, are men themselves celebrated for geographical and historical acquirements, I must sustain an authority on which I purpose to rely. How shall we not fear that that authority may be despised, when such a man as Dr. Arnold, himself so commended for the geographical instinct, has imputed to him "a total absence of geographical talent," and that in his labours "he laboured against nature?" How shall we not fear the depreciating tone of the German critic, who is pronounced by Dr. Thirlwall "to come to the discussion of the question with all the light that profound geographical learning can throw upon it?" Some of the disparaging comments I delay to notice, until the examination of our subject shall have made the matter of them easier to be understood. Some I will advert to now; examining, as briefly as I may, the reasonings by which they dissuade us from a confidence in the Greek historian.

## CHAPTER II.

*Strictures of Dr. Ukert. Italy and the Alps. The Rhone.  
Direction of the March.*

DR. FR. A. UKERT, the eminent professor and librarian at Gotha, is author of a work published at Weimar on the Geography of the Greeks and Romans: and he is, I presume, the most learned man among those who have maintained that the course of Hannibal was over the Mont Cenis; a



doctrine which he supports in the 2d division of his second volume, published in 1832. The recommendations of him to our notice in this matter of criticism are from an authority which is recognised as the most eminent in this country: and I will without scruple refer to a report made by one so highly qualified to make it justly. I speak of an article on Hannibal's passage, signed C. T.,\* in the *Philological Museum* of May, 1833. I may say here that this review was mentioned in 1854 by Mr. Ellis, in his *Treatise*, p. 18, where he says that the reviewer adopts the supposition of Dr. Ukert that Hannibal crossed the Rhone near Beaucaire. I conceive that Mr. Ellis must here have mistaken the opinions imputed to Dr. Ukert for the opinions of Dr. Thirlwall himself; who says, "Ukert conceives that Hannibal crossed the river near Beaucaire." I cannot so easily account for another thing which is asserted; namely, that "in many material points the views advocated in his, Mr. Ellis's treatise, receive the sanction of the learned writer of the article." This proposition is, as far as I can judge, quite erroneous; and I find nothing to qualify the error.

It is said in the *Philological Museum*, "Our object is not to describe the march, but to explain the nature of the arguments by which Ukert supports his hypothesis." The learned writer thus introduces the German geographer to the attention of the reader. "Ukert has defended an hypothesis which had been adopted by many learned men, and within these few years by a French author, Larauza, whose book I have not been able to meet with; that Hannibal crossed the Mont Cenis. Ukert has the advantage of coming last to the discussion of this question, with a thorough knowledge of all that has been done by his predecessors, and with all the light that profound geographical learning can throw upon it: so that a review of his arguments may exhibit, though

\* Connop Thirlwall, Lord Bishop of St. David's.

"not the history of this controversy, yet the latest stage which it has reached. There are, it is well known, four main points on which the whole controversy depends. 1. The passage of the Rhone. 2. The position of the Island and Hannibal's movements in it. 3. His march to the foot of the mountains. 4. The passage of the Alps. These we will consider in their order. We must however premise that Ukert takes a different view of the relative authority of Polybius and Livy from that which has been adopted by many, perhaps by most, preceding writers, and particularly by the advocates of General Melville's hypothesis. He observes that, though the zeal with which Polybius laboured to ascertain the truth is indisputable, his means were not exactly proportioned to his good will. As the Alps in his time were inhabited by fierce and unconquered tribes, it was not in his power to explore them with the same calmness and undivided attention as the modern travellers who have visited them with his book in their hands. Notwithstanding his travels, the geographical knowledge which Polybius had acquired was very imperfect: his conception of the direction of the Alps, and the course of the Rhone, erroneous: and his errors in this respect led him to say, that Hannibal, after crossing the Rhone, marched away from the sea eastward, as if he had been making for the midland parts of Europe (iii. 47); when, if he had been correctly informed, he would have spoken of the north. With regard to Livy's relation to Polybius, Ukert observes that, though the Roman frequently took the Greek author's description as the foundation of his own, yet, as the countries of which Polybius wrote were much better known in the time of Augustus, he also drew more accurate accounts from other sources, with which he supplied the defects of his predecessor, but sometimes without perceiving that he was framing his narrative out of statements which were irreconcilably discordant." *Phil. Mus.* May, 1833, C. T.

Such are reported to be the views of Dr. Ukert concerning the authority of Polybius in the question of Hannibal's march. With due respect for one so laudatus laudato, I cannot perceive that his depreciation of the Greek historian rests on valid grounds. It is most true that, whatever Alps Polybius explored, he explored regions which were independent of Rome, and whose inhabitants, notwithstanding the mitiora ingenia which Livy ascribes to them in the twelfth year of the war, were still rude and fierce. But to what tends this exposition of the traveller's danger? It may help to account for the want of the poetic and the picturesque which some think should identify the pass of Hannibal. But, as to finding in the barbarism of the Alpine tribes a circumstance that lowers his authority, it only makes us to admire the zeal and daring that incurred the danger, and to estimate the man by his devotion of those powers to the observation and gathering of truth. The question is between the authority of him who made that effort, and of those whom no such thing has qualified. The proposition that he could not explore the Alps with the same calmness as modern travellers who may visit them with his book in their hands, is most true. If it were not, this controversy would not exist. If Polybius had journeyed with the advantages of a modern tourist, the Alps and the district beyond them reposing under the well-established protection of civilised government, instead of being still unexplored by the Romans, the places which lay in the march would have been enjoying recognised names; these names would have been found in his work; and neither Livy nor Ukert would have had a question to litigate.

It is indeed the modern traveller who has so explored with Polybius in hand. This task was first performed by General Melville in the latter part of the eighteenth century. If this had been done in the days of Augustus, that age

would not have founded a controversy, nor created the difficulties which we are even now endeavouring to solve. For why does the traveller explore the Alps with that book in his hand? In order that he may ascertain the track which Polybius intends; that he may know how to apply his narrative. This is our endeavour; to interpret rightly that which is acknowledged to contain the truth.

Dr. Ukert having exhibited the disadvantages under which Polybius must have travelled, proceeds, as we have seen, to expose the inaccuracy which resulted from them. He dwells on his erroneous conceptions concerning Italy and the Alps, as a ground on which we should à fortiori distrust his geography beyond the Alps; saying this,—“His description of that country, which from his long residence in it he was able leisurely to investigate; a task for which, through his acquaintance with the most distinguished and enlightened Romans, he enjoyed every advantage, may serve as a scale by which we should estimate his statements concerning less known and less frequented countries. According to him, the whole of Italy is a triangle; an opinion already censured by Strabo.” He then exposes the descriptions of Italy and the Alps as made by Polybius, with a criticism of what he has said on the course of the Rhone and the course of the Po: and we are invited to the conclusion that the geography of his history is not to be relied on.

Strictures, which chiefly import, that one who wrote before the last Punic war was not precise upon north, south, east, and west, are sufficiently disarmed, when we view the errors of a later age, whose improvements it is the policy of those criticisms to extol. But retaliation is not enough. Let us sift the value of the strictures themselves, as they affect three subjects of attack; the Alps; the Rhone; and the direction of the march. The Po must be reserved for a future chapter.

*Italy and the Alps.*

It is perfectly true that Polybius, ii. c. 14, has described Italy as a three-sided figure, of which one side is the Adriatic and Ionian seas, another the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas, and the third the range of Alps: also that he has described the northern plain of Italy as another three-sided figure, of which the Alps form the north side, the Apennine the south side, the base being the Adriatic from the end of the gulf to Sena. Strabo censured these triangles, saying, *τρίγωνον δὲ ἰδίως τὸ εὐθύγραμμον καλεῖται σχῆμα· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ αἱ βάσεις καὶ αἱ πλευραὶ πειφερεῖς εἰσίν*,—"a figure, to be rightly called a triangle, must be rectilinear: but there both the bases and the sides are curved." Then, in objection to the eastern side of Italy, he says, *πλευρὰν γὰρ λέγομεν τὴν ἀγώνιον γραμμὴν*—"for we call a side that which is a line without angles," v. 210.

These dogmata, not enforced by Strabo when more necessary, are pronounced here, not against the knowledge nor the judgment of the writer, but against his style. Polybius is not charged with believing the lines which he calls sides of Italy to be straight, but with calling them sides when they were not straight; he knew them not to be straight, for he speaks of one as turned partly to the south, partly to the west: as to the other, Strabo himself relieves him of the suspicion; for he cites Polybius (vi. 261) on the distance from the Lacinian promontory to the Iapygian across the entrance of the gulf of Tarentum, and (v. 211) reports from him the unequal distances of a land journey and a sea journey from the Iapygian to Messana.

Are then these rough descriptions given by Polybius to be called erroneous? Precision is not sought, and is not requisite. In these bold outlines he fulfils his avowed purpose

of writing, which is to communicate ideas by well-known symbols. These are to be found in the larger features and more notorious marks of a country. He reminds us that mere unexplained names do not give geographical impressions. When he uses the word *Τρανσάλπινοι*, ii. c. 15, he takes care to inform his readers that *τρᾶνς* is Latin for *πέραν*. He is not compounding the topography of departments for the Italian student: he is providing by large outlines a notion of entire Italy for those who knew it not. In the very beginning of his work, i. c. 3, he announces that he writes for the instruction of Greeks: and again, after he has brought Hannibal into Italy, iii. c. 59, he speaks of his own travels in Spain and elsewhere with the object of them—"that, correcting the ignorance of our predecessors in these matters, we may bring these parts also of the habitable earth within the knowledge of Greeks."

If there existed not these excuses for the roughness of the Polybian delineations, the spirit of fair play would rise against the attack that is made. In the vice of applying the name of a rectilinear figure to that which is really not one, or of making a crooked and curved line to be a side to such figure, Polybius is not a solitary offender. Strabo himself, the sage whose corrections are appealed to, indicates in his own practice the foibles which in others he condemns. He rejoices in parallelograms, not triangles: he gives, p. 177, as the boundaries of Gaul, the Pyrenees on the west, the Rhine, as their parallel, on the east: the ocean on the north; the Mediterranean and Alps on the south. As parts of this large figure, he exhibits three other parallelograms: one, p. 178, has, for west and east, the Pyrenees and the Alps; for north and south, the Cevennes and the Mediterranean: another, p. 189, has, for west and east, the Pyrenees and the Garonne, for north and south, the ocean and the Cevennes: another has, for west and east, the Garonne and the Loire,

having also the ocean and the Cevennes for north and south.

Let me ask whether, in the broad definitions of Polybius there is anything which so conflicts with the proprieties of modern geography as these specimens of the Augustan. At least let the indulgence which is claimed for the licentiousness of a parallelogram be extended to the extravagance of a triangle. But if there belongs to the former figure some peculiar privilege, then be it remembered that Strabo too, iv. 199, has his triangle, the Island Brittannia: and she, too, has her *πλευραί*. Are these *ἀγώνιοι γραμμαί*? M. Gossellin says with much gravity, *Récherches*, ii. 15, "Au temps de Polybe l'Italie n'avoit pas plus une forme triangulaire qu'elle ne l'a aujourd'hui." He might have added, "La Grande Bretagne n'avoit pas plus une forme triangulaire qu'elle ne l'a aujourd'hui:" the Bristol channel and the Solway derogate as much from the *εὐθύγραμμον σχῆμα* as does the gulf of Tarentum. It is most true that Polybius was addicted to the pourtraying of triangular forms: it is seen, i. 26, 14, in his account of naval manœuvres. But there was excuse for the rudeness of those forms, which Strabo, not an illiberal critic, might have acknowledged. If Polybius had called Italy a parallelogram, he would have earned the applause of his illustrious successor.

*The Rhone and the Alps.*

Polybius, iii. 47, thus instructs his readers. "The Rhone has his sources above the Adriatic gulf, which fall to the westward in those parts of the Alps which slope away to the north: his course is to the winter sunset; and he discharges himself into the Sardinian sea. He is carried for a considerable way through a valley, to the north of which dwell the

"Ardyes\* Celts, while the whole southern side of it is bounded by the mountain sides of the Alps, which slope northwards: the higher Alpine chain separating the plains of the Po, of which I have often spoken already, from the valley of the Rhone, and spreading as it were from Marseille to the head of the Adriatic gulph—which higher chain Hannibal, having surmounted from the country on the Rhone, invaded Italy."

Men of our day, having their map of the Alps, may be startled at the introduction of Marseille and the Adriatic into this description. But we are to remember, that the aim of the writer was to bring his Greek readers to a notion of that which he described, by naming things which already existed in their minds; thus enabling them *ἐφαρμόττειν τὸ λεγόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ γινώριμον*, iii. 36, 4. They knew the Adriatic: they knew Marseille: they knew not that which intervened: accordingly the Alps are described by reference to those known objects, and the Rhone by reference to the Alps. Precision could not attend this method of instruction: he teaches here that the first springs of the Rhone are away to

\* This word *Ἀρδυες* is not explained. *Αἰδυες* has been suggested. May it not be corrected to *Ἐλουήττιοι*? In a passage of Strabo, p. 192, we find *Αἰτουάτιοι*, which it is pretty clear should be *Ἐλουήττιοι*. Strabo, enumerating the accolæ of the Rhine, seems to take them from Cæsar. Both place Nantuates on the lake of Geneva near the Rhone. Cæsar's text, iv. 10, carries the Rhine per fines Nantuatium, Helvetiorum, Sequanorum, Mediomatricorum, Tribocorum, Trevirorum: and Strabo, probably having Cæsar before him, writes, "The first of all, *πρῶτοι τῶν ἀπάντων*, upon the Rhine are *Αἰτουάτιοι*." Then he notices the source, length of stream, mouths, &c.; and resumes the accolæ in this way; "*Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Ἐλουητίους Σηκοανοὶ καὶ Μεδιοματρικοὶ κατοικοῦσι τὸν Ῥήνον*;" then he names *Τριβόκχοι* and then *Τρηούριοι*. This leads one to suppose that *Ἐλουήττιοι* were meant to be *πρῶτοι τῶν ἀπάντων*, and that *Αἰτουάτιοι* is a corruption. Kramer has put *Ἐλουήττιοι* in the text. The word Nantuatium in Cæsar's 4th book may perhaps be struck out.



the north-east, among the Alps: more than this was not within his reach. He had no materials by which to speculate on the longitudes of those fountains: no civilised eye had seen the glacier of the Rhone: he conceived its direction, not its place. The Romans then had no acquaintance with Transalpine Gaul save by the access of Marseille: while he lived, their only military performance between that place and the Pyrenees was in Scipio's few days near the Rhone's mouth. The addition which the researches of Polybius gave to a knowledge of that river may have been limited to the line of the Carthaginian march. It cannot be asserted that he ever visited the lake of Geneva, or the town of Lyons. Some may infer his non-acquaintance with the lake from his silence upon it: and they are welcome to do so: if he was never there, neither was Hannibal. Not that the mere absence of particulars warrants us to presume a want of information: for, if the lake of Geneva lay not in the march, it would have no place in this narrative. Polybius expressly excuses himself from introducing into historical statement more of geography than is necessary for understanding the story which he is relating, iii. 56.

In the time of Strabo, 140 years later, conquest had made the Rhone a familiar feature in the geography of Gaul: it was known in his earliest days through the efforts of Julius Cæsar to purge from obstruction the main route between Italy and the heart of the Helvetian territory. And yet Strabo's Rhone has its errors: speaking of the Rhone, the Doubs, and the Saone, he says, iv. 186, "It happens that each of these three rivers flows in the first instance to the north, and then to the west: and then they all fall into one stream, which by another bend is carried southward to the sea." Thus the Rhone of Strabo begins at Martigny. He could only relate what he had heard. He relates that the Rhone runs into and through the lake of Geneva, and that

his stream refuses the commixture of other waters: but he knew not of the river above Martigny: so there he conceived the source. The source of Polybius, though less specific, is more correct.

*The direction of the March.*

Dr. Ukert charges Polybius with making Hannibal to march eastward, when in fact he marched northward. This criticism also asserts the improved knowledge of countries in the days of Augustus; and it would again be enough to answer, that Strabo's north side of Gaul, iv. 177, is from Bayonne to the mouths of the Rhine. The twist which he gives to the countries of the world might well belong in some degree to earlier geography: and Polybius, who deals in general rather than minute instructions, needs little justification if, in dividing his subject, he deemed the march from Carthagera to the Rhone to bear northward, and the march from the Rhone to Italy to bear eastward. This, after all, would be found the sum of his offence; but the criticism before us is more feeble than it at first appears: the critic misapprehended the author.

The notion which is impeached is contained in the following sentence, iii. 47, which I give from the edition of Schweighæuser. Περαιωθέντων δὲ τῶν θηρίων, ἀναλαβὼν Ἀννίβας τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, προῆγε, τοῦτοις ἀπουραγῶν, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν, ὡς εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον τῆς Εὐρώπης. "The elephants having been brought over, Hannibal, taking "with him these and the cavalry, led forward, bringing up "the rear with them, along the river; making his march "away from the sea as it were towards the east, as if into the "midland of Europe."

We know that, immediately after crossing the river, the inclination of the march was, for some way, northward.

But it is not to that first inclination that the idea of eastward is applied. It is applied to the scope of march which was before them to the plain of Italy. The first moving forward is seen in the word *προῆγε*. The making a march is seen in *ποιούμενος πορείαν*, words which import a large stretch of the expedition, or the whole of it. *Παρά τὸν ποταμὸν* belongs to *προῆγε*: but *ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω* belongs to *ποιούμενος πορείαν*. Dr. Ukert desires to annex this idea of eastward to *προῆγε*: and he would alter the usual punctuation by removing the stop from *ποταμὸν*, and placing it after *ἑω*. This may also be inferred from the reviewer's report of the criticism,\* where the sentence is badly divided into two parts, for telling the progress: the words *προῆγε ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω* are translated "marched away from the sea eastward:" and the remaining words *ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ὡς εἰς τὴν μεσόγειον τῆς Εὐρώπης* are translated "as if he had been making for the midland parts of Europe." The comma after *πορείαν* is rejected.

This notion of fixing "eastward" upon *προῆγε*, and disconnecting it from the scope of the march, I take to be erroneous. Such frame of sentence as we have here, with the verb and participle and an object of movement, is very usual with Polybius: and it seems to me that, when a word like *προῆγε* represents the idea of setting out or leading forward, with another word of larger sense expressing the idea of making an expedition or voyage, the words which give the object of movement (as here *ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω*) cannot be annexed merely to the former, and disconnected from the term of larger sense. We read i. 29, i. *ἀνέγοντο ποιοῦμενοι τὸν πλοῦν ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην*—"they set sail making their voyage as for Africa." In the same way, iii. 17, *ἀναξεύξας ἐκ τῆς καινῆς πόλεως προῆγε ποιούμενος τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ζ' κανθαν*—"having disencamped from Carthage

\* See beginning of this chapter.

he led forward, making his march for Saguntum." In such instances *ἐπὶ* with its substantive must belong chiefly, if not exclusively, to the word which denotes the making a voyage or expedition.

It seems equally clear, that, in the sentence before us the other idea, "from the sea," must be subject to the same appropriation; that it fixes itself upon *ποιούμενος πορείαν*. There would be no force in saying that Hannibal set out from the sea; especially if, as is believed, he was already above Avignon. But there is good sense in describing the scope of march that was now before him, as tending from the sea: it was here that, having hitherto advanced, as it were, parallel with the sea-coast,\* he turned away from it, and pursued his march from the Rhone to the plain of the Po as the object: especially as the next sentence gives a southwest direction to the course of the Rhone. If he had said that the march from Carthage to the Rhone had been *ὡς πρὸς ἄρκτον*, and that now it would be *ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑω*, the distinction would not have been objected to.

The rejection of the comma after *πορείαν* is also subservient to the error of Dr. Ukert's criticism. The stop is in its proper place. In fact, the sentence was complete with *πορείαν*, and without the words which follow. The idea which those last words express, serves to enforce the purport of the sentence, by suggesting an object of movement in addition to that which is already expressed; the addition occurring, as is not unusual, to a writer or speaker, just as he is completing his sentence.

Some have conceived a low estimate of the early authority of Polybius, on the ground that geographical accuracy must

\* He had brought his forces from the Pyrenees to the place where they crossed the Rhone, "having the Sardinian Sea on right hand." Lib. iii. c. 41.

have been improved in the long interval which followed him, giving to the Romans an increased acquaintance with the countries of the world. Hence the distrust of ancient authority seems not to extend to Strabo. This geographer was precisely the contemporary of Livy. I only advert to his errors, because others on the faith of his superiority criminate his predecessor. Dr. Ukert will deduce a fact of actual distance from the loosest data of Strabo, rather than accept it from the most direct and safe evidence of the present day.

The fourth book of Strabo was not completed till sixty years after the death of Julius Cæsar. This able and accomplished man bears in matters of geography an authority analogous to that of Polybius: he related things which had come under his own observation, being most competent to judge of them and to explain them: but, as he was not infallible, the geographer by profession, coming after him, might have corrected his faults. When the latter wrote, there had been opportunity of improving upon the knowledge of Gaul and Britain which had belonged to Cæsar. Strabo professes to have read the Commentaries: he observes that Cæsar had passed twice into Britain, and soon returned, having done no great things, nor penetrated far into the island; but that in later times some of the British chiefs had cultivated the favour of Augustus, and brought nearly the whole island to be in familiar intimacy with the Romans; that they yielded small duties on exports and imports, but needed not a garrison to control them.\*

We are entitled to expect some geographical improvement. Note the amount of it. Cæsar wrote that of the three sides of Britain the side opposite to Gaul was the shortest: Strabo writes that it is the longest. Cæsar wrote that Ireland was to the west of Britain: Strabo writes that it is to the north.

\* iv. p. 200.

Cæsar wrote that the side of Britain opposite to Gaul was in length 500 miles: Strabo writes that it is 5,000 stadia = 625 miles. One is surprised that he did not make it more; considering that he reports the coast of Britain to face the coast of Gaul, with their extreme points corresponding both east and west.—Cæsar de Bell. Gall. v. c. 13. Strab. i. 63—iv. 199.

In the passage last referred to, Strabo thus expresses himself—"Britain is in figure triangular: her longest side is "that which is spread opposite to Gaul, being in extent "neither more nor less: each is as much as 4,300 or 4,400 "stadia; that is to say, the Gallic coast from the mouths of "the Rhine to the northern extremity of the Pyrenees in "Aquitania; and the British coast from the most easterly "point where Kent lies opposite the mouths of the Rhine, to "the western head which is over against Aquitania and the "Pyreneau. This too is the shortest distance from the Pyrenees to the Rhine, as the greatest has been called 5,000 "stadia: but there is probably some convergence from the "parallel position of the river and the mountain, a bend "taking place in each line near its termination at the ocean."

Thus does the authority of the Augustan day, writing nearly a century and a half after Polybius, instruct the world that the coast from Margate to Penzance is parallel to and of equal length with the coast from the Brill to the Bidassoa; and that this is the shortest way, from the course of the Rhine to the chain of the Pyrenees, by reason that these two lines rather converge as they approach the ocean.



## CHAPTER III.

*The Polybian Map of M. Gossellin. His reference to Pliny for confirming it. His theory on the Stade.*

NOTHING can be more injurious to the fame of Polybius than the map of the celebrated French philosopher, M. Gossellin, which professes to represent the Mediterranean of Polybius, with the positions of places according to his writings. This map is annexed to M. Gossellin's great work, "*Récherches sur la Géographie systématique et positive des Anciens*," where it is called "*Polybii Internum Mare*;" also to the well-known translation of Strabo, where it is called "*Mer Interieure selon Polybe*." Such a map ought to be according to the authority of the imputed author.

Let us suppose a course along the south of the Mediterranean in three instalments: Gibraltar to Tunis: Tunis to Cape Passaro: Cape Passaro to Rosetta at the mouth of the Nile. These four places represent, sufficiently for our purpose, the Pillars of Hercules, Carthage, Pachynus, and Canopus. Now the first distance, from Gibraltar to Tunis, is in fact more than three times as great as the second, from Tunis to Cape Passaro: and the last, from Cape Passaro to Rosetta, is greater than the first. The Polybian chart of M. Gossellin exhibits the second or middle distance as being the greatest of the three: it places Carthage farther from Pachynus than from the Pillars of Hercules; and Pachynus nearly twice as far from Carthage as from the mouth of the Nile. Equally monstrous and foreign from fact are the distances portrayed from the coast of Carthage to the coast of Sicily and to Marseille: the former of these two is in fact not a fourth of the latter: M. Gossellin, on behalf of Polybius, represents it as more than double of the latter.

M. Gossellin's map represents Italy with a straight line of Mediterranean coast from Narbonne to Policastro. Now Polybius distinctly recognises the great bend of Italy, when he says that the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas bound that side which faces the south and the west—*τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ δυσμὰς τετραμμένην*, ii. 14. His apprehension of the bearings appears too in what he says on the chain of the Apennine; he ranges it along the southern border of the great plain. He says that Ligurians dwell on either side of it as far as Pisæ on the sea-side, and the lands of the Arretini on the side towards the plain; that you then have the Etrurians on one side and the Umbrians on the other: that the Apennine bears away from the great plain to the right, and through the middle of the rest of Italy reaches to the Sicilian sea. As to the other coast, he speaks of the side of Italy which is bounded by the Adriatic and the Ionian strait as the eastern side—*τὴν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς κεκλιμένην*: and he names the promontory of Cocynthus as separating the Ionian strait from the Sicilian sea. Lib. ii. 14, 5.

One who is acquainted with Polybius, knowing his Italy, and his position of Sicily in relation to Italy and to Africa, will promptly condemn much of the map we speak of as a delusion. But numbers have seen, and will see, M. Gossellin's Mediterranean of Polybius in one or other of his celebrated works, who have not read Polybius himself: and these will be misled.

I believe that not one of the disproportions apparent in this map is based upon anything found in the works of Polybius. The chief attempt to fix an extravagant measurement on him is by an inference drawn from Strabo, through which M. Gossellin imputes to Polybius an estimate of 18,766 stadia as the length of a direct sea-line from the Pillars of Hercules to the Sicilian strait. If that numeral were found expressed by Strabo, such authority is surely not safe for what was

written by one who preceded him by nearly a century and a half: especially when we remember Strabo's own report of the Mediterranean, and that from the entrance at Gibraltar he carried a parallel up the Mediterranean, as lying midway between the coast of Europe and the coast of Africa, distant 2,500 stadia from each.

But we are not quite without evidence from Polybius himself to show that he would not have so given the line from the strait to the Pillars. We read, in lib. iii. 39, 2—"At this period (Hannibal's invasion) the Carthaginians were masters of all parts of Libya which are towards the inner sea, from the Altars of Philænus which stand above the Great Syrtis, as far as the Pillars of Hercules: and this length of coast was above sixteen thousand stadia." Can we believe that Polybius conceived the Sicilian strait to be at a greater distance from the Pillars than the Altars of the Philæni were: that, while he reckoned this south-eastern part of the Syrtis to be distant 16,000 stadia from the Pillars by the coasting line, he reckoned the Sicilian strait to be in a direct line 18,766? He explored those countries: his history exhibits his information upon them along the whole coast: he tells the operations of the fleets during the first Punic war: \* and at a later period the encroachments of Masinissa on the Carthaginian possessions: † he knew that the boundary of dominion was far eastward of the district of Carthage herself: ‡ and it was in his time, and before his own eyes, that this empire passed into the hands of the Romans, when his great pupil Scipio brought these very tracts into the condition of a Roman province. Did he then, of all men, after he had recorded the much longer line, a coast-line too, to be 16,000 stadia, did he wade through a trigonometrical argument for proving the much shorter line to be 18,766? In truth this 16,000 fairly corresponds with other rational estimates made by him, and

\* Polyb. ii. 19. 2.    † *Ibid.* xxxii. 2.    ‡ *Ibid.* x. 40. 7.

gives a cogent disproof of the extravagant numeral on which M. Gosselin relied.

In the same region of the same map is another very palpable misrepresentation, where nothing can be said in mitigation of it. I mean the Polybian distance between Carthage and Lilybæum; that is to say, between Tunis and Marsala, represented by M. Gosselin as 8,000 stadia. These are the words of Polybius himself—τὸ δὲ τρίτον (ἀκρωτηρίον) τέτραπται μὲν εἰς αὐτὴν τὴν Λιβύην, ἐπὶ κεῖται δὲ τοῖς προκειμένοις τῆς Καρχηδόνης ἀκρωτηρίοις εὐκαίρως, διέχον ὡς χιλίους σταδίους· νεύει δ' εἰς χειμερινὰς δύσεις, διαιρεῖ δὲ τὸ Λιβυκὸν καὶ τὸ Σαρδῶν πέλαγος, προσαγορεύεται δὲ Λιλύβαιον. This is in all points true: the Lilybæan promontory does look south-west towards the forelands of Carthage, distant about a thousand stadia, dividing the Libyan and Sardinian seas. And in all the proper works of Polybius not a word can be found to excuse M. Gosselin for substituting 8,000 for 1,000.

No excuse of ignorance or mistake is made; the thing professes to be a misrepresentation. These words (Réch. ii. 19) avow it:—"Cependant, il existe une grande erreur dans cette partie de la Carte de Polybe. En partant de la Sicile, il place la promontoire Lilybée au couchant, et dit qu'il est éloigné de mille stades des caps qui sont près de Carthage; dans notre carte, le distance entre ces deux points se trouve être d'environ 8,000 stades. Une différence si considérable ne peut provenir que de deux causes; ou d'un faux emploi que nous aurions fait des grandes distances de Polybe dans la Méditerranée, ou d'un défaut d'ensemble dans le système général des mesures adoptées par cet historien. Pour ce qui nous concerne, le doute ne peut tomber que sur la correction que nous avons faite au texte de Pline." \*

Does the erroneous exhibition of geography become a fair

\* For this, see the next head.

proceeding by M. Gossellin's confessing the discrepancy between the real Polybius and his own? His arguments and his confessions are no doubt accessible to those who will get them and read them; but how many will see the map and not study the comments! The knowledge of a published map is far more than commensurate with that of the work to which it belongs. The student may contemplate this "*Inter-num mare Polybii*," without exploring the four quarto volumes on ancient geography: he may be attracted by the same geographical portrait, "*Mer Méditerranée selon Polybe*" belonging to the five volumes of Strabo, translated by Du Theil, Coray, and Letronne, not scrutinising the principles on which it was framed, but relying on the name of Gossellin for its truth. It is awkward, under any circumstances, to represent a man as having said eight, when you know that he said one; and the more so, when you know that, in saying one, he spoke deliberate truth. M. Gossellin was well-informed of the facts from which Polybius's acquaintance with all the ground of Sicily must be inferred; his description of the long wars in which every foot of land had been won and lost, and every village subjected to the violence of contending parties. He knew of Polybius's crossings into Africa, and his study of that continent from the Nile to the Atlantic. In some leading distances the historian had spoken plainly for himself, even if Pliny had said nothing to illustrate him. Yet, M. Gossellin, clinging to that loose and half-told story of Strabo, constructs upon this basis a system for Polybius, holds him answerable for all results, and bids him bear the blame. One can understand that a man, wanting to make a map for ancient times, may feel himself embarrassed in the "*défaut d'ensemble*" among the authorities that lie before him. But in portraying the geography of some one author, if any measurements can claim to be observed, they are the measurements of that author himself; and one, who

could only make a Polybian map by sacrificing those, might have abstained from the attempt.

*His appeal to Pliny.*

I must be content with my protest against this map. One who ventures to be dissatisfied with M. Gossellin on ancient measures of space, should be prepared to canvas the new doctrines of the Stade, for which he was so great an advocate. I am not armed for such encounter. I may recommend the perusal of what Dr. Ukert has written in vol. I. of his geography, 2d division, p. 51—77: also of Col. Leake's paper on the Stade in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. ix. However, as in M. Gossellin's words above quoted, he refers to his own alteration of Pliny's text, and in *Récherches*, ii. p. 12, acknowledges the propriety of showing the enormous distance which he is imputing to Polybius to be confirmed by other authority, and there commends us to Pliny, I will submit to those who are more competent than I am to deal with such matters, that Pliny does not confirm M. Gossellin's imputation on Polybius, but plainly dissents from it.

M. Gossellin adduces two passages of Pliny,\* one from the 5th book, c. 6, the other from the 6th book, c. 38. The earlier passage attributes to Polybius 1,100 miles from the Pillars to Carthage: and this is unequivocally hostile to the notion that he estimated 18,766 stades = 2,345 $\frac{3}{4}$  miles from the Pillars to the Sicilian Strait. The passage in the 6th book M. Gossellin amends, so that it may answer his purpose; altering the received version of Pliny before he applies it.

Pliny quotes from Polybius the length of the Mediterranean; a sea-line, from the Pillars to Seleucia Pieria, in six instalments, making a total of 2,440 miles. They are

\* *Récherches*, tom. ii. pp. 8, 9, 13.

stated thus : à Gaditano freto ad orientem recto cursu Siciliam : Cretam : Rhodum : Chelidonias : Cyprum : Syriæ Seleuciam Pieriam—which M. Gossellin thus presents in translation, with the distances—\*

Du détroit de Gades, au détroit de Sicile	1260½ m. p.
Du détroit de Sicile, à l'île de Crète . . .	375
De l'île de Crète, à Rhodes . . . . .	183½
De Rhodes, aux îles Chelidoniæ . . . .	183½
Des Chelidoniæ, à l'île de Cypre . . . .	322
De Cypre, à Séleucie en Piérie . . . .	115½
<hr/>	
	2,440 m. p.

As the total 2,440 m. p. is confessedly inadequate, one or more of the parts must require to be increased beyond the amount so imputed to them. M. Gossellin thinks the total too short by 1,000 miles, and says it should be 3,440. But, though it is in six parts, he bestows the whole increase on one part; not saying a word upon the other five. He ratifies his favourite exaggeration à Gaditano freto Siciliam; and, bestowing the additional 1,000 miles on the 1,260½ miles of the text, brings out for that interval 2,260½ miles, alias 18,837 stades; which keeps 18,766 in countenance.

Now it may be doubted, whether by Siciliam Pliny meant the first land of Sicily, or, as M. Gossellin renders it, the Strait. If the former, 1,260½ m. p. would need no correction, being 10,084 stades. M. Gossellin, however, construing Siciliam "to the Strait," includes in the 1,260½ m. p. the length of Sicily: and for that, the stated distance would certainly not be enough: as 12,000 stades (1,500 miles) was the commonly accepted distance from the Pillars to the Strait. But why add the whole 1,000 miles (8,000 stades) to this first

\* There are various readings. It is convenient to quote as printed in *Récherches*, ii. 8.

instalment? Supposing the deficiency of the total to have been 1,000 miles, why add it all to this particular portion of the length of the Mediterranean, without inquiring whether some of the other component parts may not require correction? Manifestly the next instalment requires increase; Cretam, 375 m. p. This is very much below what it should be. The mere sea-line between those great islands must be more than 500 miles; and, if the first distance was to embrace the length of Sicily, the second would, according to M. Gossellin, embrace the length of Crete, about 200 more. If Siciliam means, as he says, "to the eastern end of Sicily," Cretam must mean "to the eastern end of Crete." On the other hand, if Siciliam meant, "to the first land of Sicily," the next distance, "to Crete," should include Sicily itself. The thing told is the whole length à Gaditano freto Seleuciam; and the length of those islands cannot be omitted.

And now, what is the result of the reference to Pliny? Does it give countenance to the monster sea-line which M. Gossellin imputes? does it confirm it and rectify it into 18,837? It happens that, when Pliny had this 2,440 miles of Polybius under consideration, 3,440 was offered to his attention as more correct, being a distance stated by Agrippa between the same termini. But Pliny questioned this amendment as erroneous, and declined to accede to it. If he had listened to so large an addition to the total, it would not follow that M. Gossellin's favourite instalment should enjoy the whole of it. However, all difficulty is met with complacently assuring us, that Pliny had a bad edition of Polybius—"Il faut en conclure, que l'erreur que Plin entrevoit, étoit dans l'exemplaire de Polybe, qu'il avoit sous les yeux, et non dans celui d'Agrippa, comme il le conjecturoit."—*Géog. des Anciens*, ii. p. 10.



*New Theory of the Stade.*

To those who may not be aware of this controversy on the stade, I am safe in saying, that a leading principle of M. Gossellin's theory is, that the apparent errors in distances expressed by the early philosophers, and which were deemed so by one another, were not actually errors: that if one man pronounced the circumference of the earth to be twice as long as another man, they were probably both right, and that the cause of the apparent difference was the difference of stades in which the measurements had been originally computed. M. Gossellin exhibits many of these varieties in the total perimeter from 180,000 to 400,000 stadia, and from 500 to 1,111½ stadia in the degree.

I will only observe, that it is easy to imagine that in very early times men might differ, even by two to one, on the size of the earth; but not so easy to believe it as to small superficial distances between one place and another. Here some approach to truth would be perceptible to observation and experience, not in the other case. But M. Gossellin accounts in the same way for differences in measurements on the largest scale and the smallest. When he blames Strabo for censuring those who differed on the large distances in India, he pronounces all their measurements to be "identiques, quoiqu'exprimées en modules différens:" that Patrocles had expressed himself in stades of 666⅔ to the degree; Megasthenes in those of 1,111½; and Eratosthenes in those of 833⅓—and, when he finds in Strabo, iv. 178, that from Aix en Provence to the Var it is 73 miles, he explains that this distance had been calculated at the rate of 500 stades to a degree. When presently Strabo reports 200 stadia along the Rhone from Vienne to Lyon, M. Gossellin interprets them by the standard of 833⅓. Notes to Strabon, tom. ii. pp. 7. and 27.

Among the instances given by M. Gossellin as examples of his method of explaining supposed differences, none is more remarkable than that of the direct sea-line from the Pillars to the Strait. He says that one philosopher treated it as expressed in stades of 500 to the degree; another in stades of 1,111½ to the degree; another in stades of 700 to the degree: that Eratosthenes happened to adopt an estimate made on the footing of 180,000 to the circumference; that Polybius hit upon a computation resulting from 400,000; and Strabo had the good fortune to find one founded upon 252,000.

He insists that all these reckonings were right, though the philosophers were not aware of it themselves. These are his words,\*—"Cet ancien, (Eratosthenes), comptoit, en ligne droite, depuis le détroit des Colonnes jusqu'au détroit de Sicile, 8,800 stades; Polybe vouloit qu'il en eût 18,837; et Strabon, critiquant ces deux auteurs, prétend qu'il s'en trouve 12,000."

"La grande dissemblance de ces dernières mesures feroit croire, au premier aspect, qu'il est impossible de les concilier, et que l'une ou l'autre, ou toutes les trois peut-être, renferment des erreurs considérables. Cependant, on les trouvera assez justes, si l'on sait distinguer le module du stade qui appartient à chacune d'elles." But I am warned to pause. Our subject is historical; not pre-historical. And, though a theory which involves the incidents of unrecorded times may tempt to amusing speculations, I will, without further running out of the course, proceed to business in the persuasion that the stade of Herodotus was the stade of Aristotle and Eratosthenes. A few words are wanted touching the stade of Polybius.

\* Rech. tom. iv. p. 315.

## CHAPTER IV.

*On the Stade of Polybius, and his Distances.*

POLYBIUS reckons distances from place to place, commonly by the stade, a Greek measure; sometimes by the mile, a Roman measure. The one was not a precise multiple of the other; but the mile was almost equivalent to eight stades, wanting about 22 English feet. Eight stades to a mile is the rate by which Livy adopts distances from Polybius: and Polybius himself sanctioned this ratio, in saying that the Romans had marked their roads with indications of distance at intervals of eight stades. If ever there was a man in the world who knew rightly what a stade was, and what a mile was, one would think that Polybius had that knowledge. But here again there is controversy. M. Gosselin, in 1798, propounded that Polybius had a stade of his own; and Dr. Ukert, notwithstanding what he had written on measurements in 1816, became a convert to the notion in 1832.

The notion that Polybius treated the Roman mile as equal to  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stades rests only on a few words of Strabo, lib. vii. p. 322. The passage translated is this:—"From Apollonia, the Egnatian way is eastward into Macedonia, stepped by the mile; and furnished with columns as far as Cypselus and the river Hebrus, 535 miles. Reckoning the mile at 8 stades, as men usually do, this would be 4,280 stades. But if, like Polybius, you add to the eight stades two plethra, the third of a stade, the number will be increased by 178, being a third of the number of miles."

Here Strabo has been thought to impute to Polybius that, in opposition to the rest of the world, he reckoned the mile as equal to  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stades. In D'Anville's *Traité des mesures Itinéraires*, p. 54, he says this:—"Quand on lit dans Strabon

"que selon la comparaison que faisait Polybe de l'intervalle des colonnes milliaires à des stades sur cette voie, il comptoit 8 stades et un tiers pour un mille, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'on soit dans l'obligation de prolonger le mille d'un tiers de stade, pour suffire en rigueur à cette évaluation; et il n'y faut voir qu'une méprise, qui peut procéder de la proportion du pied Grec au pied Romain, comme 25 est à 24."

Whatever brought Strabo to make the allusion to Polybius, it was probably caused by a confusion between the Greek and Roman foot. The stade is a Greek measure, consisting of 600 Greek feet: the mile is a Roman measure, consisting of 5,000 Roman feet—that is to say, 1,000 steps of five Roman feet: thus, 5,000 Roman feet being a mile, the eighth is 625. And, if a man should imagine such a thing as a stade of 600 Roman feet, and make his mile with eight of such false stades, one should say to him, "If you employ a stade like that, you must take not 8, but  $8\frac{1}{3}$  of them to make a mile." The blunder would require that correction: but Strabo's words intimate that Polybius, in his own estimation of a Roman mile, added to eight stades the *δίπλεθρον*, which is the third of the Greek measure. Now there is nothing in the works of Polybius, or any other author, where such an idea is to be traced: and one may prefer the *κατὰ σταδίους ὀκτώ* of Polybius himself to the *ὡς Πολύβιος* of Strabo.

Strabo does not introduce this observation as appropriate to the matter that he is speaking of in the seventh book, namely, the length of the Egnatian way: it would equally have suited any other assertion of milliary distance in any part of his works; nothing shows why it has come in here. Macedonia may have been the first conquered state in which the Roman mile was employed, and indicated by columns; and, if any such blunder as a Roman stade had occurred, which does not appear, Polybius was a likely man to notice it. But a greater improbability was never suggested than

that he himself made the mile 200 Greek feet longer than the rest of the world; he had the best opportunity of understanding both Greek and Roman weights and measures; and, if such a man, one so much referred to by those who came after him, had so estimated a measure which he has to mention in almost every page that he writes, this one oblique reference to it in Strabo's seventh book would not be the only clue. If the fact were true, Strabo would have disclosed the notion in a less questionable manner. But the notion is supported by nothing, either in Strabo or any other author: it is contradicted by Livy when he translates the stades of Polybius into miles, as in the case of Hanno's march up the Rhone, 200 st. = 25 m. p.; it is contradicted by Polybius himself. When he says in a parenthesis, iii. 39, that the Romans marked their distances along the Iberian coast at intervals of eight stadia, do we not see that the intervals were Roman miles?

M. Gossellin does not admit this notion of Polybius, though reported by himself, but twists it into another shape by the aid of Strabo. Noticing the Polybian intervals of 8 stadia, between "*les pierres milliaires que mesuroient et ornoient les voies Romaines,*" he had said reasonably, "*D'après ce passage il paroîtroit que Polybe auroit reconnu que le mille Romain valoit huit stades juste.*"—*Récherches*, ii. p. 6. But in the next page he turns away from those appearances, and submitting himself to "*le témoignage positif d'un auteur aussi grave que Strabon,*" clings to the  $8\frac{1}{2}$  with a permanent devotion. All his calculations are made on that footing.

Dr. Ukert, in his elaborate disquisition on ancient measures of length, which occupies twenty-six pages in the second part of his first volume published in 1816, and in which he combats M. Gossellin's doctrines on the stade, notices the addition of two plethra to eight stadia which Strabo is said to impute to Polybius: and then says, "In the writings of Polybius

"which remain to us, we find him to report the relation of "the stade to the mile, the same as others." However, in the volume published in 1832, p. 578, this learned man, taking part in the Hannibal controversy, condemns the passage in Polybius as spurious, and asserts him to reckon  $8\frac{1}{2}$  stadia to the mile. He might as well have saved his consistency. It will appear in a future chapter (Part iii. ch. 3), that he shifted into error on this point without any adequate temptation. He is treating "Roman measurements in Gaul and Spain."

And now a few words on the distances of Polybius. No one will claim for his measurements that they are minutely accurate: for they are commonly expressed in round hundreds of stades; and it would be idle to suppose that the length of each space had amounted to a precise multiple of an hundred. Others wrote in the same way. Strabo cites the opinions of his predecessors in hundreds of stades: and in the Roman Itineraries every space is given in entire miles, the mile being 5,000 Roman feet: no fractions are ever mentioned.

But, while precision is disclaimed, reasonable accuracy is fairly to be supposed in Polybius. The rudeness of science made calculations of space across the ocean a matter of much difficulty: there was not the same difficulty in a measurement from Rome to Milan, or from Nîmes to Valence. In the spaces that we must deal with, we have to trust to Polybius alone: they had not been registered from prior investigation: he is responsible; and the truthful intention, which is conceded to him by all, gives a presumption of accuracy where error is not apparent. The importance of his distances is peculiar, for the usefulness of his evidence depends upon them. The struggle, as we proceed from point to point, is to identify his termini: when he describes a portion of the line of march from an ascertained point, the disputation is, whether it should end at this or that place; accordingly, the length which he gives to the interval is a criterion towards de-



termining what that place was, and the trustworthiness of such a narrator becomes more than usually important, as there are not the conclusive means of checking his accuracy.

A country travelled, is ordinarily shown by naming in succession the places through which a traveller has passed. Such is not the index to Hannibal's route through Gaul and the Alps: we find our way by description of regions traversed, with allegation of time and space. In telling the story of the invasion, there is a point in the progress where Polybius lays aside the usual notices, the names of places and peoples. While the march was yet in Spain, the names of nations who resisted the Carthaginians have been freely told: Hannibal subdued in succession the Ilergetes, the Bargusii, the Ærenosii, the Androsini. The country spoken of had long been the seat of war, and, in naming the nations, he gave an intelligible clothing to his ideas: all readers might know the points of distance from Carthage to the Ebro, and from the Ebro to Emporium. But from the Pyrenees to the plain of Italy he was employed on a line of movement which, when he wrote, was untrodden by the armies of Rome from one extremity to the other. Scipio had advanced a little way from the eastern mouth of the Rhone, and visited the site of the Carthaginian encampment; but he returned to his ships, not having trodden one stadium of Hannibal's route.

Polybius felt the risk of error which there would be in attempting here the usual memorials of a track; and sought a safer method of instruction. In that whole course, from the Pyrenees to the plain of Italy, we do not find one name of place: to the time when the invaders are actually descending into the plain, one people only has been named, and one river besides the Rhone. Of the march from the Pyrenees to the Rhone it was enough to say, that they performed it, having the sea on their right hand; and the point where they first touched the Rhone, is to be perceived only by its distance

from natural objects, the sea below it, and a confluent river, the Isère, above it. In the onward march along the Rhone from that confluence to and through the Alps, we are helped by no names save that of the people called Allobroges: no further name assists us to understand the tale of events, till we come to the Insubres of the plain: the instruction is by local character, with circumstances of opposition and difficulty, and allotment of time and space to operations performed. The incidents of each day are thus offered to our attention; and, by such notification of things without names, the historian hoped to show the course of the invasion in a way that should be recognised in after times.

A plain assurance of this is given in the author's own words. When Hannibal is on the eve of forcing the passes of the Pyrenees, (iii. 36,) Polybius writes as follows—"But that my narrative carrying you through unknown countries may not be altogether obscure, I must state from whence Hannibal set out, what and how great regions he traversed, and into what parts of Italy he arrived. I am not going to set forth the proper names of districts, and rivers, and cities; which some writers do, supposing this part of the business to be all-sufficient for making things intelligible and clear. I allow that the citation of names in known countries very greatly contributes to cause a recognition of the objects: but in countries utterly unknown, a detail of names has but the effect of words that give sound without sense: for so long as the mind has nothing to lay hold of, and cannot apply the words to any known ideas, the narrative is without order and without point. Wherefore a way is to be shown by which, though speaking of unknown things, it is practicable to bring one's hearers in some measure to conceptions that have truth and knowledge. The first and main thing to know, and which all men may know, is the division and arrangement of the firmament which surrounds

"us; by the perception of which all of us, that is all in whom there is usefulness, comprehend East, West, South, and North. Next is that knowledge by which, apportioning the several regions of the earth according to those distinctions, and always in our minds applying what we hear to those distinctions, we come to have clear and familiar notions about places unknown to us, and unseen."

Explanations follow touching the great divisions of the earth, and the greater or less acquaintance which had been arrived at with the several parts of the world: the discussion ends thus—"For, as we are used, for the purpose of seeing, to bend our faces towards an object pointed out by the finger; so must we, for the purpose of understanding, make the effort to bend our thoughts to places that are from time to time pointed out by the story told."

The observations from which these extracts are given, are made in peculiar application to that small portion of the earth's surface which is the theatre of this controversy. The tale, which for good reasons is weak in names, assumes an increased strength in its other features: for these I claim attention, because they are so characterized as important by the special announcement of this admirable historian.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART III.

#### POLYBIUS INTERPRETED. PASSAGE OF THE RHONE.

##### CHAPTER I.

*Introduction. Division of the March. Three points to be fixed: the Passage of the Rhone; the beginning of Alps; the exit into the Plain.*

SAGUNTUM fell during the winter of 219 B.C. Thereupon the Romans sent an embassy to Carthage, demanding the surrender of Hannibal and other chiefs, with war as the alternative. We may collect from Polybius, that the Consul had completed his successes in Illyria and returned to Rome before the siege of Saguntum was brought to a conclusion. The Romans had despatched Æmilius with his army to Illyria at the opening of the season; and Hannibal marched from Carthagenæ against Saguntum about the same time. His designs were fully understood by the Romans; but it does not appear that they knew his operations to have been commenced when the Illyrian expedition was sent out. We read, c. 20, that Æmilius returned and entered Rome in triumph on the close of the summer, *ληγοῦσης ἤδη τῆς θερείας*. Now the siege of Saguntum lasted eight months: so that, before the fall of that place, the winter may have been far advanced.

After the news of this event was received, the embassy was sent to Carthage; and Hannibal was then in his winter quarters.

The Carthaginian senate having accepted the declaration of war, Hannibal, being at Carthage, immediately gave leave to his Spanish soldiers to go home for the remainder of the winter: he framed regulations, for the administration of affairs in Spain during his absence by his brother Asdrubal: and with a view to the security of his own country, and to produce a mutual confidence, he transferred a large body of Spanish troops into Africa, bringing in their place African troops into Spain. He had taken great pains to inform himself on the nature of the country of the Gauls, of their population, and character, and especially on their feelings towards the Romans; knowing that his hopes of success must rest mainly on their co-operation. In this view he had made communication to the Celtic chieftains, both those of Italy and those in the Alps themselves; and was now anxiously expecting emissaries from them. At length the desired intelligence was brought: it was in all points favourable; and towards the spring Hannibal drew his troops together from their winter quarters: he had also received the last news from Carthage. Elated and confident, he announced to the army his resolution to invade Italy, and named a day for marching from Carthage.

Having made all his arrangements during winter quarters, on the appointed day he led forward about ninety thousand infantry and about twelve thousand cavalry: he passed the Ebro, and, after great resistance of the nations whom he had now to bring into subjection, and great loss of men, he reached the Pyrenees. Here the heavy baggage was laid aside: he left a sufficient force from his own army to keep the newly-conquered peoples in subjection; and, as a matter of policy, freely discharged an equal number of his Iberian

troops. Taking with him the rest of his army, fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, lightly equipped, he led them forward in march through the Pyrenees for the passage of the Rhone.

At this stage of the narrative the historian digresses into comments (c. 36, 37, 38,) which contain very sound advice to the compilers and the readers of history, from which I have already exhibited extracts. The narrative is resumed with the 39th chapter, and the text will thence be given in translation,\* till the invaders reach the plain of Italy in ch. 61, where the Roman and Carthaginian leaders will be seen mutually advancing in the valley of the Po, each conscious of and wondering at the presence of the other.

The thirty-ninth chapter claims especial notice, and should be always under attention during our consideration of the subject. The line of march, from Carthage to the Italian plain, is broken into five parts: the termini being Carthage, the Ebro, Emporium, the passage of the Rhone, the beginning of Alps, the end of Alps. The last three are the peculiar subjects of question in this controversy.

1. Where was the passage of the Rhone?
2. Where was the first ascent of Alps?
3. Where did the invaders escape from the Alps and touch the plain?

This line of march being our subject throughout, it may be set forth in the author's own words, according to the edition of Schweighæuser.

Having said that the *καινή πόλις*, whence Hannibal began his march to Italy, is distant 3,000 stadia from the Pillars of Hercules, he states the five sections of the march thus—

1. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης εἰσὶν ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Ἰβηρα ποταμὸν, ἑξακόσιοι στάδιοι πρὸς δισχιλίους.

\* See Appendix.

2. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πάλιν εἰς Ἐμπορεῖον, χίλιοι σὺν ἑξακοσίοις.
3. καὶ μὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν περὶ χιλίους ἑξακοσίους (ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν βεβημάτισται, καὶ σεσημείωται κατὰ στάδιους ὁκτὼ διὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐπιμελῶς).
4. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ, πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι.
5. λοιπαὶ δὲ αἱ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολαὶ, περὶ χιλίους διακοσίους· ὅς ὑπερβάλλον ἔμελλεν ἥξειν εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία τῆς Ἰταλίας.

The words in parenthesis have been objected to by Dr. Ukert, not, that I am aware of, by other writers. There is good ground of objection; and he has proposed a remedy. I shall propose a different one, which I hope will be deemed preferable.

## CHAPTER II.

*Passage of the Rhone near Roquemaure indicated by the distance from the Sea; by the distance from the Island; by the single Stream.*

AN inquirer into the subject will propose to himself this question:—"Did Hannibal, coming from the region of Nîmes, " proceed to cross the Rhone, above or below the confluence of " the Durance?" At whatever part the passage should be effected, a good stretch of river, unbroken by islands, was to be desired. A flotilla qualified to transport so large an armament demanded a considerable extent of shore to arrive at. In so broad and rapid a current, much distance would be lost in crossing, each boat reaching the opposite bank

much below the point which it had parted from: so that a great stretch of unembarrassed stream, not often found in the lower Rhone, was to be looked for. This idea is expressed by Polybius, in the words *κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν*.

On observation of the river, and the country about it, all will believe that the passage was effected, either at the nearest convenient part above the influx of the Durance, or at some convenient part below that point. Those who lean to the former opinion have usually fixed upon a part of the river between the villages of Roquemaure and Montfaucon, being about five miles from the town of Orange. The few who place the crossing below the Durance have fixed upon the stream at, or just above Beaucaire, in Languedoc, the ancient Ugernum, being opposite to Tarascon, a well-known place in Provence. To decide between these, we look for evidence in the history. As Dr. Ukert has taken pains to prove a crossing near Tarascon, and has received no answer, the question must be sifted.

### *Two data guide us to the Passage near Roquemaure.*

Polybius has made statements which serve the purpose of giving to his readers a fair apprehension of the place: 1, that Hannibal undertook this operation, where he was not quite four days' march, or journey, from the sea: 2, that from that place he reached the district called the Island, by a march of four successive days. We have thus a double clue to find the place: its relation to a point lower down the stream, and its relation to a point higher up the stream: nearly four days' march from the sea, and four days' march to the Island.

The entire distance from the Isère down the Rhone to the sea may be exhibited in these successive measurements: to the reach between Roquemaure and Montfaucon, about 75 Roman miles; thence to Tarascon and Beaucaire, about 29 miles: thence to the eastern, or Massiliotic mouth of the Rhone about

36 miles—total 140. If we recognise, as the place of crossing, the parts near Montfaucon, we assign about 75 miles to the four days' march of Hannibal, and about 65 to the nearly four days' journey below. If we make the passage at Beaucaire and Tarascon, we give about 104 miles to the four days' march, and about 36 to the nearly four days' journey. Whether the distances are apprehended through ancient authorities or modern, this must be admitted: that, if 140 miles of Rhone are to be divided into two portions, of about four days' work each, it is more probable that the higher portion should be to the lower as 75 to 65, than as 104 to 36. For the distances themselves, I will refer to the labours of those who have preceded me in the inquiry.

*Distance of the Passage from the Sea.*

If we seek ancient authority for showing the distance from the sea to the part where Hannibal crossed the Rhone, the nearest point on the coast that offers itself in any known writings seems to be a place denoted Fossæ Marianæ, the Canal of Marius, probably at the sea mouth of the canal. This place is one of the stations in the Via Aurelia, stated there as at 48 miles from Marseille. D'Anville (notice de Gaule) looks upon Foz as the place named Fossæ Marianæ in the Itineraries, where we find it to be 33 miles to Arles, and thence 27, through Avignon to Sorgues (Cypresseta); beyond which you come in  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the part vis-à-vis to Roquemaure, according to De Luc; making that place  $66\frac{1}{2}$  from Fossæ Marianæ.

By modern measurements, the distance appears much the same. M. De Luc states the lengths of which it is composed, as measured now on the Great Map of France, thus—"Depuis l'embouchure orientale du Rhône jusqu' à Arles, 26 milles " romains; Tarascon, 10; Avignon, 15; Sorgues, 7; vis-à-vis

"de Roquemaure,  $6\frac{1}{2} = 64\frac{1}{2}$  miles." But he conceives that the ancient mouth was to the east of the present mouth, and not carried so far to the sea; he also points to the village of Foz as on the ancient limit of the land against the sea; the river stream being now compressed by the atterrissemens which Nature has formed in 2,000 years.

M. Lanza, adopting Foz as a probable terminus from which to estimate a four days' journey, gives the route in toises, varying little from M. De Luc's estimate, considering that he measures to rather a higher point; his statement is: "To Arles, 19,000 toises; to Tarascon, 7,500; to Avignon, 11,500; to Sorgues, 5,000; to Montfaucon, sur la rive qui est en face, 6,400 = 49,400 toises =  $65\frac{1}{3}$  milles."

Some have suggested that, in ancient times, a distance from the sea at the Rhone's mouth was greater than now: this shall be noticed presently. In the meantime, I will consider that the distance from the sea to the part where we conceive the army to have crossed the Rhone, namely, between Roquemaure and Montfaucon, was about 65 miles.

*Distance of the Passage from the Island.*

This distance is still less open to question than the other. All but a short space at either extremity is exhibited in the ancient registers. The six stages from Orange to Valence appear in the Jerusalem Itinerary as 66 miles = 49,896 toises. Lanza adds, from the Passage to Orange, 3,600; and from Valence to the Isère, 3,800; making the whole distance from the Passage of the Rhone to the island, 57,296 toises, which is  $75\frac{3}{4}$  miles, or 606 stadia. De Luc computes the two spaces at the extremities so as to bring out a precise 75 miles, or 600 stadia. Both these writers, who are quite hostile to each other in most points of our subjects, try other tests for the length of the line in question: one referring to an old



livre de Poste used before the new metrical system was in force: the other, measuring on the Great Map of France according to the scale. The result is, that they bring it so near to the 75 Roman miles, that they concur in deeming the space to be 600 stadia, and to be part of the 1,400 of Polybius.

While we contend for a place of crossing the Rhone which is 75 miles = 600 stadia below the influx of the Isère, it is plain that Polybius would have recognized the same interval; for, though he does not assert it, it necessarily results from distances which he does assert. He states that it is 1,400 stadia from the passage of the Rhone to the beginning of Alps. When he has brought Hannibal to the Island, there is a pause in the narrative of progress while certain incidents are told. When the tale of progress is resumed, Hannibal marches 800 stadia to the beginning of Alps. Thus the prior portion had required 600.

Critics the most hostile to our theory, whatever sites they have conceived, either for the *διάβασις* or the *ἀναβολή*, have, with two exceptions, agreed in accepting 600 stadia as the length of the first four days' march from one to the other: and all agree that this was the distance from Roquemaure to the Island.

Mr. Whitaker, boldly pronouncing the Island to be the ground on which the city of Lyons stands, says this (p. 8): "Polybius states the place of Hannibal's passage over the Rhone to be seventy-five miles below Lyons:" and, in a note, he says, "Polybius, iii. 39, tells us that Hannibal's march, from his crossing the Rhone to his mounting the Alps, measured 1,400 stadia; and in iii. 50, tells us additionally that, of this distance, 800 stadia, or 100 miles, was the length from Lyons to the Alps!"

M. Letronne says:—"Polybe compte quatorze cents stades depuis le passage du Rhône jusqu' à la montée des Alpes:

"il dit qu' Annibal a parcourir huit cents stades depuis l'île dont il s'agit et la montée des Alpes: c'est donc six cents stades depuis le passage jusqu' à la rivière, ou 75 milles Romains."—*Journal des Savans*, Janv. 1819, 26-7.

M. Laranza says:—"Nous voyons dans Polybe lui-même qu'il compte quatre jours de marche pour les 600 stades, ou 75 milles, qu'il fait parcourir à Annibal depuis le passage du Rhône jusqu' à l'île."

Général St. Cyr Nugues, expounding Polybius, says:—"La distance du point de passage du Rhône à celui où l'armée s'arrêta le quatrième jour, étoit de 600 stades, 75 milles Romains."—*Notice*, p. 33.

So M. Baudé de Lavalette, *Récherches*, "Polybe fixe à 600 stades la distance parcourir dans ces quatre jours de marche."

Even Dr. Ukert, though his crossing is at Tarascon, has a sentence which bears testimony to the same truth:—"Polybius später erklärt, von dem Uebergangesorte bis zur Insel hätten die Karthager, in vier Tagemärschen, 600 Stadien zurückgelegt."—"Polybius afterwards says, that from the place of crossing, to the Island, the Carthaginians had traversed 600 stadia in four days' march."—*Geographie*, iii. 580 and 585.

My friend, H. L. Long, also a Tarasconian, acquiesces in this fact of distance, saying,—“The absolute distance of 75 M.P. measured from the Isère downwards, must always terminate at Roquemaure.”—P. 21.

Though no one has controverted the fact, that the distance of our *διάβασις*, from the Island is 600 stadia, two seem to doubt the importance of the fact; one of whom thinks that Hannibal moved much slower, and the other that he moved much faster. M. le Comte de Fortia d' Urban does not allow Hannibal to bend his steps towards the Island at all, and thinks that, having crossed the Rhone, he proceeded very

slowly, from knowing that the Romans were trying to overtake him. H. Long, on the contrary, thinks that Hannibal marched, not 600 only, but 800 stadia in those four days; and says, p. 52:—"Twenty-five miles per day is in perfect accordance with the usual pace of Hannibal, who fell like a thunderbolt upon Italy."—P. 32.

Thus a Polybian measurement assented to by all, fixes the *διάβασις* for which we contend, at 75 miles below the Isère; being, as already shown, about 65 miles from the sea. One distance satisfies the notion of "nearly four days' journey:" the other distance satisfies the notion of "four days' march:" these are the indicia of distance expressed by the historian. Tarascon, the other place proposed, is hardly ten miles above Arles: too near to the sea for a short ten days' journey; and too far from the Isère for a four days' march.

#### *The single Stream.*

Another circumstance in favour of the passage between Roquemaure and Montfaucon is that the stream is here suitable to the transportation of an army. M. De Luc says, p. 54:—"Entre ces deux villages (Montfaucon et l'Ardoise) et Roquemaure, il y a un espace de 1,800 toises, où le Rhône n'a point d'îles, et où il n'a que 250 à 300 toises de largeur." General Vaudoncourt's map, which is on a large scale, corresponds with that assertion. In the Oxford Dissertation it is said, p. 42:—"The Rhone flows uninterrupted by islands from Caderousse (the large island above Montfaucon) to Roquemaure, a distance of nearly a league; and, with the exception of a similar stream immediately below the island at Roquemaure, though for a much shorter distance, this circumstance does not occur for many miles up or down the river."

I do not know that all writers and map-makers are unani-

mous on the perfect absence of islands in this part of the Rhone. But the following corroborating statement is made by one who is likely to have ascertained safely what he relates. M. Baudé de Lavalette, p. 41:—"L'inspection des lieux entre Avignon et le Pont St. Esprit donne à ce résultat un nouveau degré de précision. Le cours du Rhône se montre, dans cet intervalle, embarrassé par une foule d'îles qui le forcent à se diviser en plusieurs bras tortueux, entrelacés de la manière la plus bizarre. On y remarque huit îles principales indiquées dans les anciennes cartes par les noms de l'Oiselet, le Château de Lers, le Queironette, Piboulette, la Berre, Cadanet, l'Agace et Crompta. Le fleuve égaré dans ce labyrinthe d'îles ne put être traversé ni au-dessus du territoire de Montfaucon, ni au-dessous de Roquemaure: on ne le trouve réuni en un seul courant d'une étendue suffisante, qu'entre ces deux villages. Là, il coule tout entier dans un lit de 245 à 250 toises de largeur sur une longueur de 1800 toises. C'est donc aux environs de Montfaucon que furent lancés les bateaux et les radeaux dont Annibal fit usage: entraînés par le courant, ils durent aborder 800 ou 900 toises plus bas sur la rive opposée."

#### CHAPTER III.

*Theory of Tarascon. Argument of Dr. Ukert. Distance from the Sea. Distance from the Island. Roman measurements in Gaul and Spain. Roads in Gaul. Policy of Hannibal. Vessels used in the Crossing. March of Scipio.*

As Tarascon on the left bank still bears its ancient name, while Ugernum on the right bank has become Beaucaire, let the former place entitle this theory. I know only of three



who subscribe to it: the anonymous of Cambridge, 1830; Dr. Ukert; and Mr. Henry Long. The first draws the red line of march in his map through Tarascon; and gives a reason, which he probably thinks to be enough. In p. 35, he says, "From Nîmes the Roman road branched off in two directions, one to Arles, the other to Tarascon: and by one of these, according to Polybius, the Carthaginian continued his march to the Rhone." Again, p. 45, "Polybius describes Hannibal as arriving by a Roman road at the banks of the Rhone." Many, besides this critic, have written to the same effect: but they have written in error: Polybius never said so: he had no more experience of Roman roads in Languedoc than Hannibal himself: there were none in his day. The learned Ukert is exempt from that delusion: but, as he has laboured much in favour of Tarascon, he claims our serious attention.

*On the distance of Tarascon from the Sea.*

This much commended geographer pronounces the place of crossing thus:—"When Polybius says that Hannibal crossed *κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν*, this was certainly north of the island, which lies opposite to Beaucaire: and Hanno might choose a place north of Aramon." He then takes great pains, but in a mysterious manner, to induce his readers to the notion, that this part just above Beaucaire and Tarascon was, in Hannibal's time, at such a distance from the sea, as to amount to "nearly four days' journey," which he represents as importing a distance of 600 stadia for an army, and more for a traveller.

Avoiding all direct assertion of the distance of Tarascon from any other point, Dr. Ukert first contrives a proof that the distance from the Durance to the mouth of the Rhone is from 700 to 800 stadia: and then he pronounces that Tarascon,

being lower down, might be about four days' journey from the mouth. His proof of the 700 or 800 is by taking the length of the Rhone from Lyons to the mouth, and deducting the distance from Lyons to the Durance.

He exhibits the difficulty, and prepares us for the process thus:—"We must not think here of exact measurements. A map drawn by Polybius would no doubt give us quite a different picture of the country from that which our own maps give; especially as the whole nature of the country shows us, that south of the Druentia there was formerly much more water than at present: and, as the mouths of the Rhone have experienced many changes, we cannot declare with certainty where the Roman Consul landed, nor what road it was necessary to take at that time, which was counted equal to a four days' journey. Our maps alone cannot enable us to arrive at any conclusion.

"Let us therefore seek for information among the ancients. Strabo says, lib. iv. p. 193:—"ἀπὸ Λουγδούνου μέχρι τοῦ Σηκουάνα χιλίων σταδίων ἐστίν ἑλαττον δὲ ἢ διπλάσιον τοῦτου, τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰσβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδάνου μέχρι Λουγδούνου.\*

"If we attend to this, and at the same time compare with it some other notices from Strabo, lib. iv. p. 185-6: from the Druentia to the Isère, 700 stadia—to Vienne 320—to Lugdunum 200 = 1220 stadia, we find that the distance from the mouths of the Rhone to the Druentia, is from 700 to 800 stadia; and the place accepted by us, as that where the Rhone was crossed, Polybius might justly call about "four days' journey from the sea."—Ukert's Geogr. ii. 2d part, 581, 2, 3.

\* *Translated.* It is 1000 stadia from Lyons to the Seine: and less than the double of that from the mouths of the Rhone to Lyons. N.B. Strabo is speaking of the carriage of goods from the Mediterranean to the British Channel up the Saone and across to the *πλεόμενον* of the Seine.

The calculation is this:—From Lyons to the Rhone's mouth is less than 2,000 stadia; from Lyons to the Durance is 1,220 stadia. Take 1,220 from less than 2,000: and less than 780 remains for the length of the Rhone from the Durance to the mouth.

Now the subject which Dr. Ukert takes in hand is a certain distance down the Rhone to the mouth; *i.e.* from the confluence of the Durance. He quotes Strabo for the total length of the Rhone from a higher point of the river, Lyons. Then, by way of showing the length below the confluence, he professes to deduct the length above the confluence from the total. But he does not do this: the length which he deducts is not a part of the total from which he deducts it: it is for the most part not along the Rhone. The 1,220 stadia which figure in his demonstration are borrowed from a line of distances drawn across country from Marseille through Cavaillon; and in which line the subject of his proof, Tarascon, would be looked for in vain.

This much-commended geographer has not looked attentively at his materials. He might have applied them for showing what he aims at. In the very passages from which he derives three distances of Strabo, there is something more to the purpose than "less than the double of a thousand."

When Dr. Ukert's argument seems to be carrying the reader along the Rhone to the sea, he is in fact travelling in a cross-country road to Marseille; and, as he did stray into that line, he might have profited by it. Strabo, besides reporting the three distances which Dr. Ukert has extracted as making 1,220 from Lyons to the Durance (which they do to Cavaillon on the Durance), completes that line to the sea at Marseille; making the whole 1,720 from Lyons.

Before Strabo gives that 1,220 stadia, which he reckons from Cavaillon to Lyons, he gives 500 stadia from Marseille to Cavaillon. The whole matter upon these distances is as

follows:—"If you start from Marseille, and proceed to the country between the Alps and the Rhone, the Salyes inhabit it as far as the river Durance, for . . . . . 500 stadia

"And if you cross the ferry to Cavaillon, all belongs to the Cavari, as far as the junction of the Isère with the Rhone:—

"To that point from the Durance is a distance of . . . . . 700 "

Afterwards we read—

"From the Isère to Vienne . . . . . 320 "

"From Vienne to Lyons by land . . . . . 200 "

By water a little more.

1,720 stadia.

Perhaps Dr. Ukert may apprehend the confluence of the Rhone and the Durance to be here spoken of. But it is not so: that confluence is never spoken of; and the idea of it is excluded by the traveller being instructed to cross by the ferry at Cavaillon. Whatever may be the excuse, this matter of Strabo throws more light on the distance from Lyons to the Rhone's mouth than "less than the double of a thousand." He reports 1,720 stadia from Lyons to Marseille, and therefore must have apprehended less than 1,720 to the mouth of the Rhone; for we know that he attributed to Marseille a more southern latitude. He calls the Galatic gulph, into which the Rhone is discharged (p. 122), *κόλπος μεταξύ Μασσαλίας καὶ Νάρβωνος*: and he states as a fact, (p. 115), that Marseille lies more south, *νοσιωτέρα*, than the recess of the gulph. Thus, when Dr. Ukert was studying the length of the Rhone from Lyons to the sea, he had before him something better worth attending to than the uncertain numeral in p. 193: he would see not only that Strabo considered the line of Rhone below Lyons to be "less than 2,000 stadia," but that he considered it less than 1,720 stadia.

Let us then apply this in aid of Dr. Ukert's estimate of Rhone below Durance. Let us allow the total below Lyons to be the full 1,720, though it is not so much. How shall we divide this into two parts, above and below the Durance? Strabo does not help us to do this: and, as Dr. Ukert wishes information to be sought from the ancients, let us refer to the Roman Itineraries. And first the length above the Durance: the nearest point to the confluence which the Itineraries give is Avignon; and we make a further concession, if we divide the two parts at that point, instead of the confluence which is below it. These registers exhibit from Lyons to Avignon, 162m. = 1,296 stadia. Take this 1,296 from 1,720, and there remains 424 for the residue to the mouth. The only remaining question is,—where in this length of 424 do we find Tarascon? The place is mentioned in no Itinerary; and we must be content with the modern *Livre de Poste*, which gives from Avignon to Tarascon, 23,000 mètres = 124 stadia. When this is taken from the 424, 300 stadia, or  $37\frac{1}{2}$  miles, remain as the distance of Tarascon from the mouth of the Rhone: such is, in truth, the maximum distance of Dr. Ukert's *διάβασις* from the sea, if he will interpret Strabo justly: rather a short distance to represent the *σχεδὸν ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδὸν* of Polybius.

It is to be observed that Dr. Ukert, in recommending his longer distance for four days' work, suggests the embarrassment of water; and that we know not Scipio's landing-place; nor the changes since made in the mouths of the Rhone. Now we may suppose, that the Roman general would not have passed on from the friendly city of Marseille, and disembarked his army nearer to the river's mouth, if he had been thereby involved in greater difficulty of proceeding. He did not land as an adventurer in an unreported region: his native ally added a force to his force, and would aid in fixing the spot for a first encampment, having in view the obstruction of the

Carthaginian expedition. If it is meant to be insinuated that the sea has gained on the land, and so to favour the supposition that Tarascon was of old farther from the Rhone's mouth than now, I apprehend the contrary to be the fact. De Luc cites the testimony of M. Darluc from his *Histoire naturelle de la Provence*, 1782, p. 262. "La Camargue est un grand terrain qui forme, par sa position, un triangle équilatéral, ayant sept lieues de longueur de chaque côté. Cette île sépare les deux bras du Rhône qui se divisent au-dessous d'Arles. Son enceinte était moins considérable autrefois. Les atterrissements successifs que le Rhône a formés à son embouchure, l'ont aggrandie. La tour de St. Louis, qui fut élevée près des bords de la mer en 1630, en est éloignée aujourd'hui d'une lieue." On these facts we may believe that, if the Tarascon of 218 B. C. differed from the Tarascon of to-day, it was in being nearer to, not further from, the sea than now. In other parts of the Mediterranean the land has advanced near the mouths of rivers. I believe this is the case, at the mouths of the Po, at the mouth of the Tiber, at the mouth of the Arno. In Languedoc, not far from the scenes we are speaking of, there is the little town of Aigues-mortes (*equæ mortuæ*) now some miles from the sea, formerly close upon the shore.

To his ill-advised commentary Dr. Ukert adds this. "Hanno may have crossed above Aramon." This would not be well said, even if the notion on Tarascon had been a wise one. Polybius relates that the crossing of Hanno was 25 miles above that of Hannibal. Aramon is not ten above Tarascon.

*On the distance of Tarascon from the Island.*

Dr. Ukert acquiesces in the text so far as to say this, p. 585:—"After four days' march in succession from the

place of crossing, Hannibal arrives at the Island." Presently, however, he appears dissentient, by starting a doubt on the Island itself. He says, "Let us look back and ask where the Island is situated. Polybius tells us to look for it at a distance of 600 stadia from the place of crossing the river."

So far the writer seems to agree with all other critics, that Polybius intends the length of the Rhone between the Island and the *διάβασις* as 600 stadia. But he proceeds to ascertain whether this is a correct measurement. There are two modes of reckoning the space:—1. From the Island down to the *διάβασις*. 2. From the *διάβασις* up to the Island. Now the first mode is the safest; for the angle of the rivers is a permanent point fixed by nature: the part where Hannibal thought proper to cross the Rhone is not: it is the thing sought. If Dr. Ukert had measured down from the Island, 600 stadia would have brought him to Roquemaure. But he treats Tarascon as the safe point to be measured from. To try this in earnest would be dangerous: but again he puts himself into the Marseille road, saying, "We learn from Strabo, that from the Durance to the Isère is 700 stadia."

The Durance at Cavaillon can prove nothing, being in a very different latitude from the confluence with the Rhone. As it has no application to the subject, it would have been better to try to make out by some means the real distance of Tarascon from the Island. Perhaps Dr. Ukert thought that he had done so: for he does to a certain extent bring forward the very road given by the Itinerary along the Rhone; but, unhappily, he just omits those parts which would have saved him from a dangerous conclusion.

His object being to shew that Polybius might intend Tarascon, as on the Rhone 600 stadia below the Island, he

refers to Itinerary (p. 553, Wesseling), and sets forth from it a length of 600 up the Rhone thus (p. 590).\*

Bellintum	
Avenio . . . .	V.
Cypresseta . . .	V.
Aransio . . . .	XV.
Ad Lectore . . .	XIII.
Novem Craris . .	X.
Acunum . . . .	XV.
Batiana . . . .	XII.

75 m. p. = 600 Stadien.

Now Dr. Ukert knew Tarascon to be lower down than Bellintum: and he knew the Island to be higher up than Batiana. His own map which follows his Dissertation places Tarascon below Bellintum; and the Jerusalem Itinerary, which he is transcribing, has, above Batiana, XII. to Umbennum; and VIIII. to Valentia. He omits these 21 m. p. = 168 stadia, and 40 more which are from Valentia to the Isère: also having first omitted the length, whatever it is, from Tarascon to Bellintum. The enumeration of these 600 stadia is delusive, quite unmeaning. Dr. Ukert would see that the true distance from Tarascon to the Island was not the distance which he was trying to insinuate, but rather about 860 stadia. He might as well have reminded us of some length of 600 along the Rhine or the Danube.

Not feeling that he succeeds in bringing the Island and Tarascon nearer to one another than as nature and art have placed them, Dr. Ukert resorts to the opinion, that the four days' march did not bring the Carthaginian army to the Island at all: and that, though Hannibal got there, the army

\* This is an exact copy of the Jerus. Itin. except that Wesseling writes Vancianis for Batiana: the figures are the same.



did not. This is his argument, p. 590 :—" The historian does " not assert that Hannibal came to the Island with his army ; " this might remain more south : somewhere in the country " of the Drome. And perhaps he settled the contest of the " brothers, either by his appearance and the effect which the " vicinity of his experienced bands gave to his words ; or a " detached division supported the elder one."

The doubts here suggested must be solved by the context of the history. Things are sometimes to be understood as said of the general alone ; as, that he listened to the proposals of one of the contending parties. But see what things are alleged here. Having put the whole armament in motion, the historian relates that Hannibal, by a four days' march, came to the Island : he tells of operations carried on by him in the Island ; that he found in it two brothers at open war for the sovereignty ; that he supported one, and attacked and defeated the other : and, further, that after receiving supplies from the chief whom he had befriended, his whole force being refitted with necessities, he advanced to the Alps attended by his ally. The movements so told must be applied to Hannibal with the force under his command. The words *ἦκε* and *ἀφικόμενος*, as well as *συνεπιθέμενος* and *συνεκβαλὼν*, must be understood of Hannibal with his army, not of Hannibal without his army ; and, whatever road he afterwards took to the Alps, the four days' march had been a march to the Island.

I hope it has been shown that the *διάβασις* of Dr. Ukert is too near to the sea, and too far from the Island. In both instances Polybius gives the idea of space through the mention of four days ; one is " nearly four days," and must be taken as less than the average for that time : the advance to the Isère was, by obvious motive, a rapid march, and would cover the full space.

I have expended many words upon that which is but a

small part of our entire subject. My apology is this : adverse arguments are not to be neglected because ourselves think them feeble : the character of the adversary is to be considered : and Dr. Ukert is placed before me on so high an eminence by the eulogies of Dr. Thirlwall, that, whatever I may think of his reasonings, no pains can be superfluous that are applied to resist them. There are further arguments of Dr. Ukert, which have as yet met with no resistance.

*On Roman Measurements in Gaul and Spain.*

Polybius, in c. 39, enumerates six distances, beginning from the Pillars of Hercules. To Carthagena : to the Ebro : to Emporium : to the passage of the Rhone : to the beginning of Alps : to the plain of Italy. And after the statement of distance to the Rhone, we read these words—" for these " distances have now been carefully stepped, and marked at " every eight stadia, by the Romans."

Every commentator, with the exception of Dr. Ukert, seems satisfied with those words as they appear in the text ; thereby assenting to the notion, that the Romans had, in the days of Polybius, placed mile-stones, or other marks of distance, both along the Spanish and French coasts, as far as the Rhone. Dr. Ukert, with due regard to history, disowns Polybius as a witness to Roman roads in Languedoc : but he solves the difficulty by rejecting the words as spurious. I believe them to be genuine, but to have got out of their place.\*

Dr. Ukert finds several reasons for rejecting the proposition altogether ; having quoted the words, *ταῦτα γὰρ νῦν*, &c. ; he writes thus—" What ! Polybius, having the distances measured and given by the Romans, and himself giving a ratio

\* Henry Long applies *ταῦτα* to the French line of coast only ! —P. 16.

"between the stadium and the Roman mile, could he satisfy himself with employing about—περὶ 1600 st. — ? Our doubt is increased, when we see that the ratio stated is not that which Polybius follows: for he reckons a mile equivalent to  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stadia. When Polybius travelled through the south of Gaul, no Roman roads had been made then: it was in the year 118 B.C. that the Romans first entered these countries as conquerors, and in the same year founded the colony of Narbo: they could hardly have constructed regular roads before this period. Moreover, Polybius wrote his work earlier than that: he was writing it in the year 145 B.C., and he died in the year 124 B.C.—the words in question are probably a note of some later writer, which has fallen into the text. The accounts confirm this view, in stating that Caius Gracchus was the first who had roads properly measured and marked out by mile-stones. Probably the merit of constructing a road into Spain through Narbonese Gaul belongs to Fonteius, who, in Cicero's time, occupied it with an army. Polybius too, in this passage, speaks of the measured road as reaching to Cadiz: an inscription, by Gruter, ascribes this addition to Augustus."

One fact here stated is incontrovertible. Polybius died before the Romans had begun the conquest of Gaul. He cannot, therefore, have spoken of Roman roads in that country. This objection of Dr. Ukert claims, and will receive, an answer. The rest of his comment I consider to be of no value.

The notion that Polybius estimated a mile at one-third of a stadium more than other persons, has already been dealt with in Part II. of this work. Dr. Ukert adopted that opinion in 1832, when he engaged in the controversy on Hannibal's march: he had declined to acquiesce in it, when he was writing on Roman measurements in 1816. And I hope to show that, while his correction of chronology is accepted, he

is still at liberty to reject the notion of  $8\frac{1}{3}$  stadia to a Roman mile.

As to what Plutarch says upon Gracchus bringing the business of roads and mile-stones into a system, this does not help us to the date when military measuring and marking of distances was first practised by the Romans: and the suggestion that Fonteius first constructed a road through Narbonese Gaul, though quite unimportant, is a mistake. Dr. Ukert himself helps to disprove it, by referring to Cicero's defence of him against the charge of extortion. Fonteius was prosecuted, among other things, for conniving at the neglect of the roads: in fact, for taking bribes from the natives, from whom he ought to have exacted the repair of them. Cicero thus notices the charge—"Objectum est etiam, quaestum M. Fonteium ex viarum munitione fecisse: ut aut ne cogeret munire, aut id, quod munitum esset, ne improbaret." In urging the injustice of making Fonteius criminally responsible for the roads, he represents that the immediate duty devolved upon his legates, themselves eminent men, "cū majoribus reipublica negotiis M. Fonteius impediretur." Cicero names the Via Domitia, which was made in that country fifty years before the delinquencies of Fonteius. The charge against that officer concerned the repair of roads, not the first construction of them.

Dr. Ukert at last deems the passage spurious, on the improbability that Polybius should speak of a road measured to Cadiz. He might have spoken of a road to that place: for it existed. But he does not mention it: he only states the distance from the Pillars to Carthagera: and from that city his measurements of the march begin.

On the main historical fact, concerning roads in Gaul, Dr. Ukert's position is unimpeachable. The chronology of Roman dominion shows conclusively that Polybius can never have spoken of their indications of distance between the Rhone



and the Pyrenees. Such things did not take place in time for him to notice them, even in his latest days. It was not till 122 B.C., two years after his death, that the Romans founded their first colony without the Alps, but within the Rhone, Aquæ Sextiæ. In the next year they had their successes on the banks of the Rhone and Isère: and not till 118 B.C., as stated by Ukert, being six years after the death of Polybius, was founded the first colony beyond the Rhone. Even then it is probable that for some time their armaments continued to proceed from Italy to Spain by sea.

But, while history contradicts the existence of a stepped and marked road along the Celtic coast at the period in question, it does not contradict the existence of such a road along the Iberian coast. And it seems to me, that the proposition in parenthesis, *ταῦτα γὰρ*, &c., which is quite Polybian, is not spurious, but has been shifted from its proper place in the catalogue of distances. It should be read after the 1,600 stadia to Emporium, not after the 1,600 to the Rhone. When Polybius made his journey, the Romans were in military possession of the Iberian coast, and had been so from the time of his birth. During that period their entrance to Spain was by sea: Emporium, the terminus of the measurement we are speaking of, was their place of landing; and here began their military line along the Iberian coast. We may well believe that this *ὁδὸς* was stepped, and its division into miles indicated *σεσημειωμένη*, if not *κατεστηλωμένη*. Their military way, when afterwards made through the Pyrenees into Spain, did not go through Emporium: it went direct from Juncaria to Gerunda. Emporium is not in the Itinerary.

If my suggestion is accepted, the historical error is relieved: it vanishes as completely on transposing the words as on erasing them. The minor objection, also, of *περὶ* being applied to an ascertained distance, is removed at the same

time. The Iberian distances are alleged without *περὶ*. *Περὶ* is only applied to the scope of march which includes the Pyrenees, and to that which includes the Alps. Let us then read Polybius thus:—

From the Pillars to the New City, whence

Hannibal commenced his expedition into

Italy, it is . . . . . 3,000 stadia.

And from this city to the river Ebro, it is . . 2,600 „

And from this river, again, to Emporium . . 1,600 „

(For these distances have now been carefully stepped, and marked at every 8 stadia by the Romans.)

And on from thence to the passage of the

Rhone, *about* . . . . . 1,600 „

And from the passage of the Rhone, for those

who travel along that river as if to the source as far as the ascent of Alps, which leads to Italy . . . . . 1,400 „

And the rest of the way over the heights of

Alps, *about* . . . . . 1,200 „

Surmounting which, he would arrive in the Padan Plain of Italy.

*On the Roads of Gaul in Hannibal's time.*

Although Dr. Ukert has rightly rejected the notion that Polybius lived to see Roman roads in Languedoc, he seeks the aid of Roman roads to support his interpretation of the *διάβασις*—he says this:—“Supposing the passage (*ταῦτα γὰρ*, &c.) to be an interpolation, still we may, with good reason, assume that the early roads in these countries had been in the same lines that were afterwards used by the Romans when they formed their roads. The nature of the country itself would require them to pursue nearly the same track along the plain region between the coast and the line

" of mountains: we find that here in later times there were  
 " Roman roads, and these in all probability led to the Rhone  
 " at that part where, according to the means then in use, a  
 " passage would be most easily effected. Polybius speaks of  
 " such a place; but not of any town in the neighbourhood—  
 " which Strabo does in his description of this road.  
 " Nemausus (he says) lies on the road from Iberia to Italy,  
 " being 100 stadia from the Rhone and Tarasco."

It is true that the confined nature of the country between the coast and the lines of mountains prescribed the route from the Pyrenees as far as Nîmes. But from thence to the Rhone there is no confinement: a north-east course, a straight onward course, and a south-east course were equally open to the invaders; nature offers no obstruction to a march for Avignon or Montfaucon, which lies over undulating plains.

Strabo tells us that the country near the Rhone is usefully practicable. While he commends the depth of the river for navigation, he says that the difficulty of ascending it is so great, from the rapidity of the current, that merchants avoid it, and transport their goods in waggons, the country being level, towards the Arverni and the Loire, notwithstanding the vicinity of the Rhone. iv. 189.

We know not that, so early as the time of Hannibal, a route from Nîmes was established in any direction for crossing the Rhone. He would make his election according to the further parts to which he was tending. The state of things two centuries later gives no criterion. When after the death of Polybius, the two sides of the river, instead of belonging to smaller separate states, came under one dominion, intercourse was promoted for Italian objects, and new tracks over the Rhone would be established for travellers. But if Roman usage could have borne upon our question, Arles would claim the preference; for it was in the great military way to Spain, whether from the north or south of Italy: that way crossed

the Rhone at Arles, not at Tarascon. Strabo speaks of Arles as πόλις καὶ ἐμπόριον οὐ μικρόν. The virtues of the Tarascon road from Nîmes are also alluded to: passable in summer, but deep in mud and flooded in spring and winter: *θέρους μὲν εὐβατον οὖσαν, χειμῶνος δὲ καὶ ἔαρος πηλώδη καὶ ποταμόκλυστον*. ii. 187. At a later period it came to be improved. M. Astruc relates (*Hist. Nat. de Languedoc*, p. 225) that milliary columns, of the age of Tiberius, have been found between Nîmes and Beaucaire: a fact which D'Anville tells with much satisfaction; adding that the space between two of them, as they were found, was just 754 toises. "Notice de Gaule." Nemausus.

But all this has no bearing on the particulars or inducements of Hannibal. If you imagine, for the period of the Carthaginian march, the improvement in a Tarascon road which the Romans gave it two or three centuries later, Hannibal would not have availed himself of it for effecting his march to the Island. The notion of crossing the Rhone below the influx of the Durance, is only suitable to a theory of going on direct to the Mont Genève. But Dr. Ukert does not so construe Polybius. Why then does he struggle for a passage at Tarascon? Because he intends his four days' march to halt short of the Isère. Therefore it suits him to find arguments for crossing the Rhone below the junction of the Durance: a scheme favoured by no intrinsic probability, but in favour of which he has provided other arguments equally untenable.

*On the Policy of Hannibal. The Durance.*

Dr. Ukert says, p. 583:—"If it is objected to our doctrine, "that Hannibal would have crossed too near to the coast and "thereby to the Romans, this objection will be removed, if "we consider that he did not expect the enemy here, as little "indeed as the latter expected him. The difficulty which

"attended the passage of the Durance would also be as little  
 "thought of then as in later times, when the principal Roman  
 "Road was carried over the Rhone south of that river. People  
 "from Nemausus came either to Ugernum, or more south to  
 "Arelate: the road to the latter place then branched into two;  
 "one went south-east to Aquæ Sextiæ, the other north-east  
 "over the Druentia. Hannibal came upon the dry season,  
 "before the river had been swollen with rain." I certainly  
 do make the anticipated objections, and I consider that Dr.  
 Ukert is mistaken in all the points which he here makes: the  
 expectation of resistance, the Durance, and the security against  
 floods.

Hannibal must have calculated upon opposition by the  
 Roman force: and that alone was a strong reason for him to  
 seek a passage above the influx of the Durance: his plan was  
 framed upon a study of all things necessary to be observed,  
 and was executed according to the purpose in which it was  
 framed. The risk of opposition by a Roman army must  
 always have dissuaded from crossing the Rhone too near the  
 sea. What pretence is there for saying, that the arrival of  
 the Roman army was unexpected? A wise commander will  
 deem his enemy capable of wisdom. The question of Scipio's  
 approach must have been a subject of intense anxiety on the  
 part of Hannibal; and he had far less reason to be surprised  
 by his arrival, than by his not having arrived sooner. In the  
 history of this war, there is nothing more remarkable than  
 the casualties which required Scipio's army to be retained in  
 Italy, and new levies to be made for his expedition to oppose  
 Hannibal. When the invaders were making their way from  
 the Pyrenees to the Rhone, Hannibal was not so well aware  
 of these favouring circumstances as we are now. The Rhone  
 was a great line of advantage for withstanding the effort of  
 invasion, and the Romans were just too late to avail them-  
 selves of it. If we believe that Hannibal might have been

repulsed in attempting the passage of the Rhone in face of a  
 Roman army, we must see the highest wisdom in his evading  
 so dangerous a contingency.

The avoiding of the additional passage of the Durance was  
 incident to Hannibal's decision on the place of crossing. Dr.  
 Ukert despises that difficulty: and, because in after-times the  
 Romans, masters of the country, carried one of their great  
 Ways across the Durance, he does not perceive that Hannibal,  
 in a strange country, and an enemy at hand to resist him,  
 could see any additional obstacle in that great river. But  
 presently this critic contradicts himself with a different argu-  
 ment: he proves the importance of the Durance, by contend-  
 ing that, if the Romans had to cross it, which they must if  
 Hannibal did not, the fact would have found place in the  
 history. He says, p. 584:—"If we do not allow Hannibal to  
 "have crossed it, the Roman consul with his army must have  
 "crossed it, and the detachment of cavalry twice: which  
 "would certainly have been mentioned by the historians."  
 It would be fitter to say that if, as Dr. Ukert imputes, Hanno  
 in his march down, and Hannibal in his march up, had been  
 required to pass the Durance, these are things which would  
 have been mentioned by the historian. Such impediments  
 are left by Polybius without description, when no incident of  
 interest has belonged to the surmounting of them. The  
 country was unfriendly to the Carthaginians, and they would  
 have had to force the Durance against resistance. This would  
 have called for the notice of history far more than the un-  
 opposed passage of that river by the Romans, when Hannibal  
 was in full retreat.

Dr. Ukert further requires us to believe that, at the end of  
 September or beginning of October, the Durance is so dry that  
 it could offer no impediment to military movements. It may  
 be that this season is not commonly considered as the season  
 of floods. But that Alpine river may be swollen by rains and

melted snow any day in the year. To shun it at any season was prudence, even in September and October. In October, 1841, when bridges were seriously damaged at Vienne and Grenoble, the inundations at Tarascon were such that the communications were in danger of being cut off, and a regiment of chasseurs were obliged to move to Nîmes. About the same time the passengers by diligence between Avignon and Sorgues were with difficulty rescued by boats, some having mounted the roof, others clinging to the backs of the horses who were swimming for their lives. The valley of the lower Rhone was probably not better drained in 218 B.C. than it is now: and I know, from a friend travelling in 1840, that the water standing in the road from Marseilles to Lyons was very inconvenient to his boots as he sat in the diligence.

In October, 1842, the *Courier de Grenoble* reported that houses had fallen at Vienne; that the bridge of the Gabatières had been again carried away by the floods; that the Route de Beaurepaire and the Route Royale had been rendered impassable, and the bridge of chains carried away: that an inn near the bridge had fallen, burying an ostler in the ruins. The report from Tarascon was that the Rhone had so inundated the country that all communication was cut off. Who knows but that the Alpine Durance, tum forte imbris auctus, had its share in these casualties, notwithstanding the eulogies on its dry season pronounced by Mr. H. Long and Dr. Ukert? In the inundations of 1846, when the overflowings of the Loire and the Var were so calamitous, the sudden rise of the Durance arrested the construction of a railway viaduct; and the same cause might in 218 B.C. have disturbed the progress of an army. On the 12th September, 1860, the *Times* correspondent at Paris reported a letter from Remusat, in the Drôme, saying that a waterspout, accompanied with terrific thunder and torrents of rain, so suddenly increased the waters in the rivers, that a new bridge over the Aigues was swept

away. Another at Vaucluse suffered the same fate, and a vast amount of property was destroyed.

Dr. Ukert having given his argument on the motives of Hannibal, founds another on the motives of Scipio. He says, p. 584:—"The Romans, from the known unfriendly feeling of the people of Gaul, would hardly have ventured so far into the country: whereas on the other hand the more southerly of these might be friendly through the mediation of the people of Marseille." Surely our question is, not whether the Romans would desire to venture so far as the Carthaginian entrenchments; but whether they did venture so far under a necessity to do so. We have to discuss the probable motives of Hannibal, not those by which Scipio would have determined the place of his enemy's crossing, if he could have prescribed it. He no doubt would have preferred a point nearer to his ships and to Marseille: the Massiliots were warm allies, and had some Celtic horse in their pay. But these very things bring us again to a conclusion which is not that of Dr. Ukert; namely, that the alliance between Rome and those who dwelt nearer to the mouth of the Rhone, would from the first disincline Hannibal from that neighbourhood and the region south of Durance, and add one to his many motives to seek a higher crossing.

*On the Vessels used in the Passage.*

Dr. Ukert offers us this further argument against Montfaucon and Roquemaure. "We ought to remember that Hannibal, in order to transport his troops, depended upon ships which could also serve upon the sea, like those which Cæsar at a later time caused to be built at Arles; and the question is, whether these could be used higher up the stream. On the other hand, the spot where we suppose Hannibal to have crossed, is even now one of the most frequented; two bridges of boats lead over the Rhone there, and it is a place of considerable traffic." (p. 582.)



I know not how Dr. Ukert has discovered that the λέμβος of Hannibal, and the navis longa of Cæsar, were built on the same model. Is the resemblance in bulk, or outline, or construction? And why should either one or the other have been capable of swimming at Tarascon and not capable at Montfaucon? Cæsar's ships were never put to either of those tests: they were built at Arles, and went at once to the sea—"Naves longas Arelate numero XII. facere instituit. Quibus effectis armatisque diebus XXX. à qua die materia cæsa est, adductisque Massilian, his D. Brutum præfecit."\* These ships had no occasion and no opportunity to explore the river above the dockyard in which they were built. They were very soon engaged against the Massilian fleet, and, though successful, were less efficient, from being built in a hurry and of unseasoned timber (factæ subito ex humidâ materiâ). They certainly never found themselves in the reach above Roquemaure, but neither were they ever off Tarascon.

The vessels which took over the cavalry soldiers of Hannibal, are called by Polybius λέμβοι: a term applicable to any kind of transport vessel, and to river barges; as, when Latinized,—qui adverso vix flumine lembun Remigio subigit. The facts alleged of them are, that they were in great numbers; that they were much larger and heavier than the single-timber barks used by the light infantry; that the horses swam after them, one man holding three or four from either side of the poop; and that they were employed for towing the rafts which bore the elephants across the river. All these purposes seem appropriate to a river barge or small coasting vessel, more than to the Roman war-ship.

The difficulties of the Rhone that affect the sufficiency of water for navigation, are not at the towns here mentioned; they offer themselves near the mouth; there it is that shallows and shifting mud-banks are recorded as a nuisance. Marius

\* Comment. de Bello Civili, i. c. 34.

made the canal to avoid these impediments of entrance; and the Massilians, to whom he presented this work, derived a considerable revenue from the duties which they levied on vessels thus entering and quitting the river. Str. iv. 183. Cæsar's ships probably found their way to the sea by this canal, which was cut from the eastern channel of the Rhone, a little below Arles. M. Gosselin, in opposition to D'Anville, and professing to interpret Ptolemy on the site of Fossæ Marianæ, places the canal west of Aigues-mortes—Géog. de Strabon. ii. p. 21, n. 1. This notion is contradicted by all probability, and by the Itinerary, in which Fossæ Marianæ occurs between Marseille and Arles. The military object, when the canal was made in the Cimbrian war, was communication with Marseille, whence supplies would come to the army on the Rhone. If the canal had come into the sea west of the river's channels, the exit, besides being less convenient for Roman purposes, would have been exposed to the *atterrissemens* from the river which the currents carried westward.

The climax of the merits of Tarascon portrayed by Dr. Ukert is, that there are now two bridges of boats which, I presume, means one from Beaucaire and one from Tarascon into the island which is between them. He does not explain in what way this fact affects the probabilities of the subject. It may be that the river there has a deeper-current than elsewhere, but he does not reason upon it, or assert it.

*Dr. Ukert on Scipio's March.*

Scipio advanced up the country from near the mouth of the Rhone to the place where Hannibal had crossed that river. Accordingly, an estimate of the time in which he could reach that place may help to an opinion on its distance from the sea.

Dr. Ukert (p. 583) invites that question in words which, I believe, are fairly translated thus—"That the distance of the



"point of crossing was not so high up the river as Mandajors  
 "and others have supposed, is evident from the account, that  
 "Scipio, who had his camp near the coast on the eastern arm  
 "of the Rhone, came to the camp which the Carthaginians  
 "had left, on the third day after their decampment. One  
 "may, according to Polybius and Livy, reckon the time  
 "double: but, even if calculated the longest, the return of the  
 "cavalry, the preparations of the consul, his decampment and  
 "march to the position, cannot have occupied more than five  
 "or five and a half days at the most."

The expression so translated, 'reckon the time double,' appearing obscure, I sought an explanation of it in the Philological Museum, where (ii. 679) Dr. Ukert's views are thus exhibited by Dr. Thirlwall—"That the distance of the  
 "place, where Hannibal crossed, from the sea was not so  
 "great as has been supposed by De Luc, seems to follow  
 "from Scipio's march to the Carthaginian camp from the  
 "mouth of the river. He reached it in three days, if,  
 "indeed, this is not the time spent both in going and re-  
 "turning to his ships, as the language both of Polybius and  
 "Livy might be construed." I cannot find that either history  
 suggests such a meaning for three days. Polybius only says  
 that Publius was at the place of crossing *ἡμέραις ὕστερον*  
*τρισι τῆς ἀναζυγῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων*. Livy says that he came  
 to the encampment *triduo fere post quam Hannibal ab ripâ*  
*Rhodani movit*. Neither historian assigns a duration to  
 Scipio's march.

I had recourse to competent persons, and received different constructions of the words *Man kann die Zeit doppelt berechnen*. None were satisfactory in terms: but the words certainly seem to contain the idea of measuring the time from Hannibal's camp, down to Scipio's camp, and back again: for it was near to the former that the conflict of the cavalry took place. The drift of the criticism appears from the words that

follow: those words suggest a calculation of the time which would intervene between the conflict of cavalry and the arrival of Scipio at the deserted entrenchments: Dr. Ukert asserts that the things done in that time, namely, the return of the cavalry, the consul's preparations, his decampment and march to the position, would at the most have occupied five days, or five and a half; and, by this, he seems to insinuate that, if the encampment had been as high up as Roquemaure, those things must have occupied a longer time.

I cannot admit that they would. Scipio came to the position "in three days after the decampment of the Carthaginians:" those three days are exclusive of the day of that decampment: and it seems to me that all the things which Dr. Ukert enumerates as only requiring five days and a half, which he thinks not enough for our theory, could not only be done in that time he names, but in less time. Three or four days after the *ἀναζυγή*, would have been ample for our theory, and decidedly too much for the theory of Tarascon.

Let us suppose that the engagement of cavalry took place on a Monday morning, and that Hannibal and his army were en route the following day, Tuesday: Scipio might reach their encampment in three days after they were en route, namely, on the Friday. The news of the engagement, which took place in the morning and was soon over, would reach the consul in the course of the following day, Tuesday: and we may believe that he marched the next morning, and, by three days' march reached the position which the enemy had abandoned. It is to be observed that the day of Hannibal's departure was before those three days of Scipio, who arrived *ἡμέραις ὕστερον τρισὶ τῆς ἀναζυγῆς*. Where was the difficulty? Was not a day and a half ample for the intelligence to travel? In the morning, before Hannibal assembled his troops to the conference with the Cisalpine chiefs, he had sent out the five hundred Numidian horse to reconnoitre: they fell

in with the Roman detachment almost immediately; "not far from their own encampment." After a sharp encounter the survivors came in again pursued by the enemy, and arrived just as the assembly was broken up. They were in their own quarters again early in the day. The residue of this day, together with the next day, sufficed for the report of these proceedings to be carried to the consul. The speed of this intelligence is not to be measured by the speed of an army's march: and, though the history says that the Roman horse returned to their camp and reported to Scipio, we need not suppose them all moving together, the best horses keeping back for the worst. News travels according to the speed of the swiftest, not the slowest; and the native horse, familiar with the country, were acting in this detachment. Even if Scipio, neglecting ordinary foresight, had not provided for the transmission of intelligence, sixty miles was no impossible distance, in a day and a half with the intervening night, for the best horses to carry news to head-quarters on so momentous an occasion.

The intelligence found Scipio in a full state of readiness. He had known Hannibal to be on the Rhone before ever he sent the cavalry forward, and had consulted with the tribunes where he might best bring the enemy to action; he could not tell which he might see first, his own cavalry returning or the enemy. We cannot doubt that he was in march the next morning; and three days' march would easily bring him to the site of the encampment, opposite to Roquemaure.

If any should doubt that a Roman army could be moved sixty or sixty-five miles in three days, I say that my argument does not require it. I am not bound to contend that Scipio's army did march that whole distance. In the first place, sixty-five miles is our distance from the sea, and the camp may have been some miles above high water-mark.

Then it is not improbable that the force was beginning to move to the interior, while this detachment was away; and certainly it is not to be assumed that the entire force ever completed that march, and actually reached the scene of the deserted entrenchments. Polybius says, "The Roman general coming to the place and finding the enemy gone, was exceedingly astonished." At this time, the mass of his army may have halted short of that place. But the consul would desire to satisfy himself on the enemy's proceedings: intelligence of what happened would meet him on his advance; and he would hasten forward with a sufficient escort. We are told that, when he found the Carthaginians to have abandoned the position, and to be three days in advance of him, he determined at once to retrace his steps to his ships. In all probability the order to that effect was received and obeyed by the mass of the army, without their ever reaching the site of the encampment.

Now consider the events as applied to the Tarascon theory. If the passage and the encampment were near to that place, the Roman cavalry must have gained their success at a distance of about thirty-six, certainly not forty, miles from the sea, and less from their own camp. Suppose this to be on a Monday morning—is it to be believed that Scipio, all ready and eager for action, *σπεύδων συμμίζει τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις*, with no Durance intervening, with a more unqualified favour from the natives for expediting his communications, could not find his way to the place so as to know that the enemy was gone, until the Friday? He would have been there on the Wednesday.

My friends of the Oxford Dissertation relate, p. 45, that Hannibal put his infantry in march on the day after the conflict, and himself followed with the cavalry and elephants two days after the infantry marched up the river; and that the consul arrived three days after the departure of Han-

nibal. Polybius says, "after the decampment of the Carthaginians," τῆς ἀναζυγῆς τῶν Καρχηδονίων : and, if Hannibal had stayed two days behind, which he did not, ἀναζυγή was the breaking up of the force when the infantry marched : τὴν τῶν πεζῶν ἐκίνει δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ χάρακος εἰς πορείαν : this was the ἀναζυγή of the Carthaginians : and Scipio, coming to the place in three days after this, came four days after the fight.

But Hannibal did not stay two days behind : Polybius says nothing to authorise that notion. H. Long says justly, that "there is no reason for assigning different days to the departure of one force and of the other." The narrative imports unambiguously, that Hannibal moved forward with the cavalry and elephants in the course of the same day on which he had sent forward the infantry. And why not? He had been engaged in providing for the transport of the elephants (c. 42) during the absence of Hanno. He had selected men for the execution of the work (c. 44) before the conference with the Cisalpine chiefs. The preparations being complete, why should he not bring them over the river the next morning, and proceed with them the same day? There are no words which import the contrary ; none that indicate a continued separation of the forces, or that he passed a night near the place of passage after the infantry had moved. The historian says, that Hannibal at daybreak drew out all his cavalry towards the sea (i. e., below the scene of operations), and put the infantry in motion, &c., and that he waited himself for the elephants : he describes the process of their transportation ; and then tells us that, when they had been brought over the river, Hannibal went forward, bringing up the rear with them and the cavalry. A march of four consecutive days brought them to the island.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Tarascon Theory. Arguments of H. L. Long. Distance from the Sea. Distance from Emporium. The single Stream. Strabo and the Theodosian Table.*

MR. HENRY LONG, as well as Dr. Ukert, has endeavoured to prove that Hannibal crossed the Rhone at Tarascon. But they have hardly a point of agreement in common. Ukert, assenting to the obvious construction, by which the 1,400 stadia, from the passage of the Rhone to the first Alps, are divided into 600 and 800, struggles against the most palpable facts, to reconcile his route with these proportions. Long, by a new mode of construing the text, makes the division to be 800 for the march to the Isère, and 600 for the progress to the Alps. This novelty, with the general merits of his scheme, will be most conveniently examined under our second head of inquiry : at present I notice those arguments which are applied directly to the place of crossing the Rhone.

*On the distance from the Sea.*

The question of measurement along the Rhone is dispensed with in Long's commentary, pp. 22, 23, by an intimation that the four days' journey or march from the sea, which Polybius speaks of, does not import a distance from the sea at the mouth of the Rhone, but from the sea which Hannibal had left behind him at Narbo. The idea is new. Suppose that my friend, having just come up from Southampton, was dealing with white bait at Blackwall, and some one should inquire the distance to the sea. Would he in his answer compute a measurement to Southampton, or to the mouth of the Thames? I think he would reckon to the mouth of the Thames, though he would be much farther from the sea there, than if he were at Tarascon. In the matter now before us,

context as well as proximity, bespeaks the mouth of the Rhone: in the same sentence where Hannibal is said to be nearly four days from the sea, he is said to be employed in effecting a passage of the Rhone; and the historian speaks of vessels used for descending that river to the sea. The reason for notifying the distance from the sea, is to define the latitude of Hannibal's position on the Rhone. Very different words would have been used, if he had desired to give the distance traversed from a past point of the march. Reading forward, we find that, while the elephants are passing over the Rhone, the cavalry is drawn out *ὡς πρὸς θάλατταν*. Is this too the sea at Narbo?

It is fair to say that Long announces this notion with great diffidence. I quote it, because it is useful to show the arguments to which the ingenuity of a theorist can be driven. If ever he shall renounce Narbo, a terminus which requires 110 miles to be accomplished by hardly four days' work, I hope he will lean to our construction, which performs 65 in that time, rather than to Dr. Ukert's, which reduces it to 35. But alas! if my friend gives up Tarascon, what will become of Grenoble!

*On the distance from Emporium to the passage of the Rhone.*

Polybius states this distance to be about 1,600 stadia = 200 miles: an amount which, upon fair examination, is found to accord so nearly with both the rival crossings, that it furnishes no preference to either. From Emporium to Nîmes, a space which is common to both these lines, it is agreed to reckon 177 miles: the Oxford Dissertation adds 30 for their continuation to Roquemaure; making 207 m. = 1,656 stadia. H. Long adds 15 for his continuation to Beaucaire, making 192 m. = 1,552 stadia. Need we discuss whether 1,552 or 1,656 best represents "about 1,600?"

Long relies on this, that his distance is below the amount named, not above it: and he insists, p. 20, that, when Polybius employs the word *περί*, adding it to a round number, he commonly exceeds the real distance. Now if a man intends to exceed the real distance, he must have means of apprehending what the real distance is. Polybius in expressing the distances of this march, has used *περί* twice; and he does so because he could not know the real distances: once, when he includes the passage of the Pyrenees; once, when he includes the passage of the Alps. He could not have ascertained or heard of any measured distance in these two instances. Where was he to find an estimate to aid him? There was none; and therefore he used *περί*. My friend is in the common error of supposing that Polybius spoke with knowledge of Roman measurements between Emporium and the Rhone. When they did establish a Way through France into Spain, it did not touch Emporium. It is true that Polybius applies *περί* for qualifying an exaggerated total; when he has enumerated many amounts, which added together would be 960, he will probably say, *ὥστε εἶναι περί 1,000*: but where, as in the instance before us, *περί* is merely prefixed to an amount not alleged as the addition of others, it need only imply doubt, and the number expressed need not be excessive. It is vain to strive here for a few stadia more or less than 1,600. We cannot plant a flag-staff on the shore of the Rhone as the very terminus of that section of the march: and, if any man should propose Arles in preference to Roquemaure or Tarascon, we would controvert it on better grounds than the distance from Emporium.

*The single Stream.*

Though diffident of one discovery, Long rests confidently on another which he has made, for indicating the place of



passage, and which has escaped all other critics: it concerns the words *κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν*, "at the single stream." His views are expressed thus:—"These words have been thought to mean a part of the stream uninterrupted by any of those islands with which the Rhone abounds: an explanation in which I cannot at all concur; for the words are most certainly applied by Polybius to the passage at Beaucaire, in contradistinction to the passage at Arles: for at Arles the bifurcation of the Rhone begins: at Arles there are two streams, and the passage would have been *κατὰ τὴν διπλὴν ῥύσιν*. Polybius, speaking of the Po, employs the same expression—*τὴν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτην ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ἔχει ῥύσιν ἀπλὴν, σχίζεται δ' εἰς δύο μέρη κατὰ τοὺς προσαγορευομένους τριγαβόλους*, the river flows from its source in a single stream at first, but is divided into two branches in the country of the Trigaboli."—P. 18.

The illustration is expected to help us in assuming, that the term *ἀπλὴ ῥύσις* not only negated the double crossing at Arles, but that it affirmed another place of crossing: so that we may learn from it, both where Hannibal did not cross, and where he did cross. A hasty inference under any state of facts! Here it is connected with the old blunder of supposing that Polybius testifies to Roman roads in France. Long stamps them as Roman ways, saying, p. 17:—"The words of Polybius are decisive: he distinctly points out a road between Emporium and the Rhone, measured and marked by the Romans. No other Roman way leading from Nîmes to the Rhone exists, even in tradition: it follows therefore, that, either at Beaucaire or Arles, Hannibal must have effected his passage; and we are at once relieved from all doubt as to which of the two places we are to choose, by the words of Polybius himself, *κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν*." The best excuse for Long's error on Roman ways is, that our common friends of the Oxford Dissertation had themselves

been similarly oblivious: they tell us, p. 39:—"Polybius observes that he is correct in his reckoning, because the Romans have carefully measured and marked it at every eight stadia. It is evident from this, that he wishes us to understand that the army marched along that track which was afterwards the great Roman road to Nîmes." It has been shown that Polybius never heard of it himself.

This argument, however, on the single stream is intrinsically void of effect. If Roman ways had been established while Polybius lived, and at the very points desired, he would not have sought to be understood through so blind a reference. If he had trusted that his Greek countrymen whom he addressed, or anybody else, would identify "single stream" with one town, and "double stream" with another, while he mentioned neither, he would ill deserve the character which he enjoys, of imparting ideas through intelligible symbols. No student, Greek, Roman, or Gaul, would have been wiser by such instruction. Moreover, the instruction would not have been true. It is true that about 600 years after the invasion, Arles was celebrated for the duplicity of its river. The double bridge is among the praises sung by the poet Ausonius: and this renown of Arles perhaps excited the argument, and seduced a lover of poetry into his contrast of *ἀπλὴ* and *διπλὴ*. But the contrast is imagined against fact: in this river of islands, other places, more or less favoured by fame than Arles, can boast a duplicity of stream. Not only the greater towns on the Lower Rhone, but Long's own emblem of simplicity, Beaucaire itself, enjoys a double crossing, having the same advantage by means of a small island, which Arles has by the apex of a large one: and, when he proclaims "at Arles there are two streams," he may add with equal truth, "at Avignon there are two streams," and "at Tarascon there are two streams:" *κατὰ τὴν ἀπλὴν ῥύσιν*, without more, disproves a crossing at Tarascon.



*On ancient Registers of Distance.*

As Dr. Ukert declines to antedate the commencement of the conquest of Gaul, there is not much comment in which he and H. Long run together. Indeed Strabo's fact, that in the time of Augustus there was a way of getting over the Rhone at Tarascon, supplies the only item in which there is sympathy between them. From this result of Roman conquest, both are encouraged to conceive, that, two centuries earlier, a Carthaginian invader of Italy had taken that crossing: one critic making it incident to the route of the Mont Cenis, the other to the passage of the Little St. Bernard; each with a view to his own ulterior constructions. But neither backs his case with practical authority. They bring forward no instances of that crossing being used by armies: it is not suggested that the colonisers of Narbo crossed at Tarascon; nor the troops of Fabius, or of Marius, or Pompey, or Cæsar. Illustration is wanting.

The Itineraries have been searched in vain; both that which bears the name of Antoninus, and the later one of Jerusalem: unhappily, neither furnishes the wished-for track. The Via Aurelia proceeds by the Maritime Alps to the Rhone at Arles: the Iter in Hispanias proceeds by the Cottian Alps to the Rhone at Arles: nor Ugernum nor Tarasco exist in these registers. Long at last brings forth a witness not adverted to by the other patron of this passage: he appeals to the Theodosian Table, a geographical portrait of unknown manufacture, but considered to represent a state of things 600 years after Hannibal. The artist certainly might have known that there was some crossing at Tarascon: and, if he had exhibited it, we should take the fact for what it is worth: he may have known more than he draws: but we are asked to reason from what he does draw.

In page 17 of Long's march of Hannibal, he rejoices in

two roads leading from Nismes to the Rhone. He says, "they are really Roman, as well as being still in use as important thoroughfares. Of these, one runs in a direction due east from Nismes to Beaucaire, the ancient Ugernum; the other takes a south-easterly course to the celebrated city of Arles, formerly the more celebrated Arelate. The road to Arles seems to have been the most frequented of the two, and appears in all the Itineraries; that to Beaucaire is given in the Theodosian Table, and is noticed by Strabo." Unhappily, in this Theodosian Table we look in vain for "two roads leading from Nismes to the Rhone." We know that Beaucaire is on the Rhone: but perhaps the Theodosian artist did not: his Ugernum is not on the Rhone: the portrait which is appealed to, gives only one road, which seems to reach the Rhone at Arles; and Ugernum is exhibited as a half-way house between that place and Nîmes. Whatever be the pretensions of Beaucaire and Tarascon to have given passage to Hannibal, my friend must not rest them on the delineations of the Peutingerian Chart—*animum picturâ pascit inani*.

*Tabula Peutingeriana.**Carte de Peutinger, or, Table Theodosienne.*

This old document, just referred to, will be mentioned again, so I take the opportunity of giving some account of it.

These tables are supposed to have been made A.D. 393, at Constantinople, by order of the Emperor Theodosius, and to have accompanied him when he crossed the Alps to oppose Eugenius, and when he came after his successes to Milan. On the decay of the Empire, they fell with other spoils into the hands of barbarians, and were carried into Germany: they are supposed to be alluded to by Jornandes, Bishop of Ravenna, who flourished about A.D. 552.

Their known history is this,—In 1459 Conrad Celtes was employed by the Emperor Maximilian to travel in search of ancient manuscripts and curiosities; he found this document in a library at Spiers: instead of carrying it to his patron, he gave it to his friend Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg, and confirmed the gift by his will. Peutinger always intended to have these tables engraved and published; but he died in 1547, not having carried his intention into effect. He had a small portion of them copied; and the copy was discovered in 1587 by Marc Velser, a friend of the Peutinger family, who published it at Venice in 1591: in about seven years after that, Velser succeeded in finding the original parchments; and he had them engraved in copper-plate on a reduced scale, and published at Antwerp. Towards the end of the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth, there were fresh editions by different persons; but all derived from that of Velser, without any fresh inspection of the original document; the last being that of Nicholas Bergier in 1736.

In the meantime the Tables themselves were beginning to move from their obscurity; about 1714 Wolfgang Sulzer, probing into the dusty recesses of the Peutinger library, discovered them, and suggested to one Küz, a bookseller of Augsburg, that he might endeavour to purchase them. The Peutinger who then owned them, allowed Küz to have them at no extravagant price; and, on the death of Küz, his family were willing to sell this curious relic, which many persons of distinction were desirous to possess. Prince Eugene became the purchaser in 1720; and in 1738 it went, with other literary treasures that had belonged to that celebrated man, into the imperial library of Charles the Sixth, and it is at Vienna at this day. In 1741 it underwent a scientific reparation: accurate engravings were made by Solomon Kleiner, of the size of the original Tables, and published in 1753 by Francis Christopher de Scheyb.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART IV.

#### POLYBIUS INTERPRETED. THE BEGINNING OF ALPS.

##### CHAPTER I.

*The march of 1,400 stadia may be taken in two parts: 1. to the Isère, 2. to the beginning of Alps. Hannibal, crossing the Isère, went forward. Most critics make him recross the Isère, and then seek the Alps. Five incidents mark the progress to the Alps: ten days; 800 stadia; along the river; country for cavalry; country of the Allobroges.*

IN discussing the first litigated terminus, the place of crossing the Rhone, we have gained a knowledge of the march, for 600 stadia beyond that point; namely, to the Isère: we now have to delineate the remaining 800, for completing the 1,400 of Polybius.

Here the combatant critics are of two sorts: those who continue the march north of Isère, and those who turn to pursue it south of Isère. None leave that river quite untouched, save the accola of the Eygues, who finally parts from the Rhone soon after he has crossed it. We propose to cross the Isère with the whole armament, and to proceed on our march to the Alps. Some carry the whole force over, but bring it back again: and our most laborious opponents,

the Cenisians, make a reluctant admission, that some operations may have been at first conducted on the other side of the river.

Little need be said for identifying the Island. Some indeed have invented islands for their particular theories. Mr. Whitaker's Island is the town of Lyons, enclosed by its hills and two rivers. Others have insulated a space with the Rhone, the Isère, the Drac, and the Drome: and M. Fortia d'Urban found the Island near his own farm on the Eygues. Those, however, whose speculations deserve serious notice, commonly accept the region enclosed by the Rhone, the Isère, and their connecting chain of mountains, as the Island of the Polybian history.

Some who have pretended that the army did not cross the Isère, have relied on this—that Polybius does not relate the operation. That argument favours no theory. Every scheme of march requires river-crossings not mentioned in the narrative. The more recent commentators make Hannibal to recross the Isère, bringing the auxiliary force with them: and then send the whole expedition over the Drac, which they paint as most formidable. As they cannot pretend that Polybius has told them these things, it is idle to rest on his silence about rivers. From the Ebro to the Po the only river whose passage is described or asserted is the Rhone.

Hannibal's passage of the Isère, however, is not left to conjecture. It is necessarily implied in the operations told: it appears in the words *καταλαβὼν ἐν αὐτῇ συνεκβαλὼν*. If a man has kicked another out of a house, we are apt to believe, that for the operation both were in the house. And, if it were suggested that he only kicked him out by persuasion, such a word as *συνεπιθέμενος* would give the idea of personal conflict, requiring the presence of the agent as well as the patient. The details prove movements beyond

the Isère: and the crossing of it is a known fact, without being separately alleged.

It is because that river was crossed, and because the region beyond it became important as the scene of events, that this region, the Island, is the object of particular description by the historian, as to its character, size, and boundaries: while not a word is bestowed upon the country on the left bank, which so many writers hold up as the course of the march. M. De Luc rightly commends the judgment of Polybius in his designation of the boundaries of the Island, and the assimilation of it to the Delta, a place which his public employments had brought him acquainted with. He says:—"Je ne crois pas que l'on puisse trouver nulle autre part en Europe, un pays dans une situation semblable à celle de cette contrée qu'on appeloit l'Isle. Il y a bien des rivières qui se rencontrent; mais où sera la chaîne des montagnes qui, en s'étendant d'une rivière à l'autre comme une haute muraille, enfermera un pays de manière à l'isoler complètement." Dr. Ukert, indeed, refers to the same expressions *ὄρη δυσπρόσοδα, καὶ δυσέμβολα, καὶ σχεδὸν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπρόσιτα*, for a proof that Polybius did not conceive Hannibal to have marched through the mountains which bound the Island: and Dr. Thirlwall has inadvertently called that remark sagacious. Sagacity, if any there were, would belong to M. Larauza, who had ventured upon it before. I see far better sense in the Oxford Dissertation, where the description is spoken of as agreeing admirably with the lofty barrier that extends from Grenoble to the Rhone, and where the term *σχεδὸν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπρόσιτα*, is said to point evidently to a passage through it. That which is really *ἀπρόσιτον* would not be called *σχεδὸν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπρόσιτον*. Niebuhr, recording the irruption of the Gauls, calls the Alps, "the seemingly impassable mountain barrier of Italy." \*

\* Translation by Hare and Thirlwall. 3d edit. ii. p. 511.

Seeing that Hannibal crossed the Isère and entered the island, we pursue our subject by inquiring how he got out of it. We read that he aided a prince of that country in repressing a revolt of his subjects, and that he received from him substantial proofs of gratitude. The progress to the first Alps is told as follows (c. 49, 50):—"But the chief thing was this: as they were in a state of much apprehension about their progress through the country of the Gauls called Allobroges, he covered their rear with his own forces, and so gave security to their march until they got near to the passage of the Alps. Hannibal, having in ten days performed a march of 800 stadia along the river, began the ascent to the Alps; and it came to pass that he fell into the greatest dangers. As long as they were in the plain country, all the detached chieftains of the Allobroges held off from them, partly in fear of the cavalry, partly of the barbarians who escorted them. But, when the latter had turned back homewards, and Hannibal's troops were beginning to advance into the difficult places, then the leaders of the Allobroges, collecting themselves together in sufficient force, pre-occupied the advantageous posts, by which it was necessary that Hannibal's forces should make their ascent."

These few words exhibit five things as necessary incidents to this very interesting part of the controverted track—1. The progress was performed in ten days. 2. It was a progress of 800 stadia. 3. It was along the river. 4. It was, so far as the ally accompanied the army, over a country where cavalry could act. 5. It was through the country of the Allobroges. By these five tests I propose to try all the routes which have been offered to us from near the confluence of the rivers to the beginning of Alps. Any which does not fairly embrace these incidents cannot pretend to be that which Polybius has described.

There are three routes by which the march has been sup-

posed to proceed onward from the Isère; that is to say, to quit the island without recrossing that river. One of these is our own way by the Mont du Chat. Another is that which, following the Rhone to Geneva, and along and beyond the lake, finds the first Alps at Martigny.\* Another is that which keeps the right bank of Isère, through Grenoble to La Buissière, under the heights of Fort Barraux. The routes which are traced to the Alps by proceeding southwards from the Isère are numerous.

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Mont du Chat fulfils all the requisites of Polybius.*

IN our march to that which we deem the ἀναβολή of the history, we satisfy the text in all respects. The line of progress which we maintain attends the Rhone to Vienne. There, leaving the river, it finds it again at St. Genix, and, having attended its course for a time, encounters the first Alps in the Mont du Chat, at the northern part of the mountain barrier which ranges from the Isère to the Rhone, commonly called the chain of the Grand Chartreuse. There, we say, begin the Alps of the history.

While I support my own views, it will be convenient sometimes to contrast them with the doctrines by which the pretensions of other tracks are exposed. But I shall give, in addition, some separate notice of each adverse track; two of which proceed north of Isère, and the rest south of Isère, till they severally reach the Alps.

\* A further progress up the Rhone has been suggested: but I do not propose any separate discussion of it.

1. *The Ten Days.*

The time and space belonging to the progress now spoken of, are to be reckoned from the expiration of the time and space which belonged to the previous progress, from the passage of the Rhone to the Island. That progress was accomplished by four days' marching: and our ten days will run from the end of those four days, as our 800 stadia will be in continuation of the 600 which must have been covered in those four days. There is little dissent on this point. Our weightier opponents date their further time and space from near the confluence of the rivers.

No part of these ten days can have been employed in free and easy progress. The march was in some degree embarrassed by an enemy hovering in front, instead of being urged by the apprehension of one in pursuit. But had all been in so practicable a country as the plain of Dauphiné, a continuous march of 100 miles would not occupy ten days. But it had been retarded by the operations in the Island: not only by interference with the hostilities, but by the collecting and distributing of the supplies; for which purpose we must suppose a halt at Vienne, the probable head-quarters of the ally. There was also the crossing of the Isère by the Carthaginian armament: and, although this must have been facilitated by friends instead of being obstructed by enemies, we may take it into the account of time. Accordingly, though a given progress was made in the ten days, it is unlikely that each could be a day of progression. We shall find hereafter, that of the fifteen days in which the Alps were traversed, some were not days of progress. In this march to the beginning of Alps, there is one who must be displeased with the slowness of our advance, Mr. H. L. Long, who, in his own allotment of ten days, reckons six of them as halting days.

2. *The 800 stadia.*

The ten days were in continuation of the four days to the Island. In those four days an advance was made of 600 stadia to the Isère: and to reach the ἀναβολὴ Ἀλπεων is now the object of the remaining 800, being the terminus of the 1,400 announced by the history.

General Melville, like Mr. Hampton, had made the track to quit the Rhone at St. Rambert, a place below Vienne, and to cross the country to les Echelles, not touching the Rhone again.\* M. De Luc made the important correction here, in showing that the line of march, though it would avoid the great elbows made by the Rhone to Lyons and St. Sorlin, would come upon the river again at St. Genix d'Aoste, and proceed near it towards the foot of the Mont du Chat. This beginning of Alps is near to Chevelu, a village which is in front of the Chat, and which corresponds in site with the Lavisco of the Itinerary, a place appearing as being half way from Augustum, St. Genix d'Aoste, to Lemincum, Chambéry; 14 miles from each.

The length of this scope of march from the Isère to the foot of the Chat, is such as fairly to satisfy the 800 stadia = 100 miles of Polybius. The Itinerary of Antoninus, Wesseling, pp. 346, 358, gives the distances from Valentia to Ursolis, Vienna, Bergusia, Augustum, Labiscone, 98 miles: but this includes the 5 miles from Valencia to the Isère, which, being deducted, we have 93 miles. M. De Luc, however, measuring from Port de L'Isère to Yeune exhibited the actual distance, showing it to amount to 73,550 toises = 97½ Roman miles. But Yenne should be avoided in moving to Chevelu: to get to Yenne, you put yourself without any necessity within a range of hills, only to come out again, and go forward to Chevelu; a point on which

\* De Luc. 2d edit. p. 84.



De Luc was corrected by the Oxford Dissertation. As to distance, Yenne appears to be but twelve miles beyond Augustum, which is two less than to Chevelu: and I have seen myself, in an excursion from Aix, that the ἀναβολή may fairly be taken as nearer to the Col, than where the village of Chevelu stands. It is quite just to say, that the ascent to Col du Chat well fulfils the 800 stadia of Polybius.

This route, from its superior facility, became afterwards a regularly constructed road of the Roman empire, the only one through this chain of mountains. Its perfection as a posting road at this day, of course proves nothing for our subject: indeed, there has been of late another equally good, by Les Echelles through the tunnel to Chambéry. Between the Chat and that route there are two mountain passes used by the natives: but they are mere mule tracks; and neither of them has the Col so depressed as that of the Chat: one goes over that part of the range which is called the Mont de l'Épine: the other more south by the village of Aiguebellette.

D'Anville has conjectured that Novalèse is the Labisco of the Itinerary: a place by which one, who has come from the west across the Guiers, may proceed over the Mont de l'Épine to Chambéry. This is not said by him in relation to Hannibal's track: nor is he contesting the pretensions of any other place to represent Lavisco: he had probably never heard that any part of the range of the Grande Chartreuse affected to have given passage to Hannibal. He is dealing with the word Labisco in his "Notice de l'ancienne Gaule:" and the ground of his conjecture is, that he perceives a similarity between that word and the word Laisse: so he points out the village of Novalèse, which is a few miles from St. Genix d'Aoste in the direction of the Mont de l'Épine; and says that a small stream, called, La petite Laisse, runs from

thence into the Guiers. I see in Raymond's map the river Laisse, on the other side of the mountains, running from Chambéry into the lac de Bourget. But, supposing that there is a petite Laisse, such as D'Anville speaks of, the resemblance of words will not identify it with Lavisco, in the Roman road; especially when, for supporting his notion, he has to alter the figures of the Itinerary. He admits that a road from Aoste to Chambéry by Novalèse and the Mont de l'Épine would not exceed 17 or 18 Roman miles, en droite ligne: the Itinerary gives 28: so he reduces it by altering the XIII of the first half into VIII. He does not notice the possibility of any other track through those mountains, but says "il faut franchir le Mont de l'Épine," and does his best to manage the word Lavisco. His thoughts never strayed to that region in the view of understanding Polybius. We are now so employed, and in considering the most probable track through the Grande Chartreuse chain, are brought to the opinion, that the Polybian incident, distance, accords best with Chevelu and the Mont du Chat.

### 3. *Along the River—παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν.*

All who have written on this portion of the march, excepting De Luc and the authors of the Oxford Dissertation, have declined to acknowledge, in the words of Polybius, c. 50, παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, the meaning which I assert as plainly belonging to them—'along the Rhone.'

We contend that, by grammatical reference and the ordinary use of language, the river Rhone, and no other, must be intended: and that for the ten days, as for the prior four days, the same words must have the same meaning. This also is necessary, for accordance with the primary description of the march in c. 39, where the section of '1,400 stadia from the passage of the Rhone to the Alps' is said to be παρ' αὐτὸν

τὸν ποταμόν. Nevertheless the advocates of rival theories rely on the word *παρὰ*, as excluding our march to the Mont du Chat from all claim to favour; they say that our course is not along the river Rhone, because it bears away from it at Vienne, and rejoins it at St. Genix; and that therefore some other river must have been intended.

I admit that, if the historian was studying to pourtray a march keeping always 'at the river-side' or 'along the very banks,' as our adversaries express it, he cannot have conceived the line of march which we attribute to him. But, if he meant a march proceeding up the valley of a river to a mountain pass which rises in the vicinity of the river, then the march which we give from the passage of it to the Alps, is along the river: and those who will note the distinction between a towing path on the shore of a river and the valley of the river, and will bring plain grammar and common sense to aid the comprehension of a simple expression, will find that the requisite conveyed in *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* is rightly fulfilled by this route only, and is the conclusive test which should remove every scruple of criticism on the first Alps of Polybius.

The importance which belongs to these words can hardly be overrated. No incident in the narrative so much deserves to be received as a key to the Alps of Hannibal, as the fact of his seeking them along the Rhone. This fact has been denied or held dubious, by all who either know not the narrative of Polybius, or depreciate it, or evade it, from Chevalier Folard to Mr. Ellis. It is, however, to my mind, as clear a fact as ever was told by words. I proceed then to encounter the formidable array of critics, who have declined to recognise in those words the sense which I impute to them.

At the head of the list I must put the Chevalier Folard, as he has the honour to be cited, and to have been almost followed by Professor Schweighæuser. The Chevalier is the author of voluminous notes appended to a translation of Polybius by

Dom Vincent Thuillier, published at Paris in 1728, in six quarto volumes. The work would, perhaps, have been as useful if it had not been 'enrichi de notes.' The translation by Dom Thuillier of the words which express that section of the march with which we are now engaged, is unobjectionable. "Depuis le passage du Rhone en allant vers ses sources jusqu'à ce commencement des Alpes d'ou l'on va en Italie, on compte quatorze cent stades." But his commentator rejects the 800 of Polybius, an important part of the 1,400, as "une faute des copistes," which Polybius would laugh at. Folard, I believe, is the founder of this error, in which he has some distinguished disciples; a march up the Isère from that river's mouth. His course is, that Hannibal left Grenoble on his left hand, and proceeded by Vizille and Bourg d'Oysans up the Romanche, crossing the Mont de Lens and the Lautaret, and so by Briançon to the Genève. This he calls "la route la plus ordinaire et la plus pratiquée des Gaulois en Italie."—Tom. iv. 89.

Those opinions of Chevalier Folard were published in 1728; and I am not aware of any further criticism that may be adverted to concerning the *ποταμόν* of Polybius until the discussion of them by Schweighæuser in 1792.\* During that period D'Anville was flourishing, but was silent on such a subject. That eminent man published his "carte pour l'expédition d'Annibal" in 1739. If he had then heeded Polybius, or afterwards when he published his "Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule" in 1860, he might have questioned or assented to the construction of Folard, and roused the attention of others to the river. But he did not heed Polybius, nor canvass his story of Hannibal's march: he attached himself to Livy; and never invited the learned to Polybius, as the historian of Hannibal. I am aware of his citing Polybius once: that was to help Livy; and he got himself into a scrape by doing

\* In the German edition 9 volumes. 5th vol. Adnotationes.

so. But D'Anville deserves his great name, notwithstanding some obliquities.

The criticism of Schweighæuser on Folard is somewhat elaborate; but at last he rightly hesitates to abide by what he laid down at first. In 1792, commenting on the words *ἡκε πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην νῆσον*, he wrote thus:—"Ad insulam" dicit, non *in insulam*. Nec enim dicit Polybius, trajecisse "fluvium Hannibalem cum toto agmine, sed *juxta fluvium progressum* ait cap. 50. 1, quod cum Folardo de Isarâ intelligi potest, ita quidem, ut Isaram à lævâ habuerit. Substitit quidem per aliquod tempus cum exercitu ad illam insulam, alteri ex fratribus, qui in illâ de regno dissidebant, suppetias ferens; sed id facere potuit parte copiarum fluvium trajectâ, reliquo exercitu interim in stativis agente. Quod si etiam totum exercitum Isaram trajecit Hannibal (quod credi potest eo consilio fecisse, ut fluvium hunc à tergo haberet, si sequerentur Romani), non multum tamen deinde versus Septentrionem in Insulâ progressum videtur agmen, sed prope Isaram substitisse, ac deinde adversâ hujus fluvii ripâ iter continuasse."—*Adnotationes ad Polyb.* iii. 49.

In a subsequent note on *πορευθεὶς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*, commenting on the Latin version of Casaubon, which is "propter Rhodanum," Schweighæuser says:—"At non propter Rhodanum, sed propter fluvium Polybius dicit: neque Rhodanum, sed Isaram fluvium nunc dici a Polybio putem. Nec enim immanem illum anfractum, quem facit Rhodanus ad Lugdunum, emensum esse agmen, probabile est; et, si hâc viâ iter fecisset, multo longius sane, quam centum millium passuum, iter fuisset ab Isarâ, Rhodani ripam sequendo, usque ad eum adscensum Alpium, à quo deinde quinto decimo die in Italiam pervenire agmen potuit. Omninoque hoc dicere Polybius videtur, adversâ Isaræ ripâ versus fontem ejus fluvii, decem diebus per C. millium pass. spatium progressum esse agmen; eamque viam postquam

"per convalles emensum est, deinde ipsa montium juga conscendere cœpisse. Sed jam video, eodem loco, quem modo citavi, (cap. 39, 9) ipsum Polybium diserte dicere videri, non discessisse à Rhodano Hannibalem, donec ad consensum Alpium pervenit. Quod si ita est, intelligo, corruiere ea, quæ de itinere, adversâ Isaræ ripâ instituto, dicta sunt. At dubitare fortasse licebit, an adeo stricte in hanc sententiam accipienda sint prædicto loco Polybii verba."

These are the words of a candid man, not the partisan of a theory; and his Latin version is "propter Rhodanum."

Mr. Whitaker does not adopt the Isère; he ascends the Rhone, but forgets the limit of 800 stadia: he says, p. 96,— "Hannibal kept close to the Rhone, and thus advanced up to Lyon. He still kept close to the Rhone, and thus advanced up to the Alps." Mr. Whitaker finds Alps for him at last; not at Lyon, nor Geneva, but at Martigny.

M. Letronne is strict upon *παρά*, which he applies to the Rhone for the four days, but afterwards to the Isère and the Drac, saying,— "Annibal, dit Polybe, marcha dix jours, le long du fleuve, l'espace de huit cent stades, et atteignit la montée des Alpes. Les mots, le long du fleuve, ne s'accordent pas avec la route qu'a choisi M. De Luc; car, dans son idée, Annibal a quitté le Rhone à Vienne, et a traversé la plaine du Dauphiné, &c. tandis que Polybe dit formellement qu'Annibal a suivi la fleuve—il le suivit jusqu'au dixième jour; cette mesure équivaut à 100 milles romains; prise le long de l'Isère et du Drac, elle porte à Saint-Bonnet." (*Journal des Savans*, Janv. 1819, p. 31.) M. Letronne uses bits of three rivers to make "le fleuve," rather than omit an angle made by one.

General St. Cyr Nugues pursues boldly the same principle (pp. 49, 50):—"Les mots *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* désignant le Rhône, ne permettent pas la moindre aberration. Sur les 54 milles de chemin que l'armée d'Annibal, au sortir de

"Vienne, doit parcourir le long du Rhône pour arriver à la montée des Alpes, M. De Luc commence par lui faire faire 42 milles loin du Rhône."

M. Bandé de Lavalette sings the same song, pp. 54, 55 :—  
"Il résulterait de là qu'au lieu de faire les 800 stades en entier le long du fleuve, Annibal en aurait parcouru 400 LOIN DU FLEUVE"

H. L. Long says, "There is no possibility, with any rational result, to produce a march of 100 m. p. along the river, after Hannibal's arrival at the Isère (p. 45)."

M. Larauza considers that the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* condemn our system below Vienne as well as beyond it. He was ready, no doubt, to limit 50,000 men and thirty-seven elephants to a towing-path. He says, p. 39 :—"Quand on connaît cette partie du fleuve, qui se trouve entre l'Isère et Lyon, on ne peut douter que de ce côté il lui eût été impossible de continuer à marcher le long du fleuve *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* : dans toute cette partie de son lit, surtout depuis les environs de Gisors, jusque vers St. Vallier, il se trouve encaissé entre des rochers escarpés qui, sur plusieurs points de sa rive gauche, soit baignés par les eaux, et ne laissent nul passage aux piétons." The extent of error is exhibited thus, p. 41 :—"De Vienne à St. Genix d'Aouste M. De Luc compte 32,300 toises, c'est à dire 16 lieues de poste environ sur 37, pendant lesquelles M. De Luc nous tient éloignés du Rhône, à une distance de 6, 5, et 4 lieues à vol d'oiseau. Or, peut-on dire sérieusement que ce soit là marcher le long du fleuve."

Dr. Ukert chimes in with a liberal translation of the leagues of M. Larauza, saying, "Those who lead Hannibal through the Island, are obliged to make him march some hundred stadia away from the river: which is contrary to Polybius."

Dr. Arnold did not doubt the fact of the march up the Rhone to the Mont du Chat, but he does not acknowledge

that he learned it from Polybius. He rather justifies the dissent of other critics, saying, "It does not appear whether the Carthaginians ascended the left bank of the Isère or the right bank; or whether they continued to ascend the Rhone, &c." Without helping to explain either *παρὰ* or *ποταμόν*, he arraigns the historian as the cause of confusion, saying, "These uncertainties cannot now be removed, because Polybius neither possessed sufficient knowledge of the bearings of the country, nor sufficient liveliness as a painter, to describe the line of march so as to be clearly recognised." (iii. 83.)

Mr. Ellis reverses that method: he does not learn from Polybius without confessing his guidance: on the contrary, he confesses that he understands the author well; but he renounces him in favour of the fancy which he has resolved to cultivate; his motto is, "video meliora proboque: deteriora sequor." He favours us with notions which would have come with useful weight from Dr. Arnold: he states, p. 22, in reference to c. 39: "From this account it is certainly most natural to conclude, that it was the same river which was followed up all the way to the beginning of the Alpine ascent; and not, in the first part of the march the Rhone, and in the second the Isère." Again, p. 27, "The most obvious interpretation of the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* in chap. 32 would lead us to think, that Hannibal followed up the Rhone from the place where he crossed that river, up to the first ascent of the Alps." These words are the bright spot in Mr. Ellis's work. It is effaced, and the good sense of it abandoned, without any reasonable apology.

M. Replat (Chambéry, 1851) writes, in subservience to prior authorities, "Il est remarquable, que depuis le chap. 49, où il a nommé le Scaras, soit l'Isaras, Polybe cesse de désigner nominativement le Rhône, dont il avait jusque-là fait mention plusieurs fois."



Dr. Liddell in his history does not deal with *παρά* or *ποταμόν*: he believes in the L. St. Bernard; but as he makes the grateful chief take leave of Hannibal on the Isère, and near Grenoble, I cannot claim him for an ally on behalf of the Rhone.

There is still another author, and an able one, Mr. George Long, who rather sides with our opponents. In his article "Insula Allobrogum," in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Geography, he says this:—"Hannibal, after staying a short time in the country about the junction of the Rhone and the Isère, commenced his march over the Alps. It is not material to decide whether his whole army crossed over into the Insula or not, or whether he did himself, though the words of Polybius imply that he did. It is certain that he marched up the valley of the Isère towards the Alps; and the way to find out where he crossed the Alps is by following the valley of the Isère." Whether the writer of this inclines to the right bank or the left bank, he does not say, nor does he quite say, that the invaders went no farther up the Rhone.

Such is the accumulation of wisdom, which refuses to confess that Polybius in the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* spoke of the Rhone. Now I doubt exceedingly that any man ever rose from a perusal of the history itself, having received from it the impression that the author meant the Isère; or that he intended a succession of rivers, together representing *ποταμόν*. Fact is, however, that critics innumerable have on this point come to be infested with the fancy of substituting the Isère for the Rhone of Polybius: and the error, if such it be, ought to receive correction.

It is quite true, that our line of march up the Rhone does at a particular point strike away from the river, and, avoiding Lyons, is for a time quite away from the stream. Accordingly, you may think, if you will, that Polybius makes too

liberal use of the word *παρά*, and may employ it as an argument against us. But the thing to be debated is this: What river flowed between the passage of the Rhone, which is one terminus of the progress here spoken of by Polybius, and the beginning of Alps, which is the other terminus? If it is clear from the author himself that this river was the Rhone, the first Alps can be no other than the Mont du Chat.

From the time of Hannibal's reaching the Rhone, that river is the main geographical feature in the narrative, till the expedition reaches the Alps: the valley of the Rhone is the scene of the events that are told. M. De Luc observed that, before the sentence in question, the Rhone has been designated fourteen times as "the river." This is strictly true. He is mentioned by name only in the following instances: when the historian describes the course of the Rhone: when he speaks of invasions of Italy made by the dwellers on the Rhone; and when the Rhone is named as a boundary of the Island: these are all the instances of *Ῥοδανός*. When he is mentioned in the military movements, he is spoken of as "the river." Hanno marches *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*. Scipio marches *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*. Hannibal, after crossing, marches *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*: and in the sentence before us, having been refitted by the prince of the Island, he continues his march to the Alps *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*. They who allow *ποταμόν* to be the Rhone in every other instance, ought to show good reason when they say that it is not the Rhone in this instance.

In the host of writers to whom I have referred, many do no more than grumble on the word *παρά*. Neither Dr. Arnold, nor Dr. Liddell, nor Mr. G. Long help the question with any reasons for doubt on *παρά* or on *ποταμόν*. M. Letronne alone ventures to argue the question, and deals with the words of the historian, giving reasons that *ποταμόν*



should mean the Isère. He admits the other instances when De Luc has shown it to mean the Rhone; and says on them,—"Dans ces passages, les mots *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν* suivent "immédiatement le nom du Rhône, en sorte qu'il n'y a point "de doute à cet égard; au lieu qu'ici le nom du fleuve qui "précède immédiatement est celui d'Isaras; le nom du "Rhône n'est point répété dans l'intervalle; il est donc "naturel d'appliquer à l'Isère les mots *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*."—*Journ. des Savans*, Janv. 1819.

In all the criticism that has been heaped upon the subject of the march, there is nothing more futile than this grammatical dogma. Dr. Ukert cannot subscribe to it: he is quite ready to get rid of the Rhone: but, as will be seen, he invents facts, instead of perverting language. Others, in their emergency, have been tempted to accede to the logic of M. Letronne. Larauza tells us, "C'est de l'Isère qu'il a parlé en dernier lieu, et depuis cet endroit *τῇ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥοδανός, τῇ δ' ὁ Ἰσάρας*,"\* il ne nom plus le Rhône une seule fois." So De Lavalette:—"L'intention de Polybe a dû être en effet de "désigner l'Isère, puisqu'il venoit d'en écrire le nom."

If there were truth in the supposed rule of construction, which there is not, this application of "en dernier lieu" would be ludicrous. When Polybius describes the shape of the Island, c. 49, *Ῥοδανός* and *Ἰσάρας* are bracketed together, as the nominative to *ἀποκορυφούσι*. Then we have the narrative of Hannibal's interference with the contending parties, and the refitting of his army. We then read that, having in ten days marched 800 stadia *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*, he began the ascent. Here it is that M. Letronne interprets *ποταμόν* the Isère, because it was "the river last named." C'est de l'Isère qu'il a parlé en dernier lieu!

\* iii. 49, 6. This is the only place where Polybius names the Isère.

To know what river is intended, we have to regard that which is the subject of the story that we are reading,\* not that whose name has last occurred in the text. The historian, in describing country, might pause to enumerate all tributary streams which flow into the Rhone below Geneva: when his narrative is resumed, "the river" will not intend the last of that catalogue.

This is but common sense; and we need not go far for a confirmation of it. Let us try M. Letronne by his own test of "the river last-named." Polybius says, c. 49, that in three days after Hannibal had marched forward, Scipio came in search of him to the passage of the river—*ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν*; and probably, when M. Letronne read the history, he believed this *ποταμοῦ* to be the Rhone: but, if he had looked back for the river last named, and applied his own rule, he would have found that Scipio was looking for Hannibal on the Po. Indeed that principle would transfer much of these operations to the other side of the Alps: for again, if you will read Hannibal's address to his army after crossing the river, and interpret the word *ποταμοῦ* by "le nom "qui précède immédiatement," you will perceive that he congratulated them on their successful passage of the Po. As for the Isère in the instance before us, M. Letronne does not even fulfil the philosophy of his own precept: for when, to understand *ποταμόν*, he retreats through the text in search of a river, the first he stumbles upon is in truth neither Rhodanus nor Isaras: he first encounters *τὰς τῶν ποταμῶν ῥύσεις*, the streams which confine the Egyptian delta. Thus it would better accord with the spirit of his doctrine, to maintain that Hannibal marched to the Alps up the Nile.

There is another test, to which the discovery of M. Letronne must be subjected; the illustration of an author by himself. This also he encountered boldly. Polybius in

\* See note in Appendix.

c. 39, dividing the whole march into five sections, mentioned this section, "from the passage of the Rhone to the beginning or ascent of Alps," as being 1,400 stadia *παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν*: and one would say, that the term *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*, as used in the narrative of this same progress, must import the same river which was described in that section. See how the expression is used.

*Statement of this section of the march in c. 39.*

Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων, τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, χίλιοι τετρακόσιοι: and from the passage of the Rhone, for those who proceed along this very river, as if to the source, as far as the ascent to the Alps, which leads to Italy, 1,400 stadia.

*The same progress in the narrative.*

- c. 47. 1. Περαιωθέντων δὲ τῶν θηρίων, Ἀννίβας προῆγε παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. The elephants having been brought over, Hannibal led forward along the river.
- c. 49. 5. Ἀννίβας δὲ ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας τὴν πορείαν ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως ἤκε πρὸς τὴν καλουμένην Νῆσον. Hannibal, having marched from the passage of the river for four consecutive days, came to the Island, as it is called.
- c. 50. 1. Ἀννίβας δ' ἐν ἡμέραις δέκα πορευθεὶς παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους σταδίους, ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ἀναβολῆς. Hannibal, having in ten days marched along the river eight hundred stadia, began the ascent to the Alps.

Now, supposing a man to have doubted whether the narrative represents the four days' march to the Island, and the ten days' further march to the ἀναβολή, to have been

along one and the same river, one might expect his doubts to be removed on reference to c. 39, which states the entire march of 1,400 stadia as being *παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν*. M. Letronne is not so influenced. He assents to the division of the 1,400 stadia into 600 and 800: but does not allow that the river of the 800 is the river of the 600; nor that the words of c. 39 give the whole 1,400 to those who do the journey along the river from the passage of it to the beginning of Alps. He admits 1,400 stadia to be the distance between those termini; but not that the words *πορευομένοις παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς* are applicable to that scope of march: he limits their effect to this—that the progress was begun up the stream: and contends that *πορεύομαι* means only "to set out."

These are his words—"Si M. De Luc avoit fait attention lui-même à la phrase de Polybe à laquelle il renvoie, il y auroit vu que les 1,400 stades n'y sont pas comptés le long du fleuve, et que son opinion à est égard tient à ce qu'il ne saisit pas le sens de l'original, qui du reste a été fort mal entendu. Par les mots *παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς*, Annibal ne fait qu'indiquer en général le direction de la route à partir du passage du Rhône: il veut dire simplement qu'au lieu de se diriger droit à l'est, vers les Alpes, on commence par remonter le fleuve; sans prétendre appliquer à la longueur de la route le long du fleuve, la mesure de 1,400 stades jusqu'à la montée des Alpes." (*Journ. des Savans*, Dec. 1819.)

It seems to me that, if this idea of "movement along the river, as if seeking the source," is connected only with the terminus à quo, and disconnected from the terminus ad quem, you take from those words all their value. Their value is, that they help us through *ἕως πρὸς* to find the Alps. There is a peculiarity of expression in telling this section of the march, not used for the other four sections of it. The others

are told in c. 39, by naming the termini and the distance between them. But in this instance, the march is further explained, as performed by those who travel a certain distance of a river to a certain point. What distance? Not a fraction of 1,400 stadia, but the whole, from one terminus to the other. If *πορευομένοις* is applied only to the *διάβασις* of the Rhone, as the terminus "à quo," the sentence will not connect the other terminus, and the latter part of the march to it, with any river: and yet the words employed bespeak such connexion: you are to march *ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς*, and you are to do this *ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολήν*. The idea "along the river as if tending to the source," attaches itself to the whole scope of 1,400 stadia: and those who deny the Rhone are driven to maintain, that *διαβάσεως* intends the passage of one river, and *πηγὰς* the source of another. If Polybius had only wished to express that the inchoate movement from the place of crossing was up the stream, he would have abstained from all those expressions, and been content with *ἀντιοῖς τῷ ρεύματι*.

In each section of the march, the whole length of the section is to be regarded, the terminus "ad quem" being the terminus "à quo" in the next section. The peculiar terms of this fourth section give the most useful instruction. They show where Hannibal was to reach the Alps, and quit the Rhone. They are in conformity with the statement on the three boundaries of the island—Rhone was one side, Alps were another: and the effect of those words is, that you are not to desert the former till you are brought to the latter. I say, then, that there is a plain and sufficient meaning in the author, more than M. Letronne, or Dr. Ukert, or Dr. Arnold give him credit for. A man in the nineteenth century can say, "Go to the Mont du Chat." Polybius had no equivocal term: but he would say, and to my apprehension he does say, "Go up the valley of the Rhone as if seeking his source; do this for 1,400 stadia, and you will find the ascent or beginning of Alps." We

march from the *διάβασις* by this instruction; we abstain from wanderings in the plain that would be frivolous for those who are striving towards the source; we find the Alps at the given distance; we find them in the Mont du Chat.

These comments I have thought due to the efforts of an adversary such as M. Letronne. When Schweighæuser saw that the great river crossed by the Carthaginian army lasted to the Alps, he withdrew his opposition to the Rhone. Not so Mr. Ellis; he still maintains the Isère, persevering in a bad cause, and after a bad fashion. In my criticism of his "Treatise," I quoted his confessions as they appear above. Either by accident or design, Mr. Ellis had omitted *αὐτόν* both from his quotation of and his comment on c. 39. I exhibited him in his own words. When he comes to defend himself in the *Journal of Philology*, ii. 315, he most disingenuously charges me with the omission, saying, "Mr. Law carefully ignores the word *αὐτόν*." It was himself who had omitted the word in that place, and I quoted him accurately.

He is still shy of the word. In this second effort he makes no comment upon it, but leaves us to speculate on the drift of an empty insinuation. This is not difficult: though *αὐτόν* is not to be found in his "Treatise" (for his translation of Polybius does not begin till Scipio has re-embarked for Italy), we know how Mr. Ellis construes *αὐτόν*. In his own exposition of the history, he says ("Treatise," p. 22), "Hannibal went along the very river bank." Now, if the word *bank* is thrown away, not being in Polybius, the remaining words which are in Polybius, give the actual meaning—"along the very river;" which is literal and true. I say myself, that the river of the narrative, c. 50, is necessarily the Rhone, without aid from c. 39; but the words of chapter 39 leave no excuse for a pretence to doubt. What river can be meant, but "the very river" which is named in the same clause of the same sentence? See the immediate context of the words *πορευομένοις*

παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς. The words which immediately precede those words are ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ: and the words which immediately follow them are ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων. This amount of progress is one of the five sections into which the whole march of invasion is divided by Polybius. You do not walk up one river to find the source of another.

Some critics have not known that this particular length of march is so expressly alleged to have been up one and the same river. Mr. Ellis did know it; he does not, like Letronne, proceed under a delusion upon the force of πορευομένοις: he rightly apprehends "the obvious interpretation," and tells us so. Though he only begins his translation of the history in the forty-ninth chapter, he read the thirty-ninth, and tells us so. Why then persist in pretending that it was one river at the initial terminus, and another at the final terminus of this section of the march? or, if believing it, why shrink from asserting it in plain English, and insinuate that his adversary avoids a topic, which he himself dares not grapple with?

All honest and rational interpretation is set at nought, when it is urged that the author contemplated that progress of 1,400 stadia as made, not along one river, but along many in succession. If one, it is the Rhone: if more, there is much to choose from. A long list of critics, ending with Replat and Ellis, make up their ποταμὸν 1,400 stadia, with a length of Rhone and a length of Isère: Letronne and de Lavalette add to this a length of Drac. The Cambridge anonymous of 1830 does not reach his ἀναβολή, till he has performed fractions of Rhone, Isère, Drac, Luie, Durance, and Ubaye. Against these and other pluralists, I stand for one: the 1,400 stadia were along one and the same river, and that river was the Rhone.

If Ποταμὸν is the Rhone, the protest founded on the word παρά becomes an idle scruple, which has unworthily haunted

the minds of learned men. They have reproached us with the distance à vol d'oiseau between Bourgoins and the Rhone. An object may be alongside to the right or left, without being near to you. Hannibal was twice as far from the coast when he reached the Rhone, as ever he was from the river in his march to the Alps: yet he reached the Rhone, "having the "Sardinian sea on his right hand." Polybius tells of irruptions into Italy with large armies before the time of Hannibal, made by Celts whom he describes as dwelling along the Rhone, οἰκοῦντες παρὰ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν: that they crossed the Alps, and joined force against the Romans with the Gauls of the Po. I should like to hear from our opponents, what were the limits of this military constituency: how near to the river's bed or banks were the huts of those who were admitted to the ranks of the invaders. Let critics take further example when they come to the great Italian river, and speak of "plaines qu'arrose ce fleuve"—"plaines que le Po arrose de ses ondes." Let them remember that the chain of Alps divides τὰ πεδία παρὰ τὸν παδόν from the valley of the Rhone (Polyb. iii. 47, 4); and that those πεδία comprehend a space bounded by the Alps, the Appennine, and the Adriatic. (iii. 14, 18).

An apology for the historian is made by the Oxford Dissertation, which I think is not needed for him. It is said, "We must remember that Polybius was ignorant of the "angle made by the Rhone at Lyons." Why assume this? It is possible certainly, that he never explored above the latitudes of the Carthaginian march, and did not appreciate the amount of zigzag. But let him have known the river's course as by the best modern survey; he would write as he has written: he would estimate a measurement of the march; not a measurement of the river. Even if he had been reporting the length of the river, he need not have traced it in its wanderings. Strabo, the oracle of our strongest



adversaries, imputes this shorter method to Polybius, and commends it: reporting the length, which Polybius had ascribed to the Tagus from the source to the mouth, he adds, οὐ δῆπου τὸ σὺν τοῖς σκολιώμασιν (οὐ γὰρ γεωγραφικὸν τοῦτο) ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐθείας λέγων.—ii. 107. Again, reporting Polybius's estimate of the circumference of the Peloponnesus, he says, viii. 335, that he reckoned it μὴ κατακολπίζοντι, for one not coasting the gulphs or inlets.

These words amply vindicate the Polybian distance from the Isère to the Alps, as avoiding the σκολιώμα to Lyons. Our adversaries measure the zigzag line of the river, and say that 800 stadia is too short: we measure the line of march, and are satisfied. Hannibal's guides had the sense to save time and distance by not adhering to the banks of that devious stream: he kept away from it till it offered itself again: and the history rightly shows his course παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, prescribing it μὴ κατακολπίζοντι.

#### 4. Through a country where Cavalry could act.

The correspondence of Northern Dauphiné with the country here described by Polybius cannot be disputed: it is an open country of undulating plain; and this character is essentially interwoven with the historical explanation of events. To a certain point the hostile bodies, which were apprehended by the Carthaginians as threatening their advance, were deterred from attack by two things; the native auxiliary force, and the Carthaginian cavalry, that arm of war in which Hannibal was always superior to his enemies. When is this terror said to operate? so long as they were in the plain country—έως ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν. When did this terror cease? when the ally turned homewards, and the army moved into the difficult ground for the assault of the Alps: cavalry, the object of fear in an open country, loses all advantage in a mountain pass.

In Polybius's account of this part of the route, every term has its value and effect: and in this requisite of a country fit for the operations of cavalry in protecting the advance of the army, there is great value and effect; it is fulfilled by the march which I am now delineating: whether it belongs to any of the routes south of Isère, we may hereafter inquire. Though I consider our adversaries to fail in providing this requisite, they acknowledge its importance: and we find the most distinguished man among them, Letronne, on reaching a point deep in the mountains, which, in distance, suits the track that he adopts, rashly to exclaim, "jusque-là l'armée s'étoit trouvée en plaine!" M. Larauza imputes to our route the want of the required plain, because of the rocks which occur on the shore of the Rhone in a part below Vienne, "depuis les environs de Gisors jusque vers St. Vallier." But, if the country just there is not quite plain, of which I know nothing, our cavalry has less occasion for it short of Vienne. That place was probably the head-quarters of the ally, when he refitted the Carthaginian force after the success which Hannibal procured for him: from that place to the Alps the apprehension of Allobrogian assault operated, and the services of the cavalry became most important. In all theories of a progress south of Isère, the favouring incident of plain should be expected, from the point at which any critic may require Hannibal to recross that river attended by his ally.

#### 5. Through the country of the Allobroges.

It is important to inquire into the position of this people; and the importance of it is shown by the efforts which our antagonists make to get rid of them, by the confusion, the perversion, and the invention of history. All are ready to give the Allobroges wrong boundaries, or no boundaries: anxious only to erase them as an item in the argument. It seems to me that, as they are the only people named, from the



Pyrenees to the plain of the Po, they claim particular notice when we seek to identify the line of march. Now the passages of the history, where this people is expressly named, are these :—

The friendly prince lent the aid of his force till Hannibal drew near to the Alps, because of the apprehensions which the Carthaginians entertained of the march through the Gauls called Allobroges.

While the march was in the plain country, the several leaders of the Allobroges abstained from attacking them.

When the Carthaginians were getting into the difficult places, the leaders of the Allobroges pre-occupied the pass.

In forcing the pass, Hannibal destroyed, or put to flight, the greater part of the Allobroges ; and afterwards occupied the town whence they had come forth in the morning to the attack.

It is thus an essential part of the history, that the progress from the confluence of the rivers to the first Alps was made through the people called Allobroges, and that the pass was forced, and the town beyond it occupied, against the resistance of many separate leaders of that nation. At whatever point began the Alps of Polybius, there was the struggle with the Allobroges : and those who say with Dr. Arnold, that "it does not appear whether the Carthaginians ascended the left or the right bank of the Isère, or continued to ascend the Rhone, and that these uncertainties cannot be removed," must embrace in this uncertainty whether the Allobroges of Polybius were on one side of the Isère or the other. Dr. Arnold does not mention them at all : but Mr. G. Long, who has two articles in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, Allobroges and *Insula Allobrogum*, speaks of them as north of Isère, and gives no hint of their being to the south of it.

Where then in the time of Hannibal, or in the time of his historian, dwelt the Allobroges? Was the district, which is

so clearly and minutely described as the Island, the Island of the Allobroges? And was the southern boundary of the Island, the Isère, also a boundary of their possessions? One of our strongest opponents, M. Letronne, conceded the former point, when he said, "*Cette île est donc l'insula Allobrogum.*"—*Journ. des Savans*, Janv. 1819, p. 27. The concession is complained of by M. Larauza, who says of M. De Luc's argument, that it is "forte, et très forte, mais surtout contre M. Letronne, qui, plaçant dans l'île les Allobroges, fait à ses adversaires, et bien gratuitement, une concession tout à son désavantage." M. Letronne himself regretted the concession : for, in a subsequent number of that work, he retracted it, saying he was without information on the subject.

But we can afford to lose M. Letronne as a believer in the Allobrogian Island. We have the ancient authorities that this people spread beyond the Island to the north and east. Geneva belonged to them : and their north-eastern boundary may perhaps be drawn from that town by the lake of Annecy to Conflans, where they bordered on the Centrones. The Isère was a boundary of their island to the south : Polybius plainly places them on the right bank. What we know of the left bank opposite to them, places there in succession the Segalauni, the Vocontii, and the Iconii, otherwise called Uceni.

The most diligent mystifier of the Allobroges, M. Larauza, says ("*Hist. Critique*," p. 35) : "Nous convenons que du tems de Cicéron, de César, et même avant, les Allobroges occupaient tout ce pays qui se trouve entre le Saône et l'Isère : c'est encore là que, plus tard, les plaçent Strabon et Ptolémée, en leur donnant Vienne pour capitale. Mais étaient-ils là à l'époque dont il est ici question? Les seuls auteurs qui puissent fournir quelques lumières sur ce sujet sont Polybe et Tite-Live." It is true that these lights are

enough for those who will construe them. But there are other sufficient authorities to the same purpose.

Cæsar, relating his march from the interior to the ulterior Province, says, i. 10, that he arrived "in fines Vocontiorum, inde in Allobrogum fines: ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos: hi sunt extra Provinciam trans Rhodanum primi." Now, to enter the Allobroges from the Vocontii, he must have crossed the Isère: and to get on to Lyons, the chief city of the Segusiani, he must have marched through Allobroges and crossed the Rhone.

In the year which followed the murder of Cæsar, Plancus, proconsul in the ulterior province, who had been coming to the relief of Modena, wrote to Cicero—"ipse in Allobrogibus constiti," x. 11. In his next letter, when starting to oppose Anthony, who was flying into Gaul by the maritime Alps, he says—"itaque in Isarâ, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto, exercitum traduxi," x. 15. In another letter, he reports that he is advancing, having secured the bridge on the Isère, for D. Brutus's force to follow on arriving from the Graian Alp: and in another, x. 23, that he has been obliged to retreat through the Vocontii, crossing the Isère and destroying the bridges. This letter is dated "Cularone,\* ex finibus Allobrogum." I think there is another letter, in which the Isère is mentioned as separating the Allobroges and the Segalauni.

Strabo, after placing the Vocontii along the Durance, iv. 179, says that they reach northward through mountain valleys μέχρι Ἀλλοβρίγων—203. And of the Allobroges he says, that they are the occupiers from the Isère to Lyons; and of Vienne he says, that it is now raised to the rank of a city, where those of high distinction live; but that, in the earlier

\* The ancient name was Cularo; in a later day Gratianopolis, whence Grenoble. Civarone and Cujarone are also found in manuscripts.

days of their power, it had been their metropolis, when only a village.

Pliny recognises a similar division of peoples by the Isère: he says, iii. 5, "In agro Cavarum Valentia: Vienna, Allobrogum."

Ptolemy, in his catalogue of States and Towns of Keltogalatia Narbonensis, ii. 10, says:—"Of those who occupy the country east of the Rhone, the most northerly are the Allobroges, whose city is Vienne, in the middle of them: and next to them are the Segalauni, whose city is Valentia: below them the Cavari."

These testimonies are calculated to satisfy most persons on the position of the Allobroges. But the partisans of the Hannibalian controversy are not persuadable like the rest of mankind. Larauza is prominent among a host of critics who, interpreting the Allobroges of Polybius, deny to them all local habitation. He designates them as "une population essentiellement vagabonde:" whereupon Letronne, repenting in December of what he had laid down in January, that the Insula was Insula Allobrogum, consents to be ranked among the ignorant—"On peut assurer que nous ignorons tout-à-fait l'état des choses au tems d'Annibal. Comment se faire une objection de ce qu'il est impossible de connoître."—*Journ. des Savans*, Dec. 1819. An anonymous Englishman of bolder chronology declares, "Nor is there any account of the Allobroges that will assist in the present question till about two centuries after Hannibal's entrance into their territory." Cambridge, 1830.

Such conception of ubiquity in this people enables the advocates of the Cenis, the Genève, or the Viso, to place the overthrow of the Allobroges by Hannibal in any part of Gaul south of Isère, which may suit a theory: one slaughters them near St. Bonnet—another on the Ubaye—another in the valley of the Arc—one catches them, after he has got over the Cottian Alps, in the valley of Césanne. The curious thing is, that these writers limit the privilege of being Allobrogian

to the regions south of Isère: regions throughout which innumerable peoples are acknowledged with their own well-authorized names. It is denied only to the island, a country for whose inhabitants no ingenuity has ever suggested any name other than Allobroges.

I cannot help thinking that, for knowing who lived in the Island, the narrative of Polybius is much to the purpose. But M. Larauza says, p. 37, that the vagabond life of the population of that period makes topographical distinction impossible. He is content with the etymology of Bochart. "Ce mot Allobroges est composé de deux mots, *all* qui veut dire *haut*, et *bro* qui signifie *terre*, dont on tire aisément le nom de montagne, et celui de montagnard, qu'on rend par celui d'Allobroge."\* Each expression of Polybius is twisted to favour the ubiquity of the Allobroges; that they were not a nation, but many "peuplades distinctes," as Larauza would explain *κατὰ μέρος ἡγεμονες*: and he apologizes for Livy not having understood the word Allobroges. It seems to me that these separate leaders were influential members of one state. The commonalty in an old Celtic people were subject to the control of an aristocracy, while they owed allegiance to the government of the nation. In a civil war for the chiefdom, each leader of a clan would exercise his separate influence—it was to be expected that some of these, "quorum auctoritas apud plebem valebat," should be in movement with their immediate dependants.

Larauza thinks his view to be confirmed by the expression Ἀλλοβρίγων καλουμένων Γαλατῶν, as if it was meant for a name not national but descriptive; and so applicable to many peoples. He might have seen that the term *καλουμένον* is common with Polybius, on mentioning a thing which his hearers may not already be acquainted with. Larauza's

\* Or see the Gallobriges of Mr. Whitaker, and Briges and Brogue, i. p. 136.

fancy suggests a most unfortunate illustration; namely, that Allobroges may then have comprehended the Tricastini, Vocontii, and Tricorii, also mentioned by Livy. This is a bold denial of nationality. Just before the death of Polybius, the Vocontii suffered a great defeat by the Romans, and there was a consular triumph over them; two or three years later, the Allobroges were defeated, and there was a consular triumph over them. You might as well include the Allobroges under a common denomination of Vocontii, as the Vocontii under a common denomination of Allobroges.

Besides the skirmishing efforts, which have been noticed, for placing the Allobroges everywhere or nowhere, the adversaries profess to have ascertained that that nation was not on the right, but on the left bank of the Isère. And one argument is, that Polybius must have viewed them as a distinct people from those who inhabited the Island; inasmuch as he calls that enemy Allobroges, but calls the inhabitants of the Island Barbarians. There is no such distinction, though the suggestion was first made by one of high authority.

Polybius tells of the two brothers in the Island contending for the sovereignty: one expects therefore that the combatants in a civil war, if they were Allobroges on one side, would be Allobroges also on the other. Professor Schweighæuser, in a note on this passage, says, "Duos illos fratres de regno contententes, Allobroges fecit Livius, xxi. 31. Polybius vero hoc cap. vers. 13, et cap. 50, 2. satis disertè ab Allobrogibus eos distinguit. Credi tamen potest, varias fuisse Allobrogum gentes."

Larauza, p. 35, adopts the distinction. "Polybe ne nomme nulle part le peuple qui habite l'Île: il dit que le chef de cette nation escorta les Carthaginois qui s'effrayaient d'avoir à traverser le territoire des Gaulois nommés Allobroges." Dr. Ukert, p. 190, develops the same idea:—"The inhabitants of the Island are not mentioned by name, but are only

"spoken of in general terms as barbarians. Polybius names "the Allobroges as being inhabitants of the country through which Hannibal pursued his march when he set out again: "they are Gauls: they dwell in the plains, and are under many chiefs. According to the account of Polybius, we "must look for them in our maps south of the Isère."

Mr. Ellis in his Treatise, p. 133, asserts that it is clear from Polybius, that the Allobroges were not inhabitants of the Island in Hannibal's time. In my criticism, p. 17, I pointed out the causes which had led to that error. Mr. Ellis, in his Defence (*Journal of Philol.* ii. 316), without replying to my comments, adopts the substantive error himself, and is as proud of it as if he were the inventor. He proclaims that the Allobroges were south of Isère, and denounces the contrary notion as absurd. He neither defends the view of Schweighæuser and Ukert, nor combats my remarks, but brings out a new idea of his own. He gives in translation sentences from the 49th and 50th chapters, and where Polybius speaks of the allied force he adds the words, "The men of the Island;" and then pronounces judgment thus: "Now if for 'the men of the Island' the expression Allobroges be substituted, these two passages become absolute nonsense. That the men of the Island were the Allobroges of Polybius, is thus a proposition at once susceptible of a "*reductio ad absurdum*."

Mr. Ellis seems to defy us to meddle with Polybius; but in fact he is only defying us to meddle with himself: he is the inventor of the expression "men of the Island." I subscribe to the doctrine which he calls absolute nonsense, and am quite prepared to add the idea "Allobrogian" in both places of the text; but I should not thereby substitute it for a term which never was in the text.

Schweighæuser, Larauza, and Ukert had been misled by this. They saw that Hannibal's friends were called βαρβαροι,

and they saw that his enemies were Allobroges. Hence they hastily concluded that the two must be distinct nations, and were emboldened to place them on different sides of the river. But they were not distinct nations. Polybius has first mentioned the country which he so fully describes, not by the name of the nation or inhabitants, but by another name, the Island. He announces the arrival of Hannibal, not at the country of the Allobroges, but at a region called the Island; and, having explained why it was so called, he continues to speak of the country under that name; mentioning, among other things, the contention for the sovereignty of it, and all this without occasion to express the name of people or inhabitants. But on the first occasion, when people or inhabitants are to be named, which is when he states the apprehension entertained about marching through them, he speaks of them by their name Allobroges, and any doubt which may have been is relieved.

The error of supposing that the inhabitants are called Barbarians in contrast with the Allobroges, rests on this: that, when the narrative is bringing us to the Alps, the leaders of Allobrogian detachments are said to abstain from attacking the Carthaginians in the plain country, being deterred partly by their cavalry, partly by the barbarian escort. This was supposed to show a contrast between Allobrogian and barbarian. But it is not so. It is true that this barbarian escort belonged to the Island, but so also did the Allobrogian enemy. If you read forward, you will find that the term "barbarian" tends to identify Hannibal's ally with Allobroges, not to distinguish them from Allobroges: it is applied to both. In the next sentence but one, we read what was done by the general of the Carthaginians, when he learned that the barbarians had taken possession of the advantageous posts. He occupied those posts, when the barbarians, according to their practice, had withdrawn for the night; and we read of the attacks made



by the barbarians, when in the morning these things were perceived by them. The barbarians are the Allobroges themselves.

Both in the one instance where the friends are called barbarian, and in these instances where the enemy is called barbarian, the word means, in effect, "native," and is used in contrast with Carthaginian, as it is used elsewhere by Polybius in contrast with civilised nations. This contrast is particularly marked in the instance on which the adverse argument is built; the troops of the ally are called barbarian, being mentioned together with the Carthaginian cavalry, and would have been called so, if their proper name, Allobroges, had occurred twenty times before. The distinction is in frequent use. In the third book, where Polybius describes the operations of Hannibal, against the Carpetani and Olcades, these peoples are called by their proper names in one sentence, and the barbarians in the next. So in the thirty-third Book, c. 8, where the contrast is with Roman, the Oxybii are named in one sentence, and called the barbarians in the next. In fact, there is no more contrast here between Barbarian and Allobrogian, than there is, in c. 47, between *θηρία* and *ἐλέφαντες*, words employed in one sentence to signify the same thing.

Our adversaries, flattering themselves that they have swept the Allobroges of Polybius out of the Island to the other side of the Isère, grow bolder, and seek to push them still further south, and near to the shore of the Mediterranean. Dr. Ukert, iii. 591, says of the Allobroges: "When in earlier times mention is made of wars which they undertook, they appear (*stehend*—stand) quite in the most southern part of Gaul." These references are given:—Polybius, iii. 50; Strabo, iv. 186; Livy, xxi. 31; Dion Cassius, xxxvii. 47; Florus, iii. 2; Livy, Epitome, lvi.—ciii.

I do not find a word in these passages referred to that warrants the assertion that the Allobroges are spoken of by these authors as inhabitants of the south. They are exhibited

fighting for a short time south of Isère, but not inhabiting. In the year when the Romans, invading Gaul, pushed their course up the Rhone, Allobroges are seen fighting a few miles above Avignon, "ad oppidum Vindalium;" and again near the confluence of the Isère and the Rhone. What then? If in the previous year they had sent a brigade across the Durance in aid of the Salluvii, would this locate them south of Durance? Does the field of battle enable you to fix the national boundaries of the combatants? A military nation threatened with aggression need not stay at home to receive the enemy. When many peoples are breathing the same hostility to the sweeping ambition of one domineering state, some will come to fight on the soil of their neighbours. Many tribes left their own villages and joined force on mountains not their own to oppose the progress of Cæsar through the Alps: and some of these had shortly before descended into the plain of the Rhone to aid a rebellion against the supremacy of the great republic. Her conquests would have been more easy, if each people had fought only on its own ground.

In the same view of giving a late date to their position north of Isère, Larauza had imagined and laid down a history for the Allobroges, with an outline of historical fact asserted positively and without obscurity. He says, pp. 37, 38: "C'est "en deçà de l'Isère, et surtout dans la partie la plus méridionale de la Gaule, que l'on voit se passer la plupart des guerres qu'ils eurent à soutenir contre les Romains depuis "la première, l'an 630 de Rome, jusqu'à celle qui mit fin "à leur indépendance, l'an 692. Nous serions même assez "fondés à croire que ce dut être vers cette époque que, "subjugués par les Romains, ils furent repoussés au-delà de "l'Isère, et forcés de se renfermer dans le pays borné par se "fleuve, la Saône, et le Rhône."

This statement has the one merit of perspicuity: it asserts, that a course of warfare was sustained by the Allobroges for a



period of 62 years—from 630 to 692 U.C.: that is, from 124 to 62 B.C.: that their independence was then at last crushed, these wars having been carried on by them in the most southern parts of Gaul: that, though when Strabo wrote they were restricted to the north of Isère, yet, in the time of Cæsar, they had only just been driven within that boundary.

Now, though M. Larauza was a laborious, zealous, and amiable man, and Dr. Ukert enjoys a very high reputation for the knowledge of ancient geography, I conceive this continuous warfare of the Allobroges with Rome to be an unauthorized notion; a mistake of a few simple facts, which are these. At the beginning of the period spoken of, the Allobroges in one campaign lost their independence and became subject to Rome: at the end of that period they broke into an insurrection, which was presently quelled by the Prætor of the Province; and in the intermediate time there were no hostilities at all.

The first entrance of the Romans into Gaul by land was in the year 154 B.C., when they came to protect the Massilians against the Oxybii and Deciatæ. Polyb. xxxiii. 4. By this interference, which occupied little time, their friends were established in the possession of an increased territory. The Romans did not cross the Maritime Alp again for 29 years. They then went again in aid of the Massilians: this was in 125. In 123 they defeated certain transalpine Ligurians, who were supported by the Vocontii.\* In the next year, 122, they founded their first colony beyond the Alps, Aquæ Sextiæ, Aix en Provence; subduing the Salluvii, who seem to have had some assistance from the Allobroges.† In the

\* It appears from the Fasti Capitolini, quoted by Mr. Clinton, vol. iii. 130, that the Vocontii had fought against Fulvius Flaccus: for he is recorded as having a triumph over them.

† Velleius Paterculus states that the Allobroges joined the Sallies in resisting the Romans under Sextius, i. 15.

following year, 121, the proconsul Domitius Ænobarbus defeated the army of the Allobroges; and the consul Fabius also routed them with prodigious slaughter, together with the Arverni and Ruteni, a great force having been brought into the field on the part of the Gauls. Thus speedily was effected the subjugation of the Allobroges. These three campaigns led to the erection of the Province: and never did the Allobroges regain their independence. The accounts of their subjugation are consistently told by Strabo, Livy, Pliny, and others; and there is no reason to think that, when they became subject to Rome, there was any change in their boundaries.

From the earliest to the last of the extant historians, all give in effect the same representation of this Gallic war of five years, and the consequence of it to the nation of Allobroges, who in the last year bore a prominent part. Ammianus Marcellinus, writing 500 years after the transactions, says this: "Hæ regiones, præcipuè quæ confines Italici paulatim levi sudore sub imperium venère Romanum: primò tentatæ per Fulvium, deinde præliis parvis quassatæ per Sextium, ad ultimum per Fabium Maximum domitæ: cui negotii plenus effectus, asperiore Allobrogum gente devictâ, hoc indidit cognomen." Lib. xv.

Such was the first Allobrogian war of M. Larauza. Where is the next? Having assigned to a particular district "la plupart des guerres depuis la première, l'an 630, jusqu'à la dernière, l'an 692," he might be expected to bring to our attention something that happened between those two extremes. But he furnishes nothing. Neither in his work, nor elsewhere, is there an act of discord between the Allobroges and the Romans after that first short war of conquest, until the very end of the stated period, "l'an 692." In that year things are recorded, which M. Larauza treats as the climax of a continuous contest: and, because this people is seen for

a month or two in arms at the end of that period, he presumes that they had been fighting against Rome throughout the interval. But in truth even that one fact is misrepresented: it was but an effort of insurrection speedily quelled. The only authorities on the subject seem to be Livy and Dion Cassius. There is an interesting question on the identity of places: but it does not affect our inquiry.

There cannot well be a stronger specimen of exaggeration than the sixty-two years' struggle proclaimed by this critic, founded only on a few conflicts, which cannot have occupied many weeks, at the close of that period. If this rebellion had been serious enough to require a Roman reinforcement to cross the boundary of Italy, which it did not, how stands the assumption, that these hostilities concluded a long contest; and that up to that moment the Allobroges maintained their independence? Two years before this affair of Ventia, we find them to be clearly in a state of subjection. In 691 U.C. was the conspiracy of Catiline: and the accounts of that event show that the Allobroges were at that time subjects of Rome. Their envoys were at Rome, preferring charges against their rulers or magistrates. P. Umbrenus, an agent of the prætor Lentulus, who was a chief performer in Catiline's plot, sounds them by entering into a discussion of their grievances. "Postquam illos videt queri de avaritiâ magistratuum, accusare senatum quòd eo auxilii nihil esset; miseriis suis remedium mortem expectare: At ego, inquit, vobis, si modò viri esse voltis, rationem ostendam quâ tanta ista mala effugiatis."\* They pledge themselves to the conspiracy; and afterwards repent of it. "Quinto Fabio Sangæ, cujus patrociniò civitas plurimum utebatur, rem omnem, uti cognoverant, aperiant." Fabius reports these disclosures to Cicero, who frames the scheme that ensures the public safety: and the senatorial

\* Sallust. Bell. Catilin. c. 40, 41; and see Appian. de Bello Civ. ii. 430.

traitors forfeit their lives through the evidence of the Allobroges. The charge against their magistrates, the grumbling at the non-protection of the Senate, the patronage of the Fabii, the very act of assenting to the conspiracy, all show the Allobroges to have been at this period in a state of political dependence.

Thus the alleged probability of the Allobroges having been first driven beyond the Isère in the year 692, vanishes, with all the statements on which it is built. They lost their independence in 630: and, while there is no evidence that they ever regained it, there are ample circumstances tending to satisfy us that they did not. See the progress of events in the south of Gaul during that very period, the sixty years of which we speak. What is it but the continuous progress of Roman power? The foundations of it were laid gradually but strongly. We may look back to the eighty years that preceded those sixty years, the time of the Ligurian wars, wars with those who shut up the avenue to Spain with their mountains on the sea—ἀποκεκλεικόσι τὰς εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν παρόδους, τὰς διὰ τῆς παραλίας. Strab. iv. 203. While that struggle lasted, Rome was becoming acquainted with the politics of Gaul through their maritime communications with Marseille and the Rhone. Under pretence of defending the interests of her allies, as Livy calls the Cœduni, she attacks the nearer of the transalpine states. The first colony is founded, Aquæ Sextiæ. Then is the downfall of the great states, the Vocontii, the Arverni, the Allobroges. The colony of Narbo is established. Outer Gaul is now their battle-field against the barbarians who had overrun Spain, and carried their hopes of plunder to the plain of Italy. The famous canal is constructed by Marius for avoiding the shallows at the Rhone's mouth, offensive to navigation. Not restricted to maritime communication, the Romans now marched to the Pyrenees and Spain through countries that owned their mastery. Toulouse is garrisoned,

and a Roman general can withdraw his troops into France for winter quarters. Finally, before the end of the sixty years' imaginary war, the higher central Alps are laid open to the rush of Roman armies into their Gaulish and Spanish provinces.

This is the period in which it is assumed that, during such progressive movement of Roman power, the Allobroges were stemming the torrent and defying a pressure to which their neighbours had to yield. The notion put forth by Larauza, and assented to by Ukert, as a basis for the migration of Allobroges northwards beyond the Isère in the latter days of the Roman republic, is nothing less than this—that this humbled nation, who had flourished in the south towards the Mediterranean, bordering on states treated with less severity than themselves, rallied from their defeat in 633, and maintained a series of unrecorded wars, which, after sixty years, were concluded only by the surrender of Ventia and the burning of Solonium, told by Dion Cassius. I believe both those places to have been in their northern and original territory: and I hope it has appeared that a march through the Allobroges, the fifth and last requisite for our accordance with the Polybian narrative, is, with the rest, truly fulfilled by a march from the confluence of the rivers to the Mont du Chat.

### CHAPTER III.

*Adverse Theories on the beginning of Alps. Two by which Hannibal marches forward in the Island. Mr. Whitaker, going through Geneva, finds the Alps of Martigny. Mr. H. L. Long, going through Grenoble, finds them at Fort Barraux.*

I HAVE now to deal with this terminus, the first Alps, as it has been variously fixed in the several theories hostile to my

own. In explaining my own views on the subject, I have contrasted them to some extent with others. Nevertheless I will advert to the ἀναβολή of each other theory *seriatim*, only not repeating matters already discussed.

First, let us take the two schemes of march which, as well as our own, proceed from the Island without turning back to recross the Isère. I encounter Mr. Whitaker as the champion of the Great St. Bernard, seeking his first Alps at Martigny; and Mr. Henry Lawes Long, who, on entering the Island, proceeds through Grenoble to his first Alps at Fort Barraux, and then joins us at Montmélian.

#### *March by Lyons and Geneva to Martigny. Mr. Whitaker.*

Among the English commentators, Mr. Whitaker stands forth as the laborious, and I believe the most recent, advocate of the Great St. Bernard. And he may be considered to have contributed greatly to the discussion of the matter. General Melville, whose effort to explain Polybius was made in 1775, communicated his notes of what he saw and thought to Mr. Whitaker and M. De Luc. In 1794 Mr. Whitaker published a long work in support of the Great St. Bernard, and against the views of General Melville. In 1818 M. De Luc was induced to publish his excellent work, having become acquainted with the General in 1795, and finding his own views to correspond with what he learned from him. He has not failed to speak his opinion of Mr. Whitaker's merits—"Animé du diabolique esprit de contradiction, entraîné par une imagination desordonnée, et privé du sens commun quoiqu'avec une prodigieuse érudition, il voulut se frayer une route différente de toutes celles qu'on avoit imaginées jusqu'à lui, sans s'embarrasser des absurdités sans nombre dans lesquelles il devait nécessairement tomber."

I will deal with Mr. Whitaker as I find him. I do not dwell upon his mode of reaching the Rhone, as none are following him. He asserted, that Hannibal, after crossing the Pyrenees, quitted the coast, and made his march through Carcassone, Lodève, Le Vigan, and Anduse, and so came upon the Rhone at a part opposite to the influx of the Drome, and crossed to a place called Loriol. Mr. Whitaker selected this place as being half-way between Lyons and the sea; knowing it by means of another circumstance which he reports, namely, that Arles is at the mouth of the Rhone. This fact, which also is exclusively his own, removes in favour of his hypothesis the length of Rhone usually recognised below Arles; and brings his place of crossing so much nearer to the sea. In conformity with these views, Mr. Whitaker makes Hanno's division to cross the Rhone three miles above the influx of the Isère; so as to have crossed the latter river before he comes down to take the enemy in flank. Being satisfied that a *διάβασις* at Loriol fulfils all the requisites of the Greek narrative, Mr. Whitaker conducts the march up the Rhone, and in four days brings the Carthaginians to Lyons; where his Island is the ground now occupied by the city and enclosed by the two rivers and the hills which overhang the place. After settling the affairs of the Segusiani, he replaces Hannibal on the left bank of the Rhone, and continues the march undeviatingly along the windings of the river, by Seyssel, Geneva, and the Lake, to Martigny.

I am not aware that these tenets have received assent, saving in the applause of Mr. Tytler (Lord Woodhouslee), who promptly published a pamphlet in express commendation of Mr. Whitaker's discoveries. When we remember that Polybius represents the passage of the Rhone to be a short four days' march from the sea, that he attributes 1,400 stadia from that passage to the beginning of Alps; and prescribes 1,200 from the beginning of Alps to the plain of Italy, we

might be satisfied, without more, to dismiss the Great St. Bernard from the list of candidates for representing the pass intended by Polybius. But, though it would be a waste of labour to scrutinize such a journey through all the tests of conformity with the Greek history, some notice is fitly bestowed on a known writer, whose zealous display of learning upon our subject is among the curiosities of literature: we add to the security of truth by encountering all that has pretended to illustrate her. I shall, however, endeavour to comprise in this chapter all that needs to be said on Mr. Whitaker's construction of Polybius, that I may not recur to it on further topics: also, as he vibrates in his feelings of respect, such as it is, between the two ancient authorities, I hope to be excused if, while I interpret one, I notice his treatment of the other, disregarding in this instance my own rule of criticism.

Mr. Whitaker expresses his satisfaction, that Polybius is confirmed by the authority of Livy in bringing the march to Lyons as the *Insula* of the history. From that place Hannibal marches along the Rhone, being attended as far as Geneva by the "friendly King of Lyons;" and keeping close to the banks of the river, with the stream on his left, Mr. Whitaker discovers a blot in the Roman historian, for turning at Lyons to his left hand instead of his right: but upon the whole applauds him for his improvements on the Polybian narrative, in the progress to Geneva.

Among other things, he considers Livy to have forwarded the knowledge of the truth by introducing the river Druentia. He represents that the Arve, which falls into the Rhone at Geneva, is not navigable, and that the Druentia of Livy is "non navium patiens:" that therefore the Arve is the Druentia of Livy. Dwelling on this discovery, as he says p. 145, with a parental fondness, he rejoices in the confirmation of it by Strabo. That writer has told us, iv. 203, of a river called



Druentius, which, rising in the highest summits, runs into the Rhone. This Mr. Whitaker declares to be the torrent which, rising near the Col du Bonhomme, rushes down the Val de Montjoye, and joins the Arve at Passi. After quoting Strabo on the Druentius rushing to the Rhone, and the Doria on the other side of those mountains mixing with the Po, he says, "This quadrates very accurately with all that I have said of the Arve; and forms a full demonstration of itself, that the Arve was actually denominated the Druentia or 'Druentius by the Romans.' i. 141—150.

Having still further settled the identity of this river by the aid of Silius Italicus, Mr. Whitaker forwards the expedition under the auspices of Livy, who reports Hannibal to have reached the Alps "*campestri maximè itinere*," which he thinks to have peculiar application to a route from Geneva to Martigny. i. 157—160.

Having travelled some way amicably enough with the two ancient authorities, Mr. Whitaker begins to suspect a want of harmony between them. Not doubting that Hannibal climbed the Great St. Bernard, and knowing, from the third book of Cæsar's Commentaries, that, in order to get there, it was expedient to pass through the Nantuates and the Veragri, he is shocked to find these nations quite overlooked by Polybius, who actually brings Hannibal to the ascent of the Alps in 1,400 stadia from the passage of the Rhone. Mr. Whitaker rebukes him in these words:—"All that march of Hannibal, though it was pursued through a couple of nations, is totally omitted by Polybius. He considers the position of Geneva as the beginning of the Alps; therefore carries Hannibal a hundred miles from Lyons, and instantly sets him to enter the Alps. Hannibal, he tells us, having marched along the river about a hundred miles, began the ascent of the Alps. This is certainly one of the many deficiencies, and of the very important too, that just criticism

"must for ever lament in the narrative of Polybius. A range of country about sixty miles in length is annihilated by the negligence of this writer; and we find a great gulph yawning wide before us, when we would pursue his march of Hannibal with geographical fidelity. Yet such has been the reverence shown to the pen of Polybius, such the idolatry paid to his name, that his very faults have been consecrated with his excellencies, and the erring mortal has been enshrined in the glory of the Divinity. Though Livy comes in very happily to supply his deficiency here, and exposes it very strongly by supplying it, yet little attention has been given him, and the historical world has generally preferred the falsehoods of this Plato to the truths of Livy. Livy, indeed, has hitherto been considered by all, not as he ought to have been, not as an equal planet with Polybius in the horizon of our history; but as a kind of satellite only to him, attentive to his movements, reflecting his brightness, and hardly noticeable in the lustre of his beams, and this false idea has contributed to give a false turn to many parts of the history of Hannibal," i. 168—172.

Notwithstanding the contrast thus portrayed, it is difficult to perceive that Livy has so happily supplied the defects of his rival, yet from Martigny to the summit he appears still to supplant him in the favour of Mr. Whitaker. At St. Branchier, above Martigny, Mr. Whitaker brings Hannibal among the Salassi—and says in a note, p. 232: "Livy is most luminously particular here, while Polybius wraps up all in a dull generality of narration." At Orsières a conference is held with natives, some coming from places higher up, Liddes and St. Pierre: and Hannibal is over-reached by their cunning. The Salassi offer to guide him by a better route; so he casts off his own guides, turns away with these new friends into the Val de Bagnes, and ascends the eastern branch of the Drance.



This brings the army to the Rock of Luttier,\* the destined scene of the outbreak of the treachery; on which Mr. Whitaker, p. 274, note, says, "Livy alone informs us of this bold movement in the Salassi, xxi. 34." In pp. 202-3, we find that the assailants received so severe a chastisement that they presently vanished; Hannibal is exhibited as returning to the guidance of his Italian friends: he still struggles onward, the line of glaciers edging close upon his left, among which Mr. Whitaker names, from a map in De Saussure's second volume, those of Chermotane and La Valpelaine, and in another direction those of De Tzeudy or Valsoret, as north or west of Mont Noir and Mont Velan, embarrassing his movements and compelling him to feel his way. It is said that "Livy is the only historian supplying this portion of the narrative, Polybius by an unpardonable negligence omitting all notice of it." Again, p. 284, "Polybius smothers that history, which we see so lively and so active in Livy, concerning the dubious, the circuitous, the retrograde progression of Hannibal in his march from the hill of ambushade to the crest of the Alps." We learn from Mr. Whitaker, that, "moving in a line in which no army ever moved before or since, Hannibal reached the regular road at St. Pierre, which he had left five days before at Orzières, only about seven miles below." "The next day he found himself happily mounted, with all his army, upon the real ridge of the Alps."—P. 289.

It is right to mention, that, in spite of the apparent satisfaction with which Mr. Whitaker seems to accept the aid of Livy, there comes a moment when he spurns it altogether. It happens that that historian has declared in unequivocal terms that Hannibal did not come over the Great St. Bernard: and

\* I presume this to be the place mentioned as Lourtier in the very interesting account of an excursion in 1856 by Mr. W. Matthews. See 3d edition of "Peaks and Passes," published by the Alpine Club, p. 23.

for this error, he falls, pp. 133-4, under the lash of that paramount authority which is relied on throughout the work. Mr. Whitaker remarks that "Livy's testimony is of no weight; that it is opposed by the whole tenour of Polybius's history, and encountered by the whole tenour of his own;" and thus condemns him:—"The historian, who stands striding like a giant across the plain and by the temple on Great St. Bernard, brandishing his iron mace, and forbidding me all passage with Hannibal along that avenue, I am compelled to face, because he stops me; to knock down because he would dislodge me; and to march over his prostrate body (if I can) into Italy." As if this were not enough, Mr. Whitaker presently quotes the heretical opinion of Livy, and proceeds:—"This is all a mass of inaccuracy, forgetfulness, and error. I am sorry to use such language concerning such a writer: but it is necessary to the assertion of truth and the ascertainment of the history. There is a false modesty hanging upon every mind that comes to examine a writer of Livy's celebrity in the world of history, which would chill the current of examination, and bind up the critical powers of the judgment in a kind of frost, if we were not on our guard against it; if we do not prevent its benumbing influence by continual exercise." i. 350.

This explosion coincides with a principle before disclosed, when Mr. Whitaker ridicules the writers "who feel their weakness too sensibly to walk upon their own legs, and are obliged to hobble on the crutches of authority." We look back to see how Mr. Whitaker walked himself without his crutches, and gave his clenching argument for the Penine Alps. It was this—that Hannibal came by a road; a formed road: that there was in those days no formed road over the western Alps: that the tribes upon the Alps made no roads across their mountains, nor suffered them to be made by others: that they were in hostility with all mankind till the

days of Augustus, who reduced many of these tribes, and carried along the mountains a train of formed roads.

These ideas are so laboured by Mr. Whitaker from p. 100 to p. 125, that one began to expect that Hannibal cannot have come over the Alps at all. But at last a circumstance is disclosed which relieved the author from that conclusion. It is this: that though even in the days of Cæsar those western Alps were in a wild and ferocious state, and furnished no good passage from Gaul into Italy, yet in the northern Alps there was such a passage. Mr. Whitaker appeals to Cæsar's account of Galba's exploits, where, speaking of the Great St. Bernard, he says that he desired to lay open the road through the Alps, by which the merchants had been used to travel. "This," says Mr. Whitaker, 123-4, "shows us the one only formed road of the times." And he adds, p. 124, "All this coincides in an extraordinary manner with the movements of Hannibal. He goes not towards the Alps of Mont Genève. He knows there is no formed road over them. He knows that the only formed road is on the northern side of the mountains, near the rise of the Rhone."

We certainly read that Cæsar was desirous of laying open a road over the northern Alps; but this does not lead to the inference that Hannibal had found a well-formed road there in earlier times: and, as to those northern Alps alone being practicable, we happen to know that Cæsar had in his previous campaign himself crossed the western Alps, carrying his army over the Genève in his expedition to stop the Helvetii. Mr. Whitaker anticipates this remark, and disarms it, by admitting that Cæsar did not in that instance carry his legions by a formed road, inasmuch as there was none. Accordingly he apologises for Cæsar having taken such a course of march, pleading the urgency of the occasion, p. 105. "He was too eagerly bent upon his plan of operations, at this grand commencement of his Gallic warfare, to take the

"customary way from Italy to France. He wanted to push directly into the north of Dauphiny. He entered the Alps at Ocelum, that is, Exilles: he turned off short on his right at once: passed Mont Cenis close on his right, and Mont Genève remotely on his left: and he fell in probably with the line of the future road from Grenoble to Briançon at Villars d'Arenes."

On one point we shall agree here with Mr. Whitaker; namely, that in Cæsar's time there was no formed road from Exilles or anywhere near it across country to Villars d'Arenes: we would assent, if he had said that there never will be. But, whatever was Cæsar's route from the inner to the outer Province, if it was good enough for him, why not good enough for Hannibal? Why was an African invading Italy to be more fastidious concerning a formed road than a Roman general hurrying to a Roman province? And was not Hannibal eagerly bent upon his plan of operations? But let us inquire what could be Mr. Whitaker's ground for supposing that Cæsar had the advantage of a formed road in his northern Alps and not in his western Alps? Is it the word "iter" that haunted his mind, so as to warrant the contrast? I see nothing else in his quotations that could suggest this idea of a formed road, as the peculiar incident of the northern track. He quotes, p. 123, "Causa mittendi fuit, quòd iter per Alpes, quo magno cum periculo magnisque portoriis mercatores ire consueverant, patefieri volebat;" and then says, "These words show us the one only formed road of the times through the Alpine mountains."

On this we have still to ask, "Why formed?" and why the only one? The "iter" through the Penine is spoken of by Cæsar as a track used for merchandise; but which he wished to improve into a route for armies: for this purpose it required patefaction. It escaped Mr. Whitaker's observation, that Cæsar also applies the word "iter" to his route over the

western Alps: the difference is, that he does not say that this route required patefaction; indeed, we have good reason to believe that it had undergone patefaction by Pompey, about sixteen years before Cæsar resolved to patefy the Penine. The word "iter" was prominent in Cæsar's short account of his march through western Alps: indeed, Mr. Whitaker quotes every word of that account (pp. 103—106), excepting these: "quà proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat, "ire contendit."

Mr. Whitaker, however, could not be expected to acknowledge Pompey as an improver of the Genèvre pass: for he informs us, that that general had himself taken advantage of the Penine when he led his army into Spain; a fact which is not disclosed by any authority prior to Mr. Whitaker. It happens that Pompey, speaking in a dispatch\* of having crossed the Alps, says, "Per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal, nobis opportunius, patefecit." Mr. Whitaker, p. 123, not daunted by these words, and "in deference to common sense," corrects "aliud" into "idem;" and so makes Hannibal and Pompey go the same road. With equal facility he brings Appian to confirm the fact. That writer, though his geography is rather queer, plainly states that Pompey went a very different way from that of Hannibal: "de Bello Civ." ii. 419. Mr. Whitaker, however, not only understands that it was the same, but gives Pompey's reason for pursuing that line; a reason which must have been highly satisfactory to the Roman Senate. "Pompey declined the more direct route "over the western Alps, and took the circuitous road across "the northern, because this was Hannibal's, and because he "was proud to emulate Hannibal." i. 122.

In summing up the merits of the light which he has thrown on this point of history, Mr. Whitaker acknowledges his obligation to the ancient historians to a degree beyond

\* Sallustii Fragmenta.

what might be expected. He professes to have conducted Hannibal from the Rhine to the Po, "stage by stage, and "step by step, as the concurring narratives of Polybius and "Livy have held out the clue. Geography has united with "history to confirm their narrative and my account." ii. p. 230. Notwithstanding this generous expression of gratitude, I look upon Mr. Whitaker as exempt from the foible which I impute to most modern commentators, a vain desire to reconcile conflicting testimonies: he swears only by one master.

Let all who have any misgivings in favour of the Great St. Bernard, study Mr. Whitaker's volumes. They may rise from the perusal cured of their error. They will find much research of various matters drawn from all ages: much excellent sentiment, moral and political, which, though not bearing at all on the invasion of Italy, well becomes the worthy man who delivers it. He abounds in historical illustration, as in comparing the revolt of the Segusiani with the revolutions of France and Poland; and establishing the Alps of Hannibal by modern references. If the publication had been delayed till after the battle of Marengo, we should have had additional chapters, proving the route of Hannibal by that of Napoleon. The events told excite throughout the feelings of the writer; as in the chastisement which he inflicts on the native obstructors of the Carthaginian progress. The inhabitants of the valley of Aosta appear not to have molested the Carthaginian march in their descent; a circumstance which constitutes one of Dr. Arnold's doubts on the route. Mr. Whitaker, on the contrary, imputes the great calamities of the march to the treacherous conduct of that people: and for that purpose locates them on the ascent, and thus rejoices in the discomfiture of their machinations. "The well-fabricated balloon of Salassian villany had burst with its own "gas within, and those who were mounting to the clouds

"in it were thrown to the ground, severely hurt!" Many are his reproofs of dissentient critics. Menetrier and Breval, who in their dealings with Lyons rivalled Mr. Whitaker himself, have this as their reward: "The sepulchral lamp of the antiquary goes out the moment we come up to day-light, and leaves only a smoke and a stench behind it." Equally crushing is the solemnity with which, after demonstrating Druentia to be the Arve, he condemns some who would construe it the Durance. "The whole backbone of the history is bent double by the violence of this folly." But abler specimens than these will be found of the vituperative powers of this writer. He has faithfully fulfilled his own injunctions to the intellects of others: "To prevent the benumbing influence of false modesty by continual exercise."

There is an author, a man I believe of high reputation, who, in his zeal to fulfil one of the conditions of Polybius, violates all the rest, still further pursuing the *valley of the Rhone*,—*M. Arneth, Director of the Museum at Vienna*. His views on the subject were published in the "*Wiener Jahrbücher*" for 1823, and they are criticised, as well as those of Dr. Ukert, by Dr. Thirlwall in the third volume of the "*Philological Museum*." *M. Arneth* does not pause with Mr. Whitaker at Martigny; but, in order to make sure of a descent into the Insubres, and to bring Hannibal to Milan, carries the Carthaginian army over the Simplon. Perhaps in an improved edition, Hannibal will explore the Rhone to his glacier, ἐπὶ τὰς πηγάς, cross the Furca, and lead the invaders into Italy over the St. Gothard.

*Through Grenoble to Fort Barraux. Mr. Henry L. Long.*

THE notion of a march up the right bank of the Isère is likely enough to suggest itself to an observer of the map of France.

But we have to try it by the text of Polybius: and if his history, rightly construed, shall be found to express that Hannibal, after entering the Island, still pursued the valley of the Rhone, the theory of Grenoble cannot stand. Other difficulties present themselves to the doctrines of Mr. Long.

The local features are known and admitted. The Oxford Dissertation says, p. 64:—"The rocks on the northern bank of the Isère came formerly so close to the river, that it would have been impossible to have turned them." Mr. Long himself, who more than all has studied the environs of Grenoble, says, p. 57:—"The precipices of the Sassenage and the cliffs of the Grande Chartreuse lock so closely, that the entrance of the valley leading to Grenoble is in some lights absolutely undistinguishable; and we are at a loss to know whence the river *can* possibly come." So speaks the critic who is taking much pains to prove that Hannibal's march lay through the town of Grenoble. So sensible was he that the army could not have passed through that place without opposition from the Allobroges, that he asserts it as the scene of their conflict with Hannibal. To obviate the numerous objections, he has recourse to that peculiar interpretation of the text, which I will set forth and examine.

Mr. Long's work is entitled "*The March of Hannibal from the Rhone to the Alps*." Now, though he constantly quotes two or three lines at a time from the Greek text, he never quotes the few words of Polybius which describe that particular section of the march on which he writes. He gives, in the historian's own words, the previous section of the march, from Emporium to the Rhone; but not that which follows, from the Rhone to the Alps. Accordingly he never deals with those words of the 39th chapter which exhibit that march as "1,400 stadia along the river." When he is upon the narrative of events in c. 49, and is beginning the march up



the Rhone, which, as we have seen, he crosses at Tarascon, he notices the expression *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*, saying that it shows the march from the passage to be up the Rhone; and he observes that that expression occurs frequently in Polybius: yet somehow he seems to have missed them in the earlier chapter, where that expression is applied to the whole march from the Rhone to the Alps. Not that he was unacquainted with that chapter: for he fully acknowledges 1,400 stadia as the distance from the passage to the Alps; but he only connects a portion of it with the Rhone. He exhibits the component parts of that distance in a way peculiar to himself: he does the 800 as soon as the Rhone is crossed; and, as he crosses it lower down than most other interpreters, 600 would not bring him to the Isère: so he takes the 800 to be from the crossing, and by that means professes to get as far as Valence, saying, p. 50—"The distance of 800 stadia, 100 m.p. 'along the river,' having expired at Valence, we must at that town turn away from the Rhone, and consequently take the road leading towards Romans."

This innovation on Polybius is aided by another, also original. It is commonly thought that four days brought Hannibal along the river to the Island; and that ten days then brought him 800 stadia further, the two being separate and independent efforts of progression; and that the last of the two brings Hannibal to a point, where an interpreter of Polybius is bound to find a beginning of Alps for him to contend with.

My friend's hypothesis is shortly this—Hannibal, crossing the Rhone at Tarascon, at once made a march of 800 stadia from thence to Valence, marching it in *four days*: he remained there *six days*, communicating with certain friendly barbarians, the Segalauni: a body of whom joined their forces with his, and assisted him in his progress to invade the land of the Allobroges: with his allies, he entered the Island at Romans, and pursued the present line of route to Grenoble:

the plain country, in which their aid was of service to him, came to an end at Moirans, at which place they left him, and returned home. Long speaks of "the contest between two brothers for the sovereignty of some Celtic tribe, the name of which is not given by Polybius;" but, though Hannibal assisted one, and was recompensed with abundant supplies, it was not this party who attended and gave security to the march until they got near to the passage of the Alps. These are still the Segalauni.

Long had once thought with the Oxford Dissertation; but is sincere in his new opinions. He says: "I had always, till lately, believed that the distance of 800 stadia along the Rhone ought to be measured north of its confluence with the Isère. But, 1. The thing cannot be done. 2. If they are measured after Hannibal's arrival at the Insula, wherever they terminate, the Alps ought to begin."

I hope I have shown, in a past chapter on *παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν*, that the thing can be done: and that, at the termination of the 800 stadia, the Alps do begin, the Mont du Chat being the *ἀναβολή*.

I may give quotations of Long's own words to the contrary. In p. 44, having quoted in Greek the first sentence of the 50th chapter, he translates it thus:—"Hannibal, after ten days, having marched along the Rhone to the distance of 800 stadia, began the ascent towards the Alps." He proceeds:—"The historian here sums up the time and distance passed by Hannibal on the banks of the Rhone previous to his striking away from that river towards the Alps. The 800 stadia is exactly the distance between Tarascon and Valence; and the ten days seem to be composed of the four days' march from Tarascon, *added to six, which we may safely assign* as the period of his stay among the friendly barbarians." Long had already said, p. 37:—"In my own mind I have not the slightest doubt but that Valence was



"the scene of these operations." Now it was likely that a reader would be startled at hearing of an ascent from Valence: this is indicated in p. 47, where Long points out that the ἀναβολή was πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις, "towards the Alps"—not τῶν Ἄλπεων, "of the Alps." Now let us try to imagine some practical difference between the expressions: my friend cannot profit by it here: he plainly contradicts the history. Long says that Hannibal began the ἀναβολή πρὸς from Valence, when the ally joined him. Polybius says that Hannibal began the ἀναβολή πρὸς from Valence, when the ally had left him. As to the other difficulty, no conjecture is offered, to account for four days meaning ten.

Such is the success with which this theory directs us to Grenoble. When we have got through that place, we must keep a look-out for making up the 1,400 stadia. The features of the country are well and pleasantly described from p. 52 to 83: and anecdotes are introduced for illustrating the history of the district in modern times. As regards the subject of the work, the march to the Alps, the effort is to make us apprehend that the combat with the Allobroges, told by Polybius, was quite unconnected with, and still distant from Alps. The way under the cliff by the river being in those days impracticable, Hannibal and his chosen band are supposed to scale the heights of Mont Rachais in the night, gaining the advantageous posts which the enemy had incautiously deserted on retiring to rest in Grenoble itself. Long describes his battle of Grenoble with much spirit, still insisting that no Alpine character belongs to the Polybian scene of action, or to his own. He points out, that our Mont du Chat, being at the other end of the same chain of mountains, is far too Alpine to represent the scene of the combat, and assumes that the narrative does not even connect that combat with Alps. He exhibits his own apprehension of the history:—"Instead of Alps, we meet with a

"battle and the capture of a town. Nothing implies the "difficulties attendant on any arduous ascent and descent. "Now in the Mont du Chat they would have had to encounter as severe a mountain for its elevation as any to be "met with in the high Alps."—Pp. 46 and 77.

In furtherance of these views in favour of Grenoble, Long translates ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναβολὴν to make a passage, and so spares the invaders the labour of ascent: at the same time he exaggerates the severity of our mountain the Mont du Chat. Now, though the ascent to that col from the west must always have been easy, the descent to the lake of Bourget, then unimproved by art, was exceedingly steep and hazardous. This character Long does not recognise as belonging to the description of Polybius: but, if that description is carefully studied, every expression for defiles and precipices, every term for mountainous obstruction, that occurs afterwards in the Polybian account of the dangers of the higher range, snow only excepted, will be found in the tale of the Allobrogian conflict. Such things indeed are not wanting in Long's own history of the battle: when he grows warm upon the beauties and the terrors of the Grenoble scenery, a semblance of Alpine things betrays itself: "Arid "walls of precipitous mountains—towering precipices—"stupendous crags—cliffs and rocky heights—shaggy steeps—"—scuffling on the brink of a precipice:" and at last, p. 78, "Hannibal, at height of at least a thousand feet above his "own men, charging down the hill."

As one error leads to another, a marked variance appears in the dates of progress between Polybius and his interpreter. According to the history, the ten days along the river to the Alps are followed by nine days of ascent to the summit. According to Long, those ten days are between Tarascon and Valence; viz. four of marching and six without marching: and at Valence begins the ἀναβολή πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις: two

days later Hannibal crosses the Isère (p. 84), then in two days more gets to Moirans; and in two days more assaults and captures Grenoble, and halts for a day: then in two days more reaches Chapereillan: and, the ἀναβολὴ πρὸς being finished, he begins the ἀναβολὴ τῶν Ἀλπεων, p. 89. The progress is told thus:—"We roll along the post-road through the glorious vale of Grésivandan, and meet no obstacle in the shape of hills until we arrive at the village of La Buissière, lying at the foot of the heights of Fort Barraux—the Isère runs immediately under the heights of Fort Barraux, compelling the road to ascend at once the hills near the fort, and to approach Mont Meillan by the way of Chapereillan. This is the first ascent we have encountered: and, associated with the changes in the country above-mentioned, and its distance, which begins to be about two days' march from Grenoble, it is sufficient to induce us to conjecture that we must be at or near the ἀναβολή."—P. 89, &c.

I have endeavoured fairly to set forth a very curious theory, invented by one capable of doing justice to a better cause. Like many others, he has allowed himself to indulge in a fancy: all is subservient to Grenoble: we see in the lively expressions of the author's feelings how, as he says himself, his convictions have been aided by an examination of the country. Examples abound of this influence:—"It is quite impossible to hesitate for a moment, in perceiving that this place of Hannibal's encampment πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς was at Moirans or in its immediate vicinity. It is so clearly just in front of the heights of the Grande Char-treuse, and so ostensible a situation for a halt, while the plans of the enemy in advance were investigated, that no doubt can be entertained on the subject." "Such is the country and such the objects we come upon at La Buissière: the first burst of it all upon the view is sufficient

"to show, that here, along these declivities and rocky heights, are the δυσχωρίαι, through which the Carthaginians had of necessity to pass. There, at the Bastille, are the εὐκαίροι τόποι, the advantageous positions, commanding the road across Mont Rachais, daily guarded by the Allobroges. And in Grenoble, the ancient Cularo, we find, beyond all doubt, the 'adjacent town,' to which they retired during the night." "Whatever security we may have experienced in fixing upon Moirans as the place of his last encampment, is nothing compared with the certainty with which we now see him taking up a position at La Buissière. No doubt then can exist as to the exact spot of this encampment." Thus fascinated by the illusions of his own senses, has a professed disciple of Polybius been enabled "to set this long pending discussion at rest for ever."

We may sympathise with the fervour of such imaginations, without accepting their aid to the decision of a critical question. They were induced by the contemplation of striking scenery, and they disturbed the author's earlier and more sober apprehension of the Greek narrative. The result was that through Grenoble the march must go: and the 1,400 stadia will reach farther up the Isère than the critic would desire: therefore it begins at Tarascon. Still there was this difficulty; that the 600 stadia, commonly supposed to bring you to the Island, would be exhausted short of the Island. So the 800 are taken first, and the 600 afterwards: the princely combatants become Segalauni instead of Allobroges: Valence savours of Alps, Grenoble disclaims them. All for an hypothesis!

Long, though at last he goes over the right mountain, sadly dislocates the chronology of the march in doing so. Polybius represents Hannibal as fighting his way over the first Alps before he reaches the Allobrogian town. Long finds the Allobrogian town first, and his Alps two days afterwards.

Instead of reaching the summit with Polybius on the ninth day from the beginning of Alps, being the seventh day from the Allobrogian town, he gets there on the ninth day from the town, and the seventh from the beginning of Alps. Long wrote to correct our common friends the authors of the Dissertation; prescribing Tarascon for Roquemaure: 800 stadia as four days' march: Grenoble as the place assaulted. Unhappily for me, beyond the summit, he agrees with them in the only point on which I think them wrong; namely, where they make the historian to contradict himself, and impute eighteen days to his Alps instead of fifteen.

I cannot suppose that any remonstrance will cure my friend of his theory. The most likely prescriptions I can recommend are, 1. That he will read once more the 39th, 49th, and 50th chapters of Polybius. 2. That he will take into consideration these words of Dr. Thirlwall:—"Polybius contrasts the march along the plain with the ascent of the mountains, in a manner which clearly implies that the latter begins at the end of the ten days' march." *Phil. Mus.* ii. 675.

*Notice of Grenoble by Dr. Liddell.*

It is fair to my friend, Mr. Long, to say that a distinguished scholar, the latest historian on the subject, has said that the track of Hannibal lay near Grenoble. These are the words of Dr. Liddell, in which he narrates the Carthaginian progress beyond the Isère to the ἀναβολή, i. 340:—

"Hannibal continued his march up the Rhone, and crossing the Isère, found himself in the plains of Dauphiné, then inhabited by the Allobrogian Gauls. He marched thus far in a northerly direction, about one hundred miles beyond the place where he had crossed the river, at the invitation of a chieftain who was contending for the dominion of the tribe with his younger brother. Hannibal's veterans soon put

"the elder brother in possession; and the grateful chief furnished the army with a quantity of arms and clothing, and entertained them hospitably for some days. He then guided them to the verge of his own dominions, and took his leave. This must have brought him to the point, at which the Isère issues from the lower range of the Alps, somewhere near the present fortress of Grenoble. Up to this point there is little doubt as to the route taken by Hannibal: but after this all is doubtful."

Up to this point the words of this author seem rather to conduct us to Les Echelles: the introduction of the Isère and Grenoble negatives the Mont du Chat. The particulars of the controversy on the Carthaginian march are not minutely entered into: but in proceeding to Italy an opinion is occasionally expressed; and I will notice the following:—

Vol. i. p. 341.—"In seven days after Hannibal began the ascent, did he reach the summit Polybius says *nine*: but this must include the two days' halt at the top of the pass." I confess I think nine to be right; that is, that Polybius is supported by his context.

P. 342.—"The last year's snow frozen into ice, lay thick at the top of the pass, and fresh snow began to fall, which covered the traces of the path." Here I would observe, that we do not read about the last year's snow at the top of the pass; but at a very much lower level; and there it is quite accounted for.

I am pleased at least to know, that Dr. Liddell's pass is not doubtful. He says, "Hannibal descended among the mountains of the Salassians." Though the Penine, as well as the Graian, would have led him through the Salassians, he was not likely to be there after being just behind Grenoble.

It is further said, in a note to 343, that General Melville carried Hannibal into the Insubrian country, and so back to Turin. I cannot know whether the General ever said "back

to Turin." I should not so express his opinions, so far as M. De Luc has reported them.

Also it is said that "others follow Livy in taking Hannibal "from Grenoble up the Romanche, and so over the Genève "down to Turin." I am not aware that any but Folard have so construed the route of Livy from the Isère. It is true that all our critics speak of Turin (*i.e.* Augusta Taurinorum) as existing in the time of Hannibal: but I am not aware that any authority is cited for it.

#### CHAPTER IV.

##### *Theories of tracks south of Isère.*

IF it has been satisfactorily shown, that the march issued from the Island by the Mont du Chat into the vale of Chambéry, the foundation of all theories of a progress south of Isère from the confluence of the rivers is shaken. Whether the expedition is supposed, on retreating from the Island, to move down the Rhone again, or to ascend the Isère, these suppositions can be indulged no longer, if the Mont du Chat is recognised as the ἀναβολή reached by the valley of the Rhone.

Each route invites notice on the five requisites of Polybius. To some extent this has been given, by contrasting the views of others, when explaining my own. When not done already, I will point out the errors, as they may occur to me. To this hour men of learning and renown have been driving against our hypothesis of the Graian Alp: and the charm of names is to be dispelled. Accordingly, each combatant, though he may have stumbled irrecoverably in an early part of his course, shall nevertheless be watched to the end of it, or so far as he may have developed his scheme. In the further

progress after reaching the Alps, the Cenisians will claim the chief notice: for they labour their case to the end, and with a perseverance not shown by others.

Some method is to be observed in bringing to notice the rival plans, so that each may be made intelligible, and comments upon them be apprehended without confusion. It seems convenient to set them out in some geographical order, as from the confluence of the rivers; first taking the scheme by which Hannibal, after his concerns at the Island, is made to retrace his steps far down the Rhone: then those which go down the Rhone, but not so far: then that which, going along the Isère, bends from it to the Drac: then that which leaves the Drac for the Romanche: then that which parts from the Isère between Grenoble and Montmélian; and lastly, that which bends from La Chavane to Aiguebelle and the Arc. Thus they may be taken, as they radiate more and more eastward from the common beginning near the mouth of the Isère.

There will still remain two theories, not brought under this arrangement: one in which Hannibal never has bent towards the Isère at all: and one in which he moves still more north, and has Mont Blanc for his λευκόπετρον. The former will receive a short separate notice: as to the latter, I had an opportunity of challenging it, when sojourning in the district whence it sprang: and that small act of warfare shall tell its own tale, as I gave it from Chambéry in September, 1854.

1. *Down the Rhone again to St. Paul-trois-Châteaux: thence across country to the Alps of the Ubaye. The Marquis de St. Simon.*

This course is urged in a long preface to the author's history of the campaign in the Alps of 1744. Having carried Hannibal over the Isère into the Island near St.



Marcellin, 30 miles above the mouth, he proceeds to Vienne: from that place he supposes him to march down the Rhone again as far as St. Paul-trois-Châteaux, before he bends away in search of the ἀναβολή, which he finds at last in going up the Ubaye. (Quoted by Larauza, *Hist. Critique* 61, 215).

This curious march, which should be 800 stadia, and ten days from the mouth of Isère, does not well answer to that time or to that distance; nor is much of it ὥς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς. As little does it suit the tenor of the history. The history prescribes a march of 1,400 stadia from the crossing of the Rhone to the Alps, along a river. The progression cannot be fulfilled by a lengthened doubling upon the track, unless matter of context should be found, warranting such construction. But there is not a word in the history which countenances the notion, that in this or in any respect Hannibal ever altered his course from that which he at first designed.

The latter part of the Marquis's line to the Alps is not more Polybian than the first. Having marched down the Rhone again nearly to where he crossed it, he performs some hundreds of stadia more, in search of mountains; reaches the valley of the Durance above Tallard; attends that river for a time; and, turning from it up the Ubaye, finds the ἀναβολή "Ἀλπεων in a defile on this river.

This critic has not explained the efficiency of Hannibal's cavalry in his cross cut from St. Paul to Tallard: and, though a plain country favourable to his cavalry ought to have given him advantages before he approached the Alps, the plain in which he rejoices is only in the angle made by the Durance and the Ubaye above La Breoule. His Allobroges, as might be expected, rest their claims on etymology.

This commentator will presently be joined by an Englishman, and by some means each will fancy himself at the Viso.

2. From Valence by Die and Luc to Remollon on the Durance.  
General Vaudoncourt, and General St. Cyr Nugues.

These commentators march to their first Alps from Valence. Proceeding by Chabreuil, Crest, Die, Luc, Mont Saleon and Upaix, they find their object near Tallard on the Durance. General Vaudoncourt marks his ἀναβολή thus, p. 45:—"étant arrivé à Tallard, Annibal s'arrête au pied des montagnes: il s'approche jusqu' aux bords de la Vence, au pied d'un défilé qui s'étend jusqu' à près Remollon." His Allobrogian town is Chorges.

In vindicating their march of 800 from Valence, these generals exercise rather an arbitrary discipline over the manuscripts. Not thinking the river a necessary accompaniment of the march of 800 stadia to the first Alps, General Vaudoncourt dispenses with it thus:—"Le passage est évidemment altéré: le genitif a été changé en accusatif par erreur et caprice, des copistes: ainsi il faut lire à Rhodano et non pas propter Rhodanum." General St. Cyr Nugues in accordance with this idea substitutes ἀπό for παρά; so as to express the idea, "en s'éloignant du fleuve." Now I cannot think that this exchange of ideas would be satisfactory: ἀπό would not instruct you on the direction of the march so well as παρά. Also those who propose the change ought to make it more largely: παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν describes the march of 1,400 stadia in c. 39, of which the 800 is a part; the prior part (600) being from the crossing to the Island. Polybius applies παρά to each part, and to the whole. But these generals have not told us to change παρά into ἀπό in the other two instances, which seems necessary for their consistency. Indeed, if "s'éloignant du fleuve" should become the amendment of the earlier part of the 1,400, Hannibal should strike away across country to the Alps as soon as he has crossed the Rhone: and the two generals might as well have adopted the theory of M. Fortia



d'Urban, who, in order to march through his own estate, makes Hannibal go direct from the Eygues to the Po. But in that General St. Cyr Nugues could not have joined him: he had local attachments as well as the accolade of the Eygues; he announces, p. 9, "Je suis habitant des bords de l'Isère." We shall see soon, that this fact has some value: it makes the general a sound witness on the banks of that stream, though it does not make him an authority on manuscripts.

3. *Up the Isère and the Drac to St. Bonnet. M. Letronne and M. Bandé de Lavalette.*

The inventor of this theory, which discloses the first Alps at St. Bonnet on the Drac, is M. Letronne; "sanè haud spernendus auctor:" a man of literary eminence, and the first assailant of M. De Luc. In two papers of the *Journal des Savans*, 1819, he thus explains the Carthaginian progress to the ἀναβολὴ τῶν Ἀλπεων, which he seems to identify with "l'entrée du Département des Hautes Alpes"—"Annibal arrivé sur le bord de l'Isère, marcha dix jours le long de ce fleuve, jusqu'à la montée des Alpes. Parvenu au confluent de l'Isère avec le Drac (qui dit-on, avoit alors lieu un peu au dessus de Grenoble, près de Gière,) il ne traversa ni l'Isère ni le Drac, torrent extrêmement large et impetueux à son embouchure: il remonta ce torrent, que sa largeur dut lui faire prendre pour la même rivière que l'Isère. Il le suivit jusqu'au dixième jour, dans l'espace de huit cents stades, à compter du point où il avoit trouvé l'île des Allobroges. Cette mesure prise le long de l'Isère et du Drac, porte à Saint Bonnet, à l'entrée du département des Hautes Alpes. Jusque-là dit Polybe, l'armée s'étoit trouvée en plaine: alors elle commença à gravir les Alpes." It is the distinguished writer of these words, who ventured to designate the theory of M. De Luc as "une opinion insoutenable jusqu'au point d'être absurde."

*Time and Distance.*—Time of travelling will depend not only on distance, but on character of country, on impediments, whether of nature or art. Much of M. Letronne's track, though he calls it all plain, is through a difficult country, both up the left bank of the Isère, and the left bank of the Drac; and, though, on arriving at St. Bonnet he says here is my ἀναβολὴ Ἀλπεων, and proclaims, "Jusque là l'armée s'étoit trouvée en plaine," some will consider that he plunges deep into Alps, to find the beginning of Alps; and that the conformity of his track requires to be considered under the next head.

*Plain favourable to Cavalry.*—We know, from Polybius, that the march of the army in company with the ally, after being refitted by him, was through plain country, ἐν ἐπιπέδοις, where the enemy, hovering about and threatening their progress, was deterred from attack by fear of the Carthaginian cavalry; and that this was the case till they were near to the first ascent. M. Letronne's course of plain is in two parts: that which borders the left bank of Isère, and that which borders the left bank of the Drac. I believe that his plain up the former river will, after the first few miles, be found to fail him. Perhaps he had no personal acquaintance with the country. Indeed, not one of those who follow that south bank of Isère and call it plain, profess that they have ever seen it: none have spoken in a way which directly offers their personal credit to the advantages of it for cavalry. While they follow the windings of the stream, there is a careful abstaining from responsible assertion of the character of the banks.

In questioning this river march of my adversaries, I do not bind them to "son lit;" I will allow their valleys the scope which belongs to them, though none is allowed to our valley of the Rhone; my doubt is whether any scope can be found in the adjacent country for their cavalry to take advantage of.

In the Oxford Dissertation it is said, p. 157, "Some of the highest of the secondary chains of the Alps take their rise immediately to the south of the Isère, and very much lower down the river than Grenoble. There never was any Roman road on the south bank of the Isère, between Valence and Grenoble, and the road which now exists there is barely passable, and nothing more than a mere communication from one village to another, and it is indeed only laid down in maps of a very large scale." I have referred to Cassini's map, where it is not laid down at all: a route will probably be given in the great map of France which is now in progress, General St. Cyr Nugues, repudiating this as the line of Hannibal, says, "De hautes montagnes escarpées y bordent l'Isère, depuis les environs de Pont-en-Royaus jusque vers Sassenage; la dominant et en resserrent le cours, particulièrement vis-à-vis Moirans, où le rocher fait une énorme saillie."

There is also an amusing and most honest confirmation of the true character of the river bank that I speak of, in the comment of M. Bandé de Lavalette, who adopts M. Letronne's track, following him to St. Bonnet. M. Larauza's scheme of progress had corresponded with theirs, as far as the Drac, and he includes the whole line in his description, "riche plaine et fertile;" but, when he escapes from them into the plain of Grésivaudan, he exposes the roughness of their further march to St. Bonnet, saying, p. 53:—"Lorsque de ce point (Grenoble) l'on prend à droite pour suivre le cours du Drac dans la direction de la montagne de Sassenage, on le voit traversant la plaine de Grenoble, à peine à deux ou trois lieues de la ville, s'enfoncer déjà dans les gorges que lui ouvrent les Alpes. Annibal, en se dirigeant de ce côté, serait donc entré dans ces montagnes, n'ayant fait au plus que 582 stades le long du fleuve."

M. de Lavalette protests against the unfairness of this, and

says with much candour that, if M. Larauza can be satisfied with a march on the south shore of the Isère below Grenoble, he is not the man to object to the valley of the Drac:—"Si, malgré les obstacles que paraît offrir le pays situé entre Valence et Grenoble, le savant professeur a cru qu'Annibal avait franchi cette distance, il ne sauroit être admis à présenter comme impossible le trajet de l'embouchure du Drac à St. Bonnet"—p. 64. This piece of good sense might have induced its author to dissent from M. Letronne's doctrine, "jusque là en plaine;" a proposition which is applied to the Isère below Grenoble, as well as to the Drac above it. We accept the comment as the evidence of a candid adversary, writing at Montpellier, whose summer excursions probably familiarised him with the romantic side of the Isère.

*Along the River.*—Having admired the usefulness of M. Letronne's cavalry from Pont-en-Royans to Sassenage, and seeing how their manœuvres still surprise us in approaching St. Bonnet, we may again notice his fulfilment of the requisite *παρά τὸν ποταμόν*. In addition to his ingenuity upon words, M. Letronne gives a moral explanation of the turn up the Drac. He has found the cause to be that, when Hannibal came to that river, he took it for the Isère, and so followed it. He has not told us where he picked up this anecdote: but, if it were true, it would show that Hannibal's intention had been to proceed along the Isère; so that, instead of M. Letronne's route by St. Bonnet to the Mont Genève, he must have designed a march either to the Cenis or the Little St. Bernard. On this point M. Letronne leaves us quite in the dark: he does not go on to say, whether Hannibal ever discovered his mistake, or whether he cared for it.

*March through Allobroges.*—M. Letronne insisted on the position of the Allobroges as occupants of the Island, in the *Journal des Savans*, Janv. 1819: but objected to the cir-

cuitous route attributed to Hannibal by De Luc, as "un détour bien étrange, quand il pouvoit arriver à Montméillan " en suivant l'Isère. Rien ne l'empêchoit, puisque les Allobroges, loin de contrarier alors sa marche, lui fournirent de " vivres, &c.—Quand à ce que Polybe appelle l'île, habitée, " dit il, par les Allobroges, on ne peut trouver un canton, &c. " —Cette île est donc l'insula Allobrogum." He speaks of "l'opinion incontestable qui place l'île entre le Rhone et Isère:" and explaining his own views of the route, M. Letronne says, "C'est à partir des Allobroges que commencent les grand difficultés de la question."

Such and so rational were M. Letronne's own impressions. When M. De Luc's reply made him aware that the truths which he admitted were unfavourable to a march up the Isère, he thus shuffles out of his opinions—"Cette difficulté " repose uniquement sur l'opinion qu'on a de l'étendue du " pays habité par les Allobroges à une époque fort postérieure au passage d'Annibal: mais on ignore absolument " si les Allobroges, nation puissante, n'avoient point à cet " époque étendu leur domination sur la plus grande partie " du Dauphiné; en sorte qu'il a pu avoir toujours à combattre les armées Allobroges. La circonscription du " territoire de la plupart de la Gaule, au temps de Cesar " d'Auguste, est encore fort incertaine: mais on peut assurer " que nous ignorons tout-à-fait l'état des choses au tems " d'Annibal. Comment se faire une objection de ce qui " n'est pas possible de connoître!"

We may be satisfied, that such an antagonist has no better consolation against the evidence of Cæsar, Cicero, and Strabo, to which in his simplicity he lately subscribed, than that these writers were not coeval with Hannibal. In January he pronounced in a tone of some decision, that the island which Polybius describes as the country of the Allobroges, was on the north of the Isère. In December he reconciles himself

to a march up the Drac to St. Bonnet, as the πορεία διὰ τῶν Ἀλλοβρίγων καλουμένων Γαλατῶν, and proclaims a victory gained over that people in the mountains beyond.

4. *By Moirans and Grenoble—up the Drac—down the Luie to the Durance near Tallard—up to the plain of La Breoule and to the defile on the Ubaye. A member of the University of Cambridge. 1830.*

This critic takes his ἀναβολή from the Marquis de St. Simon: his mode of getting there is his own. Having said that "after a continued and rapid flight of four days, Hannibal arrived at the Island," he conducts the army through Moirans to Grenoble, without Allobrogian obstruction. He recrosses the Isère at Grenoble and proceeds along the Drac and by Gap to the Durance—then across the latter river near Tallard, and for some miles along it, to the valley of the Ubaye and the village of La Breoule; and finds the ἀναβολή Ἀλπεων in a defile above that place.

*Time and Distance.*—As this author wrote a book to show that Polybius's distances are wholly without value, one could hardly expect him to give to time a respect which he denies to space. His march is singularly favoured by fortune. Unlike Mr. H. Long, he finds no enemy at Grenoble. Unlike M. Letronne, he finds no enemy near St. Bonnet—the hostile population do not avail themselves of local advantages to disturb him. He is aware that the 800 stadia are expended: but pushes on, calling M. Letronne an eminent scholar, and manages a few additional marches before he finds a portion of plain.

*Along the River.*—This author, p. 6, in challenging the march to the Mont du Chat, construes παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν "along the river by its very banks." When, in p. 61,

he applies the ποταμόν of the narrative to his own route, he says that the river along which Hannibal marched about 800 stadia in ten days, must be the river Drac. Still his interpretation of ποταμόν is liberal: his text and his red line of march disclose to us that the partiality to the Drac was not exclusive: the ally seems to have attended the march along the very banks not only of Rhone, Isère, and Drac, but of Luie, Durance, and perhaps of Ubaye. He then turned homeward. Hannibal vanquishes the defile of the Ubaye, and captures the Allobrogian town.

*Plain country for Cavalry.*—Though the march of this commentator is twice as long as that of Polybius, he does not require the cavalry to act till he is near the end of it, and just beginning the ascent. The Allobroges, an unsettled tribe of barbarians, of whom he says that nothing is known till 200 years after Hannibal, were enraged against him: he fortunately had the clothing and stores furnished by the sovereign of the island for assisting him in the battle of the Allobroges, p. 60: he crosses the Durance near Tallard, then for some miles marches to the valley of the Ubaye, and borrows from the Marquis de St. Simon these words of comfort:—"On voit au-dessous de la Breoule, sur les bords de la Durance, une espèce de plaine." The failure of plain, and the scene of combat, are thus brought near together:—"As long as the Carthaginians continue in the plains leading "to La Breoule, ἕως ἐν τοῖς ἐπιπέδοις ἦσαν, and the escort "from the island remains to protect them, they are unmolested; but, on the departure of their guards, when they "begin to push forward to the defiles, they find them preoccupied and closed against them by the enemy. Hannibal, "entering the pass by night, seizes on the heights. In the "morning the barbarians attack as they move slowly out of "the defile. Hannibal makes a descent on the enemy with "entire success, and captures their town," &c.—Pp. 62, 63.

*Through the Allobroges.*—In this advanced region, according to the anonymous critic, was fought the battle of the Allobroges, "who, on the departure of the island guards, commenced hostilities against Hannibal as he began the ascent." One hardly expected that this people would be allowed so great a stretch of territory; for the writer has recognised the Vocontii at the mouth of the Drac, and is now tending to Barcelonnette. However, he sustains the current of Allobroges, like many other critics, till he has passed his chosen spot for fighting with them. We leave him now, proceeding by the Chemin Royal; but shall hear of him again on the Col de Viso.

5. *Up the Isère and the Romanche by Bourg d'Oysans to the Mont de Lens and the Lauteret. Chevalier Folard.*

The Chevalier, writing in 1728, sought the Isère at Romans: proceeding up the river, and leaving Grenoble on his left hand, he faced the Drac vis-à-vis Vizelle. But, when he had got over it, and found himself in a practicable country, he did not profit by this advantage: he declined the "large et belle vallée," and encountered the arduous defiles of the Romanche. He says, iv. p. 89: "Je suis persuadé que la route "la plus ordinaire et la plus pratiquée des Gaulois en Italie, "étoit celle qui conduit du Mont de Lens, du Lautaret, et de "Briançon au Mont Genève." One would infer from this that he apprehended the first Alps at the Mont de Lens: for after crossing it, he has the first combat with the natives "ceux du pays." One cannot reconcile the landmarks of this writer with those of Polybius: for the historian certainly places the Allobrogian conflict at the first Alps; and it is not easy to deny the character of Alps to the mountains between Bourg D'Oysans and Briançon: but the Chevalier brings the Allobroges into action "entre Sezanne et le Mont de Sestrières."—P. 91.



This route, by which Folard, in contempt of Polybius, carries Hannibal to the Alps, is now the direct course from Grenoble to Briançon, one of the most astonishing works of Napoleon. Those who have seen it may try to imagine how the Carthaginian army would have made their way from Bourg d'Oysans to the Lautaret at a time when nature had received no corrections of art. A knowledge of this line will be gained from Brockedon's illustrations—"Pass of the Mont Genevre." The journey from Grenoble to Briançon is also well told by Mr. Weld's "Summer Ramble, 1850."

There is no hint of this way in any ancient writings earlier than the Chart of Peutinger. The Chevalier, however, rejoicing in his own "expérience de la guerre et un grande connaissance du pays," gravely instructs us, that it was the most usual and most frequented route of the Gauls into Italy, and therefore adopted by Hannibal. It is true that a good knowledge of several tracks qualifies a man for comparing them: but a great familiarity with one may rather disqualify him. So it was with Folard: his campaign in the Alps of France and Piémont had the same partial effect on his historical views that an acquaintance with M. Viso had on the Marquis de St. Simon, and a residence at Grenoble on my friend Henry Long, and the ownership of Lampourdier on the Comte de Fortia d'Urban. We shall meet the Chevalier again on his summit.

6. *Up the Isère to Le Cheylas. Mr. Ellis.*

*Distance.*—Mr. Ellis, looking along the Isère for a beginning of Alps, found it at Le Cheylas, 33 kilomètres above Grenoble. In p. 89 he says: "The total distance from Valence (or from the junction of the Rhone and Isère) to Le Cheylas, is  $87\frac{1}{2}$  Roman miles." This gives 700 of the 800 stadia of Polybius: and I presume the principle of measurement is that which Mr. Ellis prescribes elsewhere; "all the

way along the very "bank," which, below Grenoble, is not unimportant.

*River, Plain, Cavalry.*—We saw, *ante*, chap. 2, how Mr. Ellis acknowledges the river to be the Rhone, but urges that it *must be* the Isère. That effort may have distressed him: but, having passed Grenoble, he says comfortably, "The vale of Grésivaudan from Grenoble to Le Cheylas, being perfectly level, is quite adapted throughout to the action of cavalry." *Treatise*, p. 97. This is true; but Mr. Ellis's track has a very brief intimacy with the vale of Grésivaudan. It would have been more to the purpose if he could have said, "The south bank of Isère is quite adapted throughout to the action of cavalry." Letronne and Larauza spoke rashly of its being plain below Grenoble. Possibly they felt excused for imagining what their eyes had not contradicted. Mr. Ellis, more cautious, does not apply "plaine riche et fertile" to the whole, and commends it only from Grenoble to Le Cheylas.

Is it enough, then, that the last 33 kilomètres of his march to the Alps are suited to cavalry? The Allobroges of the history were contemplated as an object of fear before the march was resumed after the refitting: they are named as the cause why the prince of the island conferred on Hannibal his greatest benefit, by accompanying the march with his force through their country. Did that potentate cross the Isère with his troops, lead them through the embarrassed country which stands on the left bank below Grenoble, and effect the passage of the Drac, only that he might be ready to support Hannibal in the Grésivaudan during the few miles of plain which would occur before he turned into his Alps at Le Cheylas? Mr. Ellis has at least avoided the example of Larauza, who, to give length to his mountain march, began to measure without a semblance of mountain to begin with. He has turned sooner into mountain to provide for the elongation. He says that he gains  $26\frac{1}{2}$  miles by it; so we may be



more indulgent to what he calls the length of his march in the Alps.

*Allobroges.*—We have already examined the reasons which make Mr. Ellis to place this people south of Isère in the time of Hannibal. He has an additional reason in thinking that Allevard was "the chief town of an Allobrogic district, from its appearing to preserve, in its own name, that of the Allobroges." Accordingly, Hannibal goes that way to the Maurisne, taking possession of the town of Allevard. *Treatise*, p. 95.

N.B. I shall have strong objections to make to the system of interpreting Polybius pursued by this critic; but at present confine myself to a short notice of the five requisites, such as is given to every theory. When we come to the merits of his own peculiar doctrines, they will need to be sifted.

7. *La Chavane near the Isère, opposite to Montmélian.*  
*Larauza. Ukert.*

These two commentators are to be taken together, as objects of criticism, because their *ἀναβολή* is the same. Though one begins the 1,400 stadia at Tarascon, and the other at Roque-maure, they both desire to end it at La Chavane. Nothing could have emboldened M. Larauza to suggest such a point, but the pressing expediency of leaving a few miles to help out the scanty complement of his next section, the distance through the Alps; and it happened that, from that point to the end, Dr. Ukert took Larauza for his model.

It is most unreasonable to treat a village standing in the plain as a beginning of Alps. There are earlier points in a track up the Isère, where mountain might suggest itself, as between St. Nazaire and Sassenage, after entering the department of the Drôme. But, if a traveller along the south shore of Isère can cross the Drac without encountering mountains, he cannot pretend to find one obstructing his journey to Aiguebelle, sooner than the defile at that place. There is undulation of

surface for the few latter miles. At Planaise, Coize, Malta-verne, Bourgneuf, you are passing through an easy country, not mountain; there is no pretence of *δυσχωρία* till you have passed through the defile. Brockedon says that the road is not interesting till near Aiguebelle, at the entrance of the valley of the Arc about five miles above its confluence with the Isère. Larauza himself writes—"Le chemin va sans cesse montant et descendant à travers ces riantes collines qui se succèdent depuis La Chavane jusqu'à la croix d'Aiguebelle."

*Along the River.*—As I hinted in a previous chapter, Dr. Ukert was not disposed to compromise himself as a scholar by making the word *ποταμόν* to represent two or three rivers in succession, or to have grammatical reference to any but the Rhone. Nevertheless, while he deems the word to refer to *Ῥοδανόν*, he manages to march up the Isère. The word for this river being in manuscripts "Icaras," not "Isaras," he thinks that Polybius blundered upon both rivers above the confluence, taking the Rhone for the Icaras, and the Icaras for the Rhone; that Polybius wrote of the Isère as bearing the great name Rhone, and deemed the Rhone to be the tributary under the name of Scaras. Such is the discovery of Dr. Ukert; but I think there can be few, if any other, who do not acquiesce in the good sense which has accounted for Scaras being found in manuscripts. When Holstenius met with *τῇ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ῥοδανὸς, τῇ δὲ Σκάρας* (the rivers which form the point of the island), he observed that the capital sigma, now written Σ, is in some old manuscripts, C; hence he supposed that OICAPAC had come to be written CKAPAC,—IC being made into K. Another version has been found in *Ἀραρός*, which led Iac. Gronovius, in his edition of Polybius, to this comment: "*τῇ δὲ ὁ Ἀραρός*—non est hujus fluvii ille cursus " ut possit cum Alpibus et Rhodano insulam facere. Optimè, "*ὁ γεωγραφικώτατος* Chiverius, lib. i. Italiae, cap. 33, Isaras

"reponit: et acutissimus Holstenius errorem addit natum "majusculis literis confusis CKOPAC pro OIKAPAC." Dr. Ukert does not yield to this; and says (ii. 588), "We dare not change the name Scaras, as the thing does not admit of "proof, and we find in Gaul many names for the same river." What then? This might furnish Polybius with an excuse, if he really gave the wrong name Icaras; but it is not believed that he did so. If he had written Scaras, he would have written *ὁ Σκάρας*: but the manuscripts have *τῇ δὲ Σκάρας*, a noun without its article. There is something, therefore, which requires correction, and he who resists the correction of Holstenius should favour us with a better one. (See Schweighæuser's *Adnotationes ad Pol.* iii.)

Whatever might be in a manuscript, as the title of the second river, the Rhone would still be the Rhone; the Island, which is identified by so many characteristics, would still be the Island; and the second river, under any name, must be that which we call Isère. With all due respect for Dr. Ukert, his professed allegiance to manuscripts furnishes no rational excuse for his dogma upon *ποταμόν*. We give him credit, as a scholar, for repudiating the constructions of the many other critics, but the failure in their contrivances is in no degree remedied by his own.

*Ten days. Plain for Cavalry.*—M. Larauza seems to apologise for the very slow march made by the army along his river, the Isère; and, for making it credible that such a march could occupy ten days, expatiates on the formidable stream of the Drac, as if it would be the one cause of a tardy progress. But the apparently candid confession of this difficulty must not lead us to blink the other objections to such a course; it should rather call attention to them. M. Larauza gives a detailed and forcible history, pp. 88, 89, 90, of the ravages of this torrent; of the efforts made in the time of Louis XIII. by the Maréchal de Lesdiguères, and in later times, to turn its

course and compress its inundations; saying at last, "Est-il "nécessaire de dire qu'un fleuve de cette nature n'est point "navigable?"

Now, though there is no Drac nor anything like it in the tale of Polybius, and though there is in that tale the characteristic of *ἐπιπέδα*, which is rather kept out of sight by M. Larauza, I am ready to concede that, if the Carthaginian army had gone up the Isère, they would not have found the Drac navigable. For them to have got over it by any other method than wading, vessels and rafts must have been brought up from the Isère, either by land-carriage or by towing against the torrent: and either mode would have required the favouring aid of the inhabitants; and, according to the history, the foreign intruders apprehended from them the most vigilant hostility. In the march to the Alps, after the refitting of the force, this enemy, watching the opportunity to destroy, was deterred from attack not only by the presence of the allied force, but by the Carthaginian cavalry. What would have been the terrors of cavalry, themselves struggling through a series of intractable whirlpools? Why did the Allobroges of Ukert and Larauza tolerate the invaders in their march below Grenoble, and acquiesce in their passage of the Drac? Why permit a progress which they had the power to arrest? In a line to and over the Drac, conflicts would have ensued worthy to have been prominent among the casualties of the expedition.

The unfavourable nature of the country along the lower Isère has been shown from the writings of opponents, General St. Cyr Nagues, and M. de Lavalette, as well as from those of our friends. Yet, while M. Larauza imagines, without authority from the historian, the physical impediment of the Drac, as the cause of slow progress, he shuts his eyes to the want of cavalry ground which that authority requires, as favouring the progress of the Carthaginians. At last, however, he cannot help feeling that the exploit which he conceives,

namely the safe surmounting of such an obstacle as the Drac in defiance of a hostile population, was worthy to find a place in the history. So he accounts for the historian's silence upon it. This is his solution, p. 91: "Il est certain que "ce nom (Drac) ne c'est pas conservé dans la géographie "ancienne, et que cette rivière paroît avoir été très peu connu "des anciens: ce qui pouvait expliquer la silence de Polybe "sur le fait de son passage par l'armée Carthaginoise." A most indiscreet comment! It admits that such events were events to be told; but suggests that Polybius was prevented from telling them by the uncertainty of a name. Now Polybius in the beginning of the narrative told us that he should not attempt names in an unexplored country; not that he should omit facts, when he was at a loss for a name. He had no name for man or place, when he described the passage of the Rhone: he had no name for man or place, when he described the dangerous conflict which preceded the arrival on the summit: but such events stand forth in their importance. If a river like the Drac had crossed our path when Hannibal traversed the plain of Dauphiné with the enemy hanging on his march, M. Larauza would have seen it probable, that the forbearance of the Allobrogian chiefs would not have lasted to the Alps; but that the armament which struggled against the floods would have met also with human opposition.

*Allobroges.* I have already controverted the doctrines of Larauza and Ukert on this head; which rest partly on the perversion of words, partly on the supposed ubiquity of that people, and partly on misrepresentation of history, including their supposed migration northwards from the maritime district just before the time of Strabo.

There is one auxiliary comment, the merit of which belongs wholly to Dr. Ukert. He writes thus: "Dass diese Völker-  
schaft früher ein grösseres Gebiet als später besass und weiter

"gegen Süden sich ausdehnte, als nachher, darf man wohl  
"aus des Apollodorus Bekanntschaft mit derselben schliessen,  
"der sie als die mächtigste Nation Gallien's schildert, und zu  
"seiner Zeit war die Kunde der Griechen auf das der Küste  
"nahe Land beschränkt." "That this people possessed a  
"larger domain in earlier than in later times, and extended  
"itself further to the south, one might infer from Apollodorus's  
"acquaintance with them, who represents them as the most  
"powerful nation of Gaul: and in his time the knowledge of  
"the Greeks was limited to the country near the coast."—  
Pp. 590, 591.

The works of Apollodorus, all but one short treatise called *Bibliotheca*, are lost: and the statement here imputed to him is known only from six words which occur in a work of a much later period. In the surviving fragments of a Dictionary called *ἔθνικὰ*, or *περὶ πόλεων* by Stephanus of Byzantium, are these words—*Ἀλλόβρυγες, ἔθνος δυνατώτατον Γαλατικόν, ὡς Ἀπολλοδώρος*. Hereupon Dr. Ukert argues that, as the knowledge of the Greeks was restricted to the country near the coast, the name of a great Gaulish nation which reached the Greek Apollodorus, must have been the name of a nation dwelling towards the sea. The argument would be worth nothing, if applied to a time some centuries earlier: for, from the period when a body of strangers founded the city of Marseille, the reputation of a state which rejoiced in the navigation of the Isère and the Rhone, might be carried through commercial channels to the whole civilized world. But who was Apollodorus, the Greek whose knowledge of the Allobroges is deemed incredible? He was a learned Athenian, born (see *Fasti Hellenici*, iii. p. 546) about the year 168 B.C.; and who lived to about 88 B.C. He must have read of the Allobroges as a boy in the schools; he would read of them in the very history which we are examining, and not improbably had acquaintance with the author. Where is the meaning of the proposition that "the knowledge of the Greeks was confined

to the country near the coast?" This insinuation of ignorance is surely injudicious. In the time of Apollodorus there was full intercourse of knowledge between the great stations on the Mediterranean: the plays of Terence, which tell the ways of Athens, were acted when Apollodorus was in his cradle. As to the Allobroges, whose very existence it is sought to mystify, it was fifty years before Apollodorus was born, that Scipio came within four days' march of that people, and vainly hoped that they would give to his enemy the check which he had failed to give himself: and it was nearly a century later, when the account came that this same people had been defeated in a great engagement, and, like Athens herself, had submitted to the dominion of the victorious republic. Dr. Ukert has been sorely pressed for grounds of argument; and, amidst historical and geographical perplexities, we see the climax of distress in this desperate appeal to Apollodorus.

Such is the list of points, proposed by the writers named, for beginning the march through Alps: we have put forth our reasons for believing Polybius to have intended the Mont du Chat. Before we reach it, we have taken leave of the sovereign of the Island, wishing him a prosperous journey home, not through a series of hostile nations, nor through the prohibitions of unfavouring nature, but over undulating plains, cultivated by those whom he claims as his subjects. We pause with Hannibal at the ἀναβολή: the ἀναβολή πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις, and the ἀναβολή τῶν Ἄλπεων; for they are the same thing. We pause with him πρὸς ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς. To this point our construction of the line of march is exempt from an embarrassment, which belongs in some degree to all rival theories: our beginning of Alps is unquestionably a beginning; our course over the plain of Dauphiné has never felt the contiguity of mountain. In approaching the Mont du Chat, we recognise, in a way not to be mistaken, the beginning or first ascent of Alps.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART V.

#### THE MOUNTAIN MARCH. ASCENT.

#### CHAPTER I.

*Some theories are not worked out beyond their first Alps. Those of the Cenis are laboured throughout their 1,200 stadia. Termini and distance. By the Little St. Bernard. By the Cenis. By the Little Cenis. The events of each of the fifteen days.*

HAVING crossed the Rhone, and reached the beginning of Alps, we look forward to the ultimate terminus, and have to trace the march till it brings us to a country beyond the mountains, the plain of Italy. This remainder of the march should be about 1,200 stadia. Polybius says, λοιπαὶ δὲ τῶν Ἄλπεων ὑπερβολαὶ περὶ χιλίους διακοσίους:—the heights of Alps, being the residue of the march, about twelve hundred stadia. This comprehends the entire passage; the first Alpine ascent, and the last Alpine descent. In the fifty-sixth chapter, the act of transit is represented by the singular ὑπερβολή:—"Hannibal arrived into the Padan plain and the nation of Insubrians, having performed the whole march from Carthage in five months, and the passage of the Alps in fifteen days." The word is similarly used in c. 34, 6, and c. 47, 6.



The initial event is the forcing of the first Alps, in front of which we left the army on closing the discussion of our second question. The final event is the touching the great northern plain of Italy at the point which gives escape from the barrier of the mountains. The termini of such a march, as proposed by other commentators, must be considered: but the scope of inquiry into details will now be narrowed. It would be impracticable to compare henceforward at each step the merits of every adverse theory, so minutely as has been done to the points at which they severally professed to reach the Alps. The advocates of the Cenis will claim a far greater share of attention than other opponents; indeed they might be treated, as the only survivors in the contest. If I have substantiated the march up the Rhone to the Mont du Chat, the advocates of the Mont Genève have broken down irremediably: but it is still open to the Cenisians, to confess the error of so soon deserting the Rhone, and to try their fortune in the Arc valley after a march through Chambéry.

There is this reason for attending to the pretensions of the Maurienne: arguments are attempted in detail throughout all parts of their progress to the plain, by Larauza and Ellis: and each invites an answer. They have struggled elaborately to show their fulfilment of Polybian requisites; on which the subscribers to other theories offer little or nothing to be controverted. Truth will be better worked out, by directly opposing those systematised errors, than in sifting the confusion of writers who hardly express a reason for their opinions.

Moreover the theory of the Cenis has of late acquired some reputation of strength. Dr. Ukert, who, as we have seen, argues against the Rhone, and follows Larauza through the mountains, is proclaimed by one most eminent as "defending his theory with all the light that profound geographical learning can throw upon the question." Dr. Arnold, too, though not adopting the Cenis, has said that it suits the

description of the march in some respects better than any other pass: it is not clear what those respects may be: but the remark, imperfect as it is, has given encouragement to those who sympathise with it.

*Termini and Distance. The Little St. Bernard.*

It has been seen how the march up the Rhone, as told by Polybius, brings us to the beginning of Alps, at or near the village of Chevelu, in front of the Mont du Chat: here is one terminus. Where then is the other, the exit from Alps and entrance into the plain? In determining this point, we must attend to the author whom we are interpreting, as to time and space; cautious of the distinction between plain and mountain.

I have myself passed down the valley of Aosta: but in a state which prohibited all endeavour to notice where should be deemed the exit from the Alps. I can only apprehend it from the writings of others. In his second edition, p. 213, De Luc says, "C'est à St. Martin que finit la vallée d'Aoste, et c'est à une demi-lieue de ce village que l'on découvre pour la première fois les plaines de l'Italie. On est sorti tout-à-fait des montagnes que l'on est encore à une lieue et demie d'Ivrée." The Oxford Dissertation places St. Martin twelve miles below Verres: and it is said, p. 118: "St. Martin may fairly be called the entrance of the Alps: for two secondary chains of mountains, which run off at right angles from the main chain, meet a little above it, and form a very narrow pass, that closes the valley of Aoste as with a door. The descent, which is rapid the greater way from Aoste, ends here; and between St. Martin and Ivrea there are no mountains, but only a wide valley with hills on each side, and Ivrea itself is completely detached, and stands in the plains." Settimo Vittone and Monte-Stretto, which are a little way forward, have been mentioned as points of perfect liberation



into plain. In short, it is reasonable to say, that at or near St. Martin the Carthaginians hailed their escape from the mountains.

Roman armies used this way over the Alps within a century after it was visited by Polybius. The Itinerary of Antoninus gives the distances along the whole line in which our termini stand: that is to say, between Labisco (Chevelu) and Ivrea, which is below St. Martin and the two other points suggested. I give the stations on the route, adding the modern names. See Wesseling's *Vet. Roman. Itineraria*, and *Oxford Dissertation. Appendix*.

Labisco (Chevelu) to Lemincum	XIV	Chamberri
„ Mantala* . . .	XVI	near Pierre d'Albigni
„ Ad Publicanos† .	XVI	Conflans
„ Oblimum . . .	III	La Bâtie
„ Darantasia . . .	XIII	near Moustier
„ Bergintrum . .	XVIII	Bourg St. Maurice
„ Arebrigium‡ . .	XXIV	Pré St. Didier
„ Augusta Prætoria .	XXV	Aosta
„ Vitricium . . .	XXV	Verres
	155	
Farther to St. Martin about	10	
	165 R. miles.	

I believe these official measurements of distance to be upon the whole excessive. One would suppose that an estimate of

\* D'Anville suggested Montailleu: but it is negated by the distance XVI: and one cannot doubt that a route from Chambéry up the Isère would always be carried by Montmélian.

† At Conflans (confluentes) the river Arly, probably the boundary of the Allobroges, falls into the Isère.

‡ Peutinger's Chart gives XII to the summit, in Alpe Graia: VI to Ariolica (la Tuile), and then XVI to Arebrigium—this X must be rejected.

distance through unknown mountains made by Polybius without any sort of mechanical aid, would be less accurate than an official register made in a much later day. The *βηματισταί* of Rome ought to have advantage over the adventurous traveller. However, which was nearer the truth is a matter of fact to be inquired. It can only be answered by comparison with ascertained distances at the present day. Speaking from what is now before me, I believe at present that the 150 miles of Polybius comes nearest to the actual length of the mountain march by the Graian Alp. The authors of the Dissertation correct from their own experience some figures in the Itinerary as excessive. Albanis Beaumont is referred to: but it is not clear what sort of lieue he uses; and his estimates are not applied to the Italian side. There is at present no official itinerary: but now that Albertville is in France, we may soon see the whole laid down in a *livre de poste*. In the mean time, if we carry the measurement to about St. Martin, I expect that about 1,200 stadia from the *ἀναβολή* is nearer the truth than can be gathered from the Itinerary.

#### *Termini and Distance. Mont Cenis.*

The termini, between which Larauza, followed by Ukert, measures 1,200 stadia in the Alps, are La Chavane on the Isère and Rivoli. See Larauza, 159, and Ukert, ii. part ii. 606. La Chavane not being in the *livre de poste*, they take the measurement from Montmélian, which is on the opposite side of the river. La Chavane is an inadmissible point for the beginning of Alps. There is no character which entitles it to represent that critical point in the march. Wherever you apprehend this point of division between the fourth and fifth sections of the march, it must be marked by an ascent of mountain: and, if a traveller is supposed to have arrived into the vale of Grésivaudan without encountering Alps to chal-

lenge his advance, there are none to challenge him till he comes to Aiguebelle.

The consequence of the mistake which I point out, is that, on a scrutiny of M. Larauza's mountain measurement, we must deny to him three postes out of the 28 which he reckons from Montmélian to Rivoli, quoting them from the "Etat général des Postes du Royaume de France, 1814," and reduce them to 25. Also they must undergo a further reduction near the other terminus, which is erroneous. I believe that a traveller is quite out of the mountains at Avillano, which is  $1\frac{3}{4}$  postes short of Rivoli. De Saussure, § 1,294, says of Avillano, "C'est à peu près là que se termine la chaîne des Montagnes qui bordent le côté méridional de cette vallée : la chaîne Septentrionale, de l'autre côte de la Doire, se prolonge un peu davantage. Mais de là jusqu'à Turin on ne rencontre plus de Montagnes proprement dites." In accordance with this, I am assured by one on whose observation more recently made I can safely rely, that at Avillano you actually *debouche* into the open plain, the feet of the mountains being bent back and pared away. If these observations are just, the 28 are further reduced to  $23\frac{1}{2}$ ; and that distance at most can be claimed by M. Larauza between the just termini of a mountain march over the Cenis.

But, in addition to these corrections, we must remember, that the object of our inquiry is not the number of French postes, but the number of Greek stades. A French poste was vulgarly reckoned two lieues of 2,000 toises each, on which estimate  $23\frac{1}{4}$  postes would be 46,500 toises = 123 R. miles = 984 stades. But a poste is not 2,000 toises. The Oxford Dissertation says with great truth, p. 183: "The post-book cannot be considered a fair criterion of mensuration; for it is well known, that in mountainous countries the distances are always over-rated for the benefit of postmasters. Thus, for instance, the post-book reckons three posts or fifteen miles

"(nearer sixteen) from Lanslebourg to the stage on the summit of the pass, whereas the real distance is not ten miles; and of course the old road, by which we ought to make our reckoning, would be still shorter." I find this specimen of exaggeration to be practically confirmed by M. Albanis Beaumont; he accomplished those three postes in  $3\frac{3}{4}$  hours: and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  of those hours were consumed in the montée to the Chalet de la Meut. In that montée his rate was more likely to be two miles and a half an hour than four. In Brockedon's journal he complains at an earlier part of this same journey, of the extortion in charging distances: saying, "At Modane our voiturier insisted upon resting: we walked on to Lanslebourg, fourteen miles, though it is stated in the French post-book to be four posts." No man would be a better judge of his own rate of walking along a road than Mr. Brockedon: he probably intends English miles; so that he was charged fully nineteen for what was really fourteen. I believe that, if the mountain march over Mont Cenis from Aiguebelle to Avillano were rightly measured, it would be found not only not to reach 1,200 stadia = 150 miles, but to be hardly more than 100 miles.

*Termini and Distance. Little Mont Cenis.*

The termini of Mr. Ellis are Le Cheylas on the Isère and Avillano. He deviates from the track of M. Larauza at Le Cheylas: there quitting the valley of Grésivaudan, he moves into the mountains, and bears up for Aiguebelle in a track separated from that valley by a range of hills parallel with the course of the Isère: by this he professes to reach Aiguebelle in  $26\frac{1}{2}$  Roman miles: he then makes it 106 miles from Aiguebelle to Avillano. If he becomes mountainous  $26\frac{1}{2}$  miles sooner than Larauza, he brings out a result which, though short of the estimate of Polybius, is nearer the truth

than those of other patrons of the Maurienne: and, if his theory can survive the more serious impeachments of its merits, we need not care for its defect in mountain distance.

*Time with events of each day.*

In order that my own comments may be intelligible, I will here state how I apprehend the army to have been employed in each part of its progress over the mountains from the ἀναβολή to the plain. Polybius says plainly, in c. 56, that the passage of the Alps had been effected in fifteen days. I believe him to mean what he says: and I interpret him by distributing the events which occurred in those days, as follows: the subject necessarily dividing itself into ascent, summit, descent.

1. Hannibal forces the pass of Alps, and occupies the town beyond it.
2. He remains encamped at the town.
- 3, 4, 5. The march is resumed, and continued for three days without interruption.
6. On the fourth day from the town, Hannibal holds conference with natives: makes treaty with them: receives supplies and hostages: they attend the march.
- 7, 8. The march proceeds, the false friends accompanying it.
8. Hannibal is attacked by the natives, when passing through a ravine; and he stays back with part of the army about a certain White Rock during the night.
9. He reaches the summit early in the morning, and encamps.
10. He remains on the summit, and addresses the troops.
11. He begins the descent: comes to the broken way: fails in an attempt to get round it: encamps, and commences the repair of the road: which becomes practicable for horses by the morning.

12. The cavalry and beasts of burthen, with the chief part of the infantry, go forward: the work of repair is continued.

13. The work is continued; and a passage is effected for the elephants, who are moved on from the broken way.

14. The army continues the descent.

15. The advance of the army touches the plain.

CHAPTER II.

*Ascent to the Little St. Bernard. The forcing of the Mont du Chat, and occupation of Allobrogian town. Army rests there one day. On fourth day of marching from the town, conference with natives, who attend them for two days. Bourg St. Maurice and environs. The Reclus. Ravine and Roche Blanche. Modern evidence. Melville. Brockedon. Arnold. Character of conflict. Summit reached on the morrow, being the ninth day of Alps.*

THOSE who will examine the rise to the Mont du Chat from the plain of Dauphiné, and the precipitous descent on the other side to the level which leads to Chambéry, will probably acknowledge the scene to admit of the incidents related by Polybius on the first assault of the Alps by the Carthaginians.

In 1854, from the garden of my house at Aix, I had in constant view an indication of Hannibal's track: there is a notch in the upper line of the mountain ridge seen from that side of the lake, which announces a passage at this part of the Grande Chartreuse range. The ground on the Col has of course been greatly altered since it was visited by Polybius: within two centuries it probably was disturbed by the engineering of the Romans, who constructed a military way through this natural opening. Very great changes and improvements have taken place in our own days. Objects which called

attention in 1819 had ceased to be perceptible in 1854. Just before I left Aix, my friend Wickham came over to me from Geneva for a day or two: we went, a large party, across the lake with our donkeys; and, having passed the Col, turned to the left under the brow of the mountain to a farm called La Vacherie, from whence the young and active usually climb to the Dent du Chat, and enjoy, if atmosphere is propitious, a glorious view of Mont Blanc. My friend was greatly struck with the magnificent road made since he had examined the pass, by the King of Sardinia, and which, keeping near to the precipice above the lake, affords by zigzags a convenient ascent. He had made the journey with Cramer in 1819 in a two-horse car: and, though it was evident to us where their track must have been, it was evident only because it could be nowhere else: not a vestige was perceptible to the eye, to show that a road ever had been: on the contrary, it seemed impossible.

*The Allobrogian town.*

Commentators have desired to identify some known place with the town to which the Allobroges had retired for the night, and which after their defeat on the following day was occupied by Hannibal. H. Long, who fights the battle at Grenoble before he comes near to his beginning of Alps, suggests La Tronche, which seems almost a part of Grenoble. Larauza, p. 103, after entering the defile at Aiguebelle, says: "Entre Argentil et Eypierre on aperçoit divers chemins qui conduisent aux villages jetés çà et là dans les montagnes: la ville prise par Annibal devait être située par là au milieu des monts qu'on a sur la droite, &c." Mr. Ellis, in his track to the Maurienne, fixes upon Allevard. Wickham and Cramer, after crossing the Mont du Chat, suggest Bourget. If called upon to give a name to the town spoken of, I would say the village of Bordeau: not because there are habitations there

now, but because the situation is just below the col of the Chat. I do not, however, perceive that we need find any modern place for representing the town to which the Allobroges retired; if in that day the Gauls of this district resembled those who had already found their way into Italy (and why should they have surpassed them in refinement?): "They dwelt in unwalled villages, not acquainted with artificial comforts: with their beds of rushes and their chief diet of meat: practising only war and agriculture, they led simple lives: ignorant of other science or art, the wealth of each was his cattle and his gold; as in all circumstances these were easy to be shifted with themselves at their pleasure."\* The town whence issued the disturbers of the march of Hannibal, has not only no claim to present identification, but none to other commemoration of history.

*March renewed after a day's rest.*

No incidents are attributed to the first three days of this onward march from the Allobrogian town: it proceeded securely and without aspect of danger, (as we believe, through Chambéry, and by Montmélian up the Isère,) till the coming forth of the natives on the fourth day. All that we read is very consistent with the region here spoken of: the booty that was obtained after the defeat of the Allobrogian leaders was a probable thing in the country near Chambéry: the country forward was without difficulty; and as far as Conflans, as thought by some, it continued to be the country of the Allobroges; whose leaders, if any survived, might be satisfied with the defeat which they had sustained. Mr. Brockedon says that from Montmélian to Conflans the road ascends through a succession of beautiful scenes; that the inhabitants are numerous, and the valley highly cultivated. The Oxford

\* Polyb. ii. 17.

Dissertation says: "From Chambéry to Montmélian the valley " is large and very rich; and from thence to Conflans, though " not quite so wide as the valley of Grésivaudan, it is still very " large. For six miles before we arrive at Conflans the road " is quite straight, very fine and broad, the country covered " with fine wood when it is not under corn or vines."\*

In this part of the progress there is competition between the valley of the Isère above Montmélian, and the valley of the Arc. They who will investigate the characters of these two approaches to the main chain, will find along the Isère a great degree of richness belonging to the most fertile and most populous valley of the Alps. Along the Arc they will notice variations in the degree of barrenness through a valley poor in produce and inhabitants. This characteristic of the approach to the Cenis is differently appreciated by those who assert its claims. Larauza, seeing that the country traversed must have been competent to support a population such as the history tells, quotes from De Saussure a sentence or two containing some faint idea of vegetation; and so struggles to bestow fertility on the barren Maurienne. Dr. Ukert confesses the sterility, and treats it as favouring the notion that the invaders suffered from privations. Mr. Ellis regards the fertility of a valley as a matter of inference rather than of fact: and deduces its productiveness from the population of the entire province to which it belongs in comparison with that of other Sardinian provinces. Thus, as there is no population on Mont Blanc or Monte Rosa, and a very small one on the Great St. Bernard and other tracts within the very large province of Aosta, he assumes the barrenness of the Val d'Aosta from the population of the Province of that name. *Treatise*, pp. 156-7.

\* M. Replat's theory carries the march north-east from Conflans to Beaufort, thence to the Bonhomme, and over the Col de la Seigne down the Allée Blanche.

In applying time and events to the track which I support, I will pause, as may be convenient, to compare it with other tracks, in respect of any distinct topic; but shall afterwards separately point out any further objections to which these may appear liable.

*Conference with Natives, on fourth day of renewed march.*

At Conflans we suppose the natives to have come forth with tokens of peace and amity, and to have conciliated the friendship of the invaders, as told by Polybius in the 52d chapter. From that place, now Albertville, we suppose the march to proceed up the Isère by the usual road through Moutiers and Ayme to Bourg St. Maurice. Some writers desire to fix precisely the point of each night's encampment. I pretend not to do this: I cannot even tell what progress they made beyond Conflans on the day of the interview with the natives. It would be vain to delineate each mile of the march, either above or below the great bend of the river at Moutiers. The circumstance of an important body of the natives coming forth to meet them with professions of amity was likely to take place on the confines of a new people, and Conflans appears probable: but there are no incidents in the narrative which mark the track by any special features of country, till we draw near to the region of the main ascent. We only know, that a portion of the natives were for two days accompanying the march, acting on the conspiracy which they had formed: their purpose was to defer the onset till the march should be coming to the extremity of the inhabited district. It is to be presumed that the route in use would always attend the course of the river: and this route, though in parts difficult, afterwards became the line of the Roman way: the *Itinerary* gives 34 miles from Ad Publicanos (Conflans) to Bergintrum (Bourg St. Maurice): Darantasia (Tarentaise) is about midway between those places.



*Bourg St. Maurice and the environs.*

We read that on the second day from that on which the conference with the natives took place, the armament was suddenly attacked in passing through a difficult defile. Now it is clear that the conflict which here ensued must have been near to the great mountain of the pass: for on the morrow Hannibal was encamped on the summit, gaining it on the ninth day of Alps. Thus the scene of this engagement is looked for under the control of intelligible limits, being clearly within a day's march of the summit, which Hannibal must have intended to reach on the day when the attack was made. There is also a particularity of circumstance in the story of it, which may be expected not to suit the approach to one mountain so well as the approach to another. Let us endeavour to apprehend the nature of country and of the movements; and consider whether the facts related may have occurred in the regions to which we assign them.

The traveller, before he approaches Bourg St. Maurice, has been released from the closer contractions of the valley of the Isère. The place stands in meadow ground on the right bank of the river; and, as you go down towards it along the side of the mountain below which it stands, you look forwards over the town, when a mile or more distant, to that open ground beyond it which has been called the plain of Scez, with the Graian Alp beyond in the distance. The oblong-looking surface of this plain, so viewed afar off, might be thought level: but it has a decided acclivity: it may be a mile and a half in length; less in width.

I have the impression that, in so descending upon Bourg St. Maurice, and looking over and beyond the town, there was presented to the eye with some distinctness that seeming plain, enclosed as it were in a frame of four sides. The Isère, whose direction has been changed before it comes to Bourg St.

Maurice, may be called the under line: pine-clad mountains make the opposite or upper side; and a similar boundary is continued on the right-hand side: while on the left is a bare crumbling mountain, below which the Reclus is making its way towards you. In the lower right-hand corner of the picture is the village of Scez: in the upper left-hand corner is the λευκόπετρον of Polybius. Carrying your sight over the opening there, you have the Alp Graia in the distance.\*

After you have passed through St. Maurice, and are proceeding up the right bank of Isère, the Versoy torrent crosses you from the left, bringing the waters from above Chapieu: and presently the Reclus comes in, running directly towards you from the Little St. Bernard: and being crossed, also falls into the Isère: which river has bent his course towards you, from the mountains above Scez, among whom his higher stream is lost to the eye.

*The Reclus.*

The Reclus has risen under the brink of the summit plain of the Graian Alp, and falling rapidly for some miles in a chasm or trough between mountains that swell on either side, it has at length to struggle through large masses of rock, now confusedly piled together just under the White Rock, which stands erect on the left bank, facing the precipitous ascent to St. Germain: it escapes through a bridge: and, flowing on under the mountain on its right bank with the plain of Scez on the left, falls, as stated above, into the Isère.

The present travelling route from Bourg St. Maurice to the summit, having crossed the Reclus just above where it falls into the Isère, comes to Scez. There you leave the valley of the Isère, and proceed diagonally over what I call the plain

\* See, in Oxford Dissertation, sketch of the Passage over the Little St. Bernard.

of Scez, passing northwards through the small village of Villars, to the corner where the White Rock overhangs the Reclus. The road crosses this river by the bridge close to the end of that rock, and is carried in zigzags up the precipitous mountain on the other side: on which is placed the village of St. Germain. It then keeps the high ground on the right bank of the torrent, far above and out of sight of its channel.

Since I rode up through St. Germain on a mule in 1854, I have referred to Brockedon's portrait of the *λευκόπετρον* in his "Passes of the Alps." He does not introduce the opposite precipice with its church and houses: I conceive that, though not so perpendicular, it rises the higher of the two. The position which he took for making this drawing must have turned his view not directly across the stream, but more to the right beyond the village; and perhaps the sketch was not finished on the spot, but part left to be filled up from memory: for I can hardly think that there exists the gentle ascent which is represented on the right bank from near the level of the torrent. Not that any impressions of scenery which I may retain from that expedition can claim to be relied on: but in this instance I feel confirmed by sketches of my companion.

I see no reason that it may not always have been practicable for a pedestrian from Bourg St. Maurice to make his ascent to the Graian Alp by keeping the mountain brow on the right bank of the Reclus without ever crossing it; or by keeping the brow of the mountain above Scez without ever recrossing that torrent. But the middle course over the plain by the ravine and White Rock, is that to which the controversy directs our attention; being that which has been brought into use by modern art, and which seems recorded as matter of history 2,000 years ago. Believing that the army entered that plain, and that there the assault of the barbarians took

place, we desire to note all circumstances clearly; though they may not all be essential for establishing that the march was over the Little St. Bernard.

*The Ravine and Roche Blanche.*

We read that the lateral attack, with rocks and stones, was made upon Hannibal's troops as they were passing through a difficult ravine; and that a large part of their force remained during the night near a certain white rock. The rock is obvious: the ravine is open to speculation: for, strange as it may appear, the ground has not, that I can learn, been surveyed so as to be duly evidenced. The tracks which suggest the idea of a ravine, *φάραγξ*, are the channel of the Reclus itself, which runs at the foot of the rock; and one, which is supposed to have been the course of the Roman road behind the rock.

Neither of these passages has ever received a sufficient description in any published work; no modern author has ever reported himself to have explored either of them. Polybius may have been prepared with some information concerning a ravine and a white rock before he made his journey; such information having been first derived from Carthaginian prisoners, or from Italian friends of the invasion who had accompanied it. When he reached the scenes we speak of, he would himself have to conjecture which was the ravine where the van of the march was assailed; and we have to conjecture now, which was the place that his mind recognised, when he used the terms, *φάραγξ* or *χαράδρα*. I will advert to what has been said by modern writers on the two passages alluded to.

In the Oxford Dissertation, p. 91, the description is this:—

"On the left bank, just above the bridge by which the modern

"road crosses the Reclus, stands a high white rock of gypsum, called in the country universally La Roche Blanche. The Reclus runs under its side, and is confined in a very deep rocky channel. On the other side of the rock is a woody ravine, through which another small stream flows, which afterwards comes down through Villars to Scez. The remains of the Roman road made by Augustus have been discovered in the neighbourhood of Villars, and it probably went up this woody ravine in the manner laid down in the plan.\* From the words used by Polybius, *φάραγγα τινὰ δυσβάτον καὶ κρημνώδη*, which apply extremely well to the bed of the Reclus, we might be tempted to suppose that the army had marched up this torrent: but this passage would have been so difficult, that I can hardly conceive it possible to have been accomplished. The Roman road, though very much exposed to the attacks of the barbarians, would have been more easy."

This statement invites comment on the two tracks mentioned. Now that which is up the bed of the Reclus is, I conceive, at the present day not only extremely difficult, but utterly impossible: yet it need not have been so 2,000 years ago. The bridge is now just below the end of the white cliff; and the traveller, in crossing it, hardly sees the river running to him: for a high mass of large accumulated rocks, covering the stream, prohibits all prospect in that direction. In the precipitous ascent through St. Germain, I certainly do not remember that I could see the torrent at all, as it flows to that great obstruction: and, when we had attained the higher ground above St. Germain, and were advancing towards the Little St. Bernard, the channel was too deeply sunk below for one to perceive the character of its immediate banks. I am not aware that any investigator has scrambled down to it for the purpose of examination; but believe that our acquaintance

\* Sketch of the Passage in that work.

with this *φάραγγ* is limited to the fact that there is now no entrance to it.

But this does not conclude the subject of inquiry: two thousand years ago the passage may have been free from the masses of rock by which it is now blocked up; these deposits may not at that time have been detached from the mountains and brought into their present position, where they are arrested by the narrowness of the channel between two precipitous sides. When these obstructions did not exist, the shape of this trough and the character of its banks onwards may have permitted the operations which the history describes: the immediate banks of the stream higher up may not be very steep; and the onward tread of man and beast need not have been limited to the soil which is covered by the waters. I would observe also, that the sides which were pre-occupied by the assailants must have been practicable: if very steep, they would not themselves have moved so nimbly along them: and, if very rugged, there would not have been due freedom for the rolling of rocks and the hurling of stones, which are the acts of hostility recorded.

On the 19th September, 1854, as I looked on the stream just below the bridge, it seemed, that one might have stepped across from one stone to another, without much wetting the shoes. I know not in what state it was a month later: but there was only one day of rain at Courmayeur in the interval to the 25th October, when my son walked over the mountain on his return to Oxford: the weather was rough, but no snow lay on the plain of the Little St. Bernard. On the 11th November, another friend, bound for London, took the same walk from Courmayeur, and had no snow in his path. They did not, however, notice the stream. It would be vain to insist on the particular state of this channel in the time of Hannibal, either in regard to rock or water: no one, that I am aware of, takes the trouble to examine it now: and I can fully believe,

that the enormous rocks which blockade it have arrived since that period: it may be that neither rock nor water at that time prohibited the progress of the expedition.

As to the other suggested passage in rear of the White Rock, the sketch, in the Oxford Dissertation, gives the line of it, and shows the rounded and worn-out end of the Roche Blanche standing into the plain of Schez, and a second similar projection into it from the mountain behind the rock, at some distance to the south-east, with a line drawn between them to represent the Roman track. Afterwards, p. 95, they say: "It had been in Bonaparte's contemplation to carry a new road up the ravine where the Roman one passed, and we saw traces of the preparations that had been made for it." When I passed through Villars to the bridge, I was wholly unconscious of this second promontory, or of any sort of opening in the mountain after passing Villars: my impending illness had subdued all energy, and power of scrutiny; and I omitted to look out for it.

General Melville first noticed the White Rock, as illustrating the statement of Polybius. His notes have never been published, but M. De Luc, who had them, writes thus:—"Ces circonstances et une autre dont je vais faire mention, firent juger au Général Melville, lorsqu'il traversa cette montagne, que, dans le tems d'Annibal, la route ne traversoit pas le torrent, mais qu'elle montoit le long de sa rive gauche. D'après cette opinion, formée par la lecture de Polybe et l'inspection des lieux, le général auroit voulu monter par là pour examiner cette vallée de plus près: mais son guide s'y opposa, en disant que c'étoit un vieux chemin très-mauvais, abandonné depuis longtemps, et que les contrebandiers seuls fréquentaient: il ajouta, que depuis la route actuelle qui suit la rive droite du torrent, il pourroit aisément juger de la nature de l'ancienne. Le Général Melville

\* 2d edition. 1825. P. 173.

"remarqua, qu'en effet le local répondoit parfaitement à la description que fait Polybe d'un passage difficile au pied d'une montagne escarpée." I conceive this to refer to some onward point high above the right bank, after you have left St. Germain, and are beyond those heights which face the Roche Blanche, and can look back to the exit from the second ravine said to be behind that rock.

Mr. Brockedon has spoken of Hannibal's passage not only in his admirable work on the "Passes of the Alps," but in other publications. In a journal of an excursion in the Alps, third edition, 1845, p. 148, after saying that "Hannibal passed around and behind the Roche Blanche," he adds: "In the surveys of this pass which were made under Napoleon, in contemplation of the formation of a carriage-road over the Little St. Bernard, the engineers were led to decide upon the old Roman road as the intended line." I remember hearing Mr. Brockedon speak as having some acquaintance with that ravine, if such it should be called: but I do not feel certain whether he said that he had gone through it. I believe that neither he nor any one has written on the interior of such a passage. As to the *angustia* of the Reclus itself, all I know with certainty is, that it is impenetrable now. A man might, I apprehend, go forward and climb down to it, and make examination of it. A day devoted to this task would be a day well spent.

Such are statements made by modern authors, which seem to affect the question on the ravine of Polybius. On the *λευκόπετρον*, I should say that, whatever ascent of Alps may pretend to be that of Hannibal, it ought to exhibit a rock corresponding with that of Polybius: he rarely notices local peculiarities, and, when he has pointedly marked an object like this, we may expect it to admit of recognition at the present day.

Some theories exhibit a *λευκόπετρον*: not all. M. Larauza



found it in the Rocher de la Barmette between Termignon and Lanslebourg. Mr. Ellis found it in the rock of Baune, between St. Jean de Maurienne and S. Michel; and we accept the whiteness of those rocks on their reports. A writer in "Blackwood's Magazine" of June, 1845, says that he found it on the summit of Mont Cenis, "of magnitude to be a place of night refuge to Hannibal"! Some see no occasion to point out a white rock: M. Letronne, on behalf of Mont Genève, intimates, Janv. 1819, that he could find one for his theory if he tried: "Il n'existe point de passage dans les Alpes où l'on ne trouvât quelque roche blanche, puisqu'il y a de gypses blanchâtres sur tous les cols de la chaîne." M. Larauza says of this assertion: "Elle est, je crois, fort hasardé: j'avoue, pour mon compte, que sur les points que j'ai parcouru en traversant soit le Simplon, soit le Grand St. Bernard, soit le Mont Genève, je n'ai remarqué nulle part de montagne de gypse dont la blancheur fut sensible." The Little St. Bernard is not among M. Larauza's exclusions.

M. Letronne, however, seems to deny that λευκόπετρον is a white rock: he relies on the translation by Schweighæuser, "deserta nudaque petra," and says: "Il est fâcheux pour cette découverte du Général Melville, que dans Polybe le mot λευκόπετρον, qui revient plusieurs fois, soit pris comme le λεωπέτρα des autres auteurs, pour λείος λίθος, et ne signifie rien autre chose que roche nue, escarpée: c'est ce qui est prouvé surtout par un passage du livre X." "Revient plusieurs fois" is a very rash expression: the followers of M. Letronne are welcome to conceive that λευκός may mean "smooth;" but, whatever it means, it recurs in Polybius, not "plusieurs fois," but only in that one passage x. 30. 5. He is describing the progress of an army through a defile in Hyrcania, obstructed by masses of rock fallen from precipices on either side; and he states that, while the heavy forces

were obliged to proceed along the bottom of the valley, an ascent δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λευκοπ'τρων was not impracticable to the light-armed troops. I have no authority to refer to for the character and colour of these Hyrcanian rocks: the presumption is that they were white, shining, conspicuous: they may also have been bare, and steep, and slippery. But λευκός vi termini imports none of these latter qualities; any face of rock, not obscured by vegetable matter, whether it be gypsum, limestone, granite, or any other, is bare, uncovered; but such is not the sense of λευκός; the primary sense is "conspicuous," from λάω, video. The meanings "bright" and "white" are not far removed: those terms represent the effect of colour to the eye. Bareness may be a cause of conspicuousness; but it is not sufficiently akin to the original sense that it should be represented by the same word. When a lady's arms are uncovered, you may apply the epithet λευκώλενος; but we do not construe λευκώλενος Ἥρη, bare-armed Juno.

I believe that the word λευκόπετρον, as meaning an individual of a species, is found in no other author, and only in these two passages of Polybius. But we find the same combination in proper names; and in such instances the names have been bestowed upon rocks or mountains, for the reason that they are white. There is λευκόπετρα on the coast of Italy, of which Strabo says, p. 259, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ῥηγίου πλέοντι πρὸς ἔω Λευκοπέτραν καλοῦσιν ἄκραν ἀπὸ τῆς χροῆς, "They call the promontory, which you approach coasting southward from Rhégium, Leucopetra from its colour." So λευκά ὄρη in Crete are reputed to have their name from their constant covering of snow. Theophrastus says, iv. 1, ἐν Κρήτῃ γοῦν φασὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰδαίοις ὄρεσι καὶ τοῖς Λευκοῖς καλουμένοις, οὐπερ οὐδέποτε ἐκλείπει χιὼν, κυπάριπτον εἶναι, "They say that in Crete the cypress is found in the mountains of Ida, and in those called Leuca, which are never free from snow." Pliny, xvi. 60, describes those mountains in the same way—



"Quos Albos vocant, unde nives nunquam absunt." If Polybius had lived a century later, and had been the friend of Cæsar instead of Scipio, he might have applied λευκόπετρον to the Dover cliff, and we should have construed λευκός white. For the same sufficient reason the rock in question has been called Roche Blanche.

*Dr. Arnold on the Defile and White Rock.*

On so important a matter as the scene of this engagement, which we believe to have taken place when the armament had quitted the Isère and was pushing on to the summit, the views of Dr. Arnold must not be left unnoticed; for he has expressed them on this latter part of the ascent. He prefaces them with a fact which does not appear in Polybius, saying, Hist. iii. p. 87: "It appears that the barbarians persuaded Hannibal to pass through one of these defiles instead of "going round it; and, while his whole army was involved in "it, they suddenly, and without a provocation, as we are told, "attacked him." Now there is nothing in Polybius on Hannibal's getting into a wrong course, or of his wavering as to the line of march, or of the natives obtaining his confidence and guiding the march. His feeling towards them is told in συννπεκρίθη τίθεσθαι φίλιν πρὸς αὐτούς. iii. c. 52.

Some may infer from the word καθηγεμόσιν, that these natives must have become the authors of a track of march to be adopted by the general, and may assume that they led him into a false track, though no such fact is told. This is not reasonable: the inhabitants of a country can be useful to soldiers as to others, and may be called guides without being the directors of a line of movement. Can we believe that these barbarians were in the counsels of Hannibal? The friends from the Italian plain, Magilus and his companions, enjoyed his confidence; they were pledged ὅτι καθηγήσονται

διὰ τόπων τοιούτων, &c. The useful spies, who ascertained the enemy's plans at the first Alps, also called guides, καθηγουμένοι, were in a trust superior to that of the barbarians of the Isère: it was policy to tolerate the attendance of the latter, and to put on the semblance of trusting them; but there is no hint that Hannibal ever ceased to suspect them, or laid aside his precautions. Who, then, can believe that they were allowed to interfere with the route of the army? On the wise direction of this all safety depended. Hannibal had those whom he could trust; and the entire narrative imports that he kept his intended track. If he had withdrawn his confidence from approved friends, and transferred it to the natives of the invaded valley, the success of treachery might have been realized at Scez, and the armament have been forwarded to destruction on the glaciers of the Isère.

Dr. Arnold may be considered as assenting to our march till it ultimately quits the Isère, though he is not prepared so to construe Polybius. He had examined these scenes more than once: and it would be interesting to know which he looked upon as the right path, which Hannibal was dissuaded from following. He seems almost to assent to the channel of the Reclus as that which he did follow: for he says in his own history: "At last Hannibal with his own infantry forced his way to the summit of one of the bare cliffs overhanging the "defile, and remained there during the night." Polybius says nothing about "the summit of the cliff," but "cliff overhanging the defile" rather accords with Roche Blanche and the Reclus.

Dr. Arnold does not otherwise favour our λευκόπετρον: he says, iii. 480, note M.:—"I lay no stress upon the Roche "Blanche: it did not strike me, when I saw it, as at all conspicuous: nor does λευκόπετρον mean any remarkably white "cliff, but simply one of those bare limestone cliffs which are "so common in the Alps and Apennines." In this Dr. Arnold

follows Schweighæuser and Letronne. But the rock is not limestone: I am assured that it is common plaster-stone; gypsum; hydrated sulphate of lime. I have had opportunity to get one for myself, and have specimens from H. Long and Brockedon. When broken, it has the whiteness of fine loaf sugar: and though the brilliancy will not be sustained under exposure to climate, we may think that a lengthened precipice of such material was well selected by Polybius to mark the scene which he commemorates.

It is curious, that the two ravines near the White Rock, whose existence is testified by the clearest evidence, and which invite the attention of every one who knows the controversy on the ascent of this mountain, should be so imperfectly explored. I cannot myself doubt that both were used by the combatants of 118 B.C. But the blocks of mountain rock which have come to choke up the trough of the Reclus, have, I suppose, dissuaded all from exerting themselves to the examination of its present state; so as to see what it would be without the rocks. As to the hinder ravine to the east, one would think that it must always have been comparatively easy; but of that also there is no published account. General Melville abstained from exploring it, and Mr. Brockedon, if he went through it, has never printed an account of his doing so.

Accordingly doubt may remain as to which of the two ravines is the defile where Polybius conceived the enemy to have made preparations for overwhelming the invaders with missiles. If some sensible man will make his abode for two or three days at Bourg St. Maurice or Schez, and will investigate the ground through both ravines, he may throw conclusive light on these difficulties. But the solution of them is by no means essential to our main question. If the Carthaginian army ever came to the site of Bourg St. Maurice, there was no choice on their further way to Italy.

*Character of the Conflict.*

Having collected some statements of modern witnesses on the scene of action, it is expedient to notice, in addition, the character of the conflict as seen in a few facts alleged by the historian, and to apply the tale of what was done by the combatants, whether in attack or defence, to the scenes we speak of. Polybius states that the barbarians assailed the Carthaginian armament on their march through a difficult defile; and that the heavy armed infantry, who were in the rear, withstood the onset and saved the army. Nevertheless a considerable loss was sustained: and he gives the reason why a great number, not only of men, but of horses and baggage-cattle, who were in the van, were destroyed: the cause was in the nature of the hostilities practised in the ravine, the stratagem of injury by missiles. This inflicted much loss: but the main onset was from the rear, and was repelled by the heavy troops—*ἔσπεξαν τὴν ἐπιφορὰν τῶν βαρβάρων*. It seems that, before the column of march had arrived at the defile, a certain multitude of the barbarians had already occupied it, and taken post on the lateral slopes, so as to be able to inflict injury in the way described: these, who so got forward, had deliberately prepared themselves for handling their weapons, rocks and stones. It became then essential that Hannibal's heavy battalions, who sustained the weight of the enemy in the plain, should arrest their further ingress into the defile; not only by excluding them from the direct entrance, but by opposing their endeavours to get round by any way towards the head of the column which was moving onwards, and to prohibit any attempt upon the heights which skirt the plain behind the White Rock, or which belong to the other side of the Reclus. If the mass of the barbarians had not thus been kept back, the artillery which molested the advance in the defile would have received

continual reinforcements, and the passage would not easily have been purged of their harassing assaults.

It is clear that the natives never attacked front to front: if the dwellers on the Isère could have brought out their strength in time to face the invaders, they would not have done it: their object was plunder with the smallest risk to themselves. Had they attacked at a lower part of the valley of the Isère, there would have been danger of retaliation upon their own possessions. The scenes were now passed in which vengeance would have been injurious; the strangers were in view of the desired heights, and longed only to surmount them with the least delay. If indeed you suppose that the policy of the barbarians would have been to face the advancing army, they had hardly the option of doing so. This armament visited their valley as a sweeping pestilence, and waited not: they saw it as it passed: they followed, and following gathered strength: they chased a foe willing to fly, themselves unable, had they desired it, to intercept the flight.

Thus the mass of the native force was necessarily in rear of the invaders: and we must conceive the attack to be made when the army, after a pause in the plain of Scez, was moving from it, and had begun to thread the narrower track where the enemy made preparations of injury. When the danger began, the column was compressed in part within the defile: freer and more elastic in the open ground behind. The success with which the onset was here withstood by the heavy armed troops is told by express words: but we are left to conjecture how the fighters with rocks and stones were disposed of: it is consistent with the narrative to suppose that they were hunted out by the lighter troops, and at length dislodged from their positions and overpowered by numbers. Still the onward progress had to be guarded against fresh intruders from each direction: and it was not before the morning dawned, that the whole army had defiled on to the

open mountain. This sketch of the engagement will be found warranted by the words of the history: the main shock of arms was not in the ravine.

There is an incident in the narrative, which I think has been misunderstood: we read, ὥστ' ἀναγκασθῆναι τὸν Ἀννίβαν μετὰ τῆς ἡμισείας δυνάμεως νυκτερεῦσαι περὶ τὸ λευκόπετρον ὀχυρὸν χωρὶς τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων, ἐφεδρεύοντα τούτοις—"so that Hannibal was obliged to pass "the night, with half his force, about a certain white rock, a "tenable post, away from his horses and baggage cattle, in "reserve for their protection." My notion is that Hannibal so stayed back to withstand the weight and bulk of the enemy, which was always on his rear; and to prevent them from making their way round and reinforcing that system of attack on the van with which the conflict had begun. I conceive that those first aggressors must have been rooted out from their positions of offence before the night came on; and that the great business was to prevent a recruiting of that force from the multitude in the rear, where the enemy was most formidable in numbers.

The sentence in which περὶ λευκόπετρον occurs, seems to have been accepted, as showing that Hannibal, by his occupation of the summit of a cliff, protected the passage of the army during the night. In the Oxford Dissertation it is said: "The position of the Roche Blanche was eminently calculated for the defence of this march: from hence Hannibal "commanded the whole plain of Scez, and was able to act "against the enemy, on the heights above St. Germain, as "well as upon those on the flanks of the road." Dr. Arnold writes: "At last Hannibal with his infantry forced his way to "the summit of one of the bare cliffs overhanging the defile, "and remained there during the night, while the cavalry and "baggage slowly struggled out of the defile." Hist. iii. 88. M. Larauza is so persuaded that the upper surface of a cliff is

the thing spoken of, that he considers (p. 115) half of the army to have stood upon it at the same time.

Now it is probable that, after the struggle by which the ravine must have been purged of its barbarian occupants, a sufficient number of the Carthaginian force were posted all about this rock, so far as it was possible to post them: and one need not object to the conjecture that, while daylight lasted, the archers and slingers might act upon a hostile force appearing on the opposite bank. Still the idea which the words *ἀναγκασθῆναι νυκτερεύσαι περὶ λευκόπετρον* convey to me is this: that Hannibal kept possession, through the night, of the surrounding ground to which this cliff belonged, the ground outside the gorge and where the enemy were most in force; and that, to give security to the toilsome passage of the great armament, which was continuing its ascent from the defile and up the mountain, it was necessary that he should maintain himself in the open ground from which the passage was entered. There I conceive that he passed much of the night under arms: and, as the other portion of the army was struggling onward, there ensued a discontinuance in the whole line of movement: but his communications ceased to be forcibly intercepted; and, by the time that day had dawned, the assailants had melted away, and the rearmost of the Carthaginians under their great leader were free to pursue their onward course to the summit.

It may be that the epithet *ὄχυρόν*, *tenable*, has inclined some to think chiefly of the upper surface of this rock, as a position to be gained: but it need only import generally a station of defence: the sentence has no word of movement, and *νυκτερεύσαι περὶ* imports none. The rock probably was always precipitous to the torrent: but we may not know what was the form which it presented towards the plain in the time of Hannibal, by the aspect which it presents now. I conceive that some centuries ago it must have extended far

more prominently into the plain: at the moment when I passed, a good-sized cart was employed near the bridge in carrying away portions of gypsum which a labouring man was detaching and removing; and our White Rock may have been subject to the daily spoil of house-decorators and others, ever since its neighbourhood came to have a human population, in the early Christian times when a Church was planted on the heights of St. Germain.

### CHAPTER III.

*Ascent to the Mont Cenis. Larauza. The Nine Days. Defile and λευκόπετρον.*

Two theories only can here be said to challenge consideration: for, on the line of march through the mountains, Dr. Ukert is but a disciple of Larauza, translating him and his Itinerary. Larauza and Ellis must be controverted separately. They reach the valley of the Arc at different points: they quit it at different points: the *λευκόπετρον* of one is in special contradiction of the *λευκόπετρον* of the other: and they move over different summits.

Larauza placed the *ἀναβολὴ Ἀλπεων* at La Chavane: and, in doing so, desired to gain three *postes* into his mountain march. But a mountain march from the Graisivaudan up the Arc must be content to begin at Aiguebelle. The distance to it from La Chavane cannot be deemed space in the mountains, nor the time between them be reckoned as time in the mountains. The defile at Aiguebelle is the first point which, to M. Larauza coming up the valley of Graisivaudan, could represent the *ἀναβολὴ Ἀλπεων*. He says himself (p. 66) of all the previous ground from La Chavane,—“L'on n'est pas dans les Alpes.”



But when M. Larauza gets to the defile of Aiguebelle as a beginning of Alps, there is a question whether he finds such a mountain as corresponds with that which the Allobroges had to defend. We say that the Carthaginians fought their way over a mountain. This M. Larauza denies: he calls it, p. 98: "entrée des Alpes, et non la montée des Alpes." "Si le mot ἀναβολή désigne quelquefois l'action de traverser en montant, il peut aussi désigner celle de traverser en pénétrant." He hardly tolerates the word as connected with the idea of ascent; saying,—“Polybe se sert en général préférablement du mot ὑπερβολή (vid. cap. 53) pour désigner la montée des Alpes.” This is a mistake: the word ὑπερβολή is used twice in that chapter, and in both instances means unequivocally the heights themselves.

M. Larauza would have been more prudent, had he been content with the metaphor by which ἀναβολή signifies a beginning. Ascent is the beginning of transcending: you begin your mountain by ascending it. The first onset of other things is also called ἀναβολή: when we speak of “striking up” as the beginning of a musical performance, we translate ἀναβολή. In relating a fox-chase, if we had to find a Greek word for the throwing off, it would be ἀναβολή: listening to the leading hound one might say, as of the minstrel, ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰδεῖν.

M. Larauza might thus have had a pretence for beginning his course of mountain march at Aiguebelle. But he strains for more. Under the pretence of Hannibal preparing himself for the mountain attack when he got to La Chavane, he measures the mountain march from that place; that is, by the road back from Montmélian. Now, though Hannibal, for the last day or two of the ten, might be laying his plan for forcing the first mountain, the day of encounter with the Allobroges was the first day of mountain, not the third. Larauza objects here to the term “mountain,” saying,—“Il s'agit non d'une

montagne, mais d'un défilé.” When he reads that the Allobrogian chiefs were occupying τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους δι' ὧν ἔδει τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀννίβαν κατ' ἀνάγκην ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν, he translates it, “les postes qui dominaient les lieux par lesquels il fallait qu'Annibal passât.” In this he is countenanced by others who, in fixing the ἀναβολή Ἀλπεων, disclaim mountain. My friend Henry Long translates ποιείσθαι τὴν ἀναβολήν “to make a passage.” M. Larauza also finds his theory of level ground to be strengthened by διήλθε τὰ στενὰ and διήννε τὰς δυσχωρίας. He forgets that the narrowest and roughest defile may be at a great elevation: the col or pass is often in a depressed part of a ridge, though there is higher ground on either side of it. In the present case the στενὰ of the Polybian description are not on the flat level plain of a river: the very contrast with the plain which they had quitted, ἕως γάρ, &c. shows that they were now in mountain instead of plain; and we read that the army, after pervading the στενὰ, continued its progress down a precipitous mountain. The Allobroges, seeing with what difficulty the horses and baggage-cattle of the Carthaginians were unwinding themselves in a long line, were emboldened to close in with the line of march (ἐξάπτεσθαι τῆς πορείας), and to fall upon them at many points: and the effect of the attack shows the character of the scene. Polybius says, that the loss sustained was not so much from human conflict as from the hostility of nature: the assault on the line produced a general shock, sending over the precipices beasts with their burthens, and men also, amidst the confusion caused by the rushing of wounded and affrighted animals.

This tale is not well fitted to the pass above Aiguebelle. According to Polybius, the occupation of the pass was gained in the absence of the enemy, who had withdrawn to their town. That success was achieved in the night; and at Aiguebelle the morning would have found the army in free meadow



ground. M. de Saussure observes, § 1191, that, if M. Abauzit was right in thinking that Hannibal went up the Arc, his battle with the Allobroges was probably between Aiguebelle and St. Jean de Maurienne. He says, § 1187: "Aiguebelle est un joli bourg, situé au milieu d'un terre-plein assez étendu." § 1191: "La partie inférieure de la vallée de l'Arc, jusqu'à Aiguebelle, est large et à peu près droite. Presqu' en sortant d'Aiguebelle, on rencontre un grand rocher qui remplit à peu près toute la largeur de la vallée. Au-delà de ce rocher, on descend dans une jolie petite plaine de forme ovale, que l'on traverse suivant sa longueur; et au bout de cette plaine, à une demi-lieue d'Aiguebelle, le chemin est de nouveau serré entre montagne et la rivière, au point qu'on a été obligé de le soutenir avec un mur." We must remember also the marked incident of Hannibal and his select body coming to the rescue with the troops who had in the night occupied the posts of advantage. He made that downward rush ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων, to put an end to the struggle: and the combat into which he came down was itself carried on at a great elevation; for the damage which ensued was mainly from precipice on the edge of which it was carried on. Even when the enemy had been destroyed or dispersed, we read of the difficulty with which the army was extricated from the embarrassments of the passage. In M. Larauza's scene of action, Hannibal would have charged into a meadow on the banks of the Arc, the "jolie petite plaine."

Polybius writes that, after the crash of arms on the mountain, Hannibal overcame the perplexities and dangers of the descent, and proceeded to the occupation of the enemy's town: the army there rested for the whole of the next day. Nature then became propitious to the advance of the invaders. They could not have enjoyed that ἀσφάλεια in the valley of the Arc. De Saussure, having mentioned the second gorge, proceeds thus: "A cet étranglement succède une seconde

"plaine, après laquelle la vallée se resserre pour la troisième fois: mais il seroit trop long de détailler les nombreux défilés que l'on passe dans cette route, et de noter combien de fois les étranglemens de la vallée, et les sinuosités de l'Arc forcent à passer d'une rive à l'autre." M. Larauza proposes to comprehend into the scene of the engagement the second defile mentioned by De Saussure, saying: "Nous ne verrions aucun inconvénient à y comprendre la seconde gorge que l'on traverse à une demi-lieue plus loin, et qui offre à peu près les mêmes caractères que la précédente." Now there is an inconvenience: not that it is difficult to imagine a fight continued into the second plain or into the third; but that such fact is not conformable with the history which we are interpreting. Polybius speaks of one mountain pass, and gives us to understand that Hannibal could hardly have forced it if it had been duly defended; that the enemy lost the opportunity; that the consciousness of having done so disheartened them: but the visible struggle which the Carthaginians had to make against local embarrassments encouraged the enemy at last to assault the long line laterally, as it unwound itself from the pass. Hannibal was then provoked to sweep down from his own reserved position, and extirpate human hostility: from that moment he met no molestation for many days. If the route had been along the Arc, the hostile leaders, when morning showed them to have lost the advantage of the first étranglement, would have done their best to make use of the second, or the third, or the fourth. The route to Chambéry offered them no such resources: resistance had ceased from the Mont du Chat.

#### *The Nine Days.*

M. Larauza in his computation of time produces confusion by a wrong use of the numeral adjective, third, fourth, fifth, &c. I have in a previous chapter of this Part assigned to

each of the fifteen days of mountain its employment. At present we are considering the first nine of them. The first day of Alps was the day on which Hannibal, gaining his success at the Pass, pushed on to the enemy's town beyond, and occupied it. The second day he remained encamped there. He marched on from the town on the third day of Alps. On the fourth day of that renewed march, being the sixth of Alps, he fell in with a party of natives, with their symbols of peace, supplies, and hostages. The natives having accompanied the march for two days, made their treacherous attack, which was on the eighth day, and Hannibal reached the summit on the ninth day.

M. Larauza commits the following errors, not without an object. In p. 103, he calls the day during which the army was rested at the Allobrogian town, "le quatrième depuis son entrée dans les Alpes." According to Polybius, it was their second day of Alps. Then he says, "Le jour suivant, le cinquième depuis son entrée dans les Alpes, il lève le camp, et se porte en avant." This was obviously his third day, not the fifth of Alps. Then he says, p. 104: "Il marche tranquille pendant trois jours; mais au quatrième (le huitième depuis son entrée dans les Alpes) il se vit expose aux grands dangers."—*εἰς κινδύνους παρεγένετο μεγάλους*.

This is a deceptive statement: the fourth day from the town is not the eighth day of Alps, but the sixth: and the deception is not only by calling it the eighth, but by withholding the facts belonging to it in the enumeration, and substituting, as the fact peculiar to it, the occurrence of danger. The writer does not give the events of the day, but shifts his ground; and in fact quotes only an observation of the historian which is introductory to the incidents which are coming, and insinuates the misconstruction of Polybius on *κινδύνους*, which has since been handled in a bolder way by Mr. Ellis. The day which Polybius designates as *τεταρταῖος*,

is the day of the conference and treaty, the supplies and the hostages; and, as Larauza makes this his eighth of Alps, he really leaves out of his reckoning the two in which the natives followed the march before the assault was made; for on the ninth day of Alps, which followed the eighth, Hannibal was on the summit.

The object of such perverse interpretation can only have been to cure one error by another. M. Larauza having unduly brought two days into the ascent of Alps which did not belong to it, omits, by way of compensation, two days which did belong to it.

It is further obvious, that a misrepresentation, such as I desire to expose, is likely to escape detection, when the expounder is hashing up his criticisms on the texts of Polybius and Livy together at the same time; and still more, if he is promoting confusion, by introducing his own ideas of local identity as if they belonged to one or other of the original texts: as in p. 107 of M. Larauza: "Le huitième jour, c'est-à-dire le quatrième depuis le départ de St. Jean-de-Maurienne l'armée se sera trouvée," &c. Here he gives account of the two days, which he has already excluded from his computation. N.B.—Dr. Ukert accepts Larauza's results: but has the discretion not to exhibit the reasonings on which they are founded.

*The Assault and the λευκόπετρον.*

M. Larauza suggests a rival *λευκόπετρον* within a reasonable distance from his summit, and fairly claims attention. As he travelled along the road, which is on the right bank of the Arc to Termignon, he descried, in coming towards Lanslebourg, a certain amount of gypsum rock on the brow of the mountain upon the opposite side of the river. Thereupon he imagined certain operations of Hannibal, connected with this piece of gypsum, as the *λευκόπετρον* of the history.

The hypothesis is set forth in these words, p. 115:—"I

“ est impossible de n'être pas frappé de l'identité des lieux,  
 “ lorsqu'après avoir passé Braman et Termignon, l'on arrive  
 “ au défilé que l'on traverse à trois quarts d'heure de marche  
 “ de ce dernier village, une demi-lieue en avant de Lans-  
 “ le-bourg. Les divers détails de localités, fournis par  
 “ l'historien, se trouvent rassemblés de manière à ne laisser  
 “ aucun doute. La vallée se resserrant en cet endroit y forme  
 “ une gorge étroite et profonde : le chemin se trouve bordé  
 “ sur la droite par le précipice, au fond duquel coule le tor-  
 “ rent de l'Arc : sur la gauche, par d'énormes rochers nuds  
 “ et arides, souvent escarpés et roides, d'où les Barbares  
 “ pouvaient écraser les Carthaginois obligés de passer im-  
 “ médiatement au-dessous. A droite de la route, et de l'autre  
 “ côté de l'Arc, se voit le λευκόπετρον, que j'entendis encore  
 “ appeler, par les habitans du pays, le rocher blanc, ou le plan  
 “ de roche blanche, quoique son véritable nom soit le rocher  
 “ du plan de la Barmette.

“ C'est un rocher de gypse, paraissant d'une blancheur  
 “ éclatante dans toute sa partie supérieure entièrement nue et  
 “ découverte, tandis qu'au dessous, il est couvert de sapins,  
 “ et présente, depuis le milieu jusqu'à sa base, sur un plan  
 “ légèrement incliné, une espèce de talus qui se prolonge  
 “ jusqu'à Thermignon, et où l'on fait venir du bled, du  
 “ seigle et de l'avoine. Il est probable qu'Annibal remonta  
 “ cette petite plaine pour venir se porter sur le rocher blanc,  
 “ qui la termine et la surmonte. La partie supérieure de ce  
 “ rocher offre un plateau assez étendu. Des gens du pays  
 “ me dirent que Napoléon y avait fait passer un chemin  
 “ praticable pour l'artillerie. Annibal auroit donc pu se  
 “ porter là avec une partie de son corps d'armée, le reste  
 “ s'étendant si l'on veut, soit sur le glacis qui se trouve en  
 “ dessous, protégé par les bois de sapins qui couvrent cette  
 “ partie de la montagne, soit encore sur la petite plaine qui  
 “ descend du côté de Termignon. On voit que c'était là

“ pour lui une position forte et sûre, de laquelle il pouvait  
 “ protéger la marche de son armée, et atteindre facilement, à  
 “ coups de flèches et de pierres, les Barbares qui se montraient  
 “ sur les hauteurs opposées.”—*Histoire Critique*, pp. 115, 116.

The portrait here drawn is quite intelligible : but I perceive in it no coincidence with the story of Polybius, and nothing that is probable in itself. M. Larauza conceives the army in two parts, moving by parallel courses up the two sides of the deep ravine which contains the river Arc : one part, having the elephants and beasts of burden and cavalry, pursues the present route along the precipice above the right bank, and they are oppressed by rocks rolled down and stones thrown from heights above them : the other corps d'armée marches along the mountain side upon the left bank with Hannibal ; and having reached the top of a white rock they fire across the river upon the assailants over the heads of their suffering comrades. To this transmission of arrows and pebbles the comment ascribes the safety of the army, and to this only : for the description given shows the enemy to have been safe against all other aggression.

Now, if we suppose in the archers and slingers of the Carthaginian army a precision of practice approaching to that of modern artillery, still their efficiency would not be great after darkness set in : while the enemy would continue to work their prepared instruments of destruction upon the armament passing under them with far less prevention by the loss of daylight : they could still push over their fragments of rock. In this theory of the combat, all personal conflict is excluded ; and the pressure of the barbarian mass on the rear, as told by Polybius, is wholly forgotten.

M. Larauza does not suggest any crossing of the river by the combatants during the engagement ; nor does he say that the two corps d'armée, which he separates, I presume, at Termignon, could meet again till they got beyond Lanslebourg.

He does not appear to have examined the ground on the left bank of the river; nor say, whether it is practicable to pass quickly from one side of the Arc to the other: so that one division of the army could assist the other, save in the way which he describes, by missiles. One is inclined to ask, would so prudent a general have thus marched with columns so separated by the river? Does Polybius furnish a clue to such tactics? does he attribute the safety of the army solely to weapons discharged from a distance? I rather collect from *χωρὶς τῶν ἱππῶν, ἐφεδρεύοντα, ἐπιφορὰν*, and other expressions, that they had come to close quarters with the enemy, and that the continuity of their line of march was broken, so as to cause an interval between the van and the rear of the column.

I get no information concerning such a track on the left bank of the Arc from friends who have crossed the Cenis, or from any source besides the comment of M. Larauza. He did not himself pursue it, nor does he give description that shows it practicable: but he reports that he picked up a story from some *gens du pays*, that the route which he imagines, had given passage to modern artillery:—his means of reference might have induced him to search out the occasion when such thing had or might have taken place. If that mountain brow was ever chosen for the transit of French artillery to the Cenis in preference to the usual track on the right bank of the Arc, it ought to be the better line of the two: in which case Napoleon, when this approach to Italy was the object of his care, would have so established it.

M. Larauza looked out for a piece of gypsum within a moderate distance from the summit of the Cenis: and no one will doubt that he saw one: the country abounds in them. But while the existence of such white rock may not be denied, his attempt to interpret through it the details of the Polybian narrative, whether by obscure insinuations of modern events

or unexplained conjectures upon ancient ones, does not incline one to believe that this *plateau de gypse* ever bore the standard either of Hannibal or Napoleon.

## CHAPTER IV.

*Ascent to the Little Mont Cenis. Mr. Ellis and the Rock of Baune. The Combat. Evasion of the Text. Summaries. How Mr. Ellis shortens the reckoning of time. Two days. Two days more. His final argument for Baune. His progress from the Battle to the Summit.*

MR. ELLIS'S mountain march is, as we have seen, from Le Cheylas on the Isère, by Allevard and La Rochette, to the Arc at Aiguebelle, and over the Little Mont Cenis to Avigliana. The leading novelty by which his theory is distinguished is this: that a certain white rock, which he has noticed in the valley of the Arc, above St. Jean de Maurienne and below St. Michel, called the rock of Baune, is the *λευκόπετρον* of Polybius. It has generally been understood, that the *λευκόπετρον* was at the foot of the final mountain steep, where Hannibal was attacked by the natives on the day before he reached the summit: the context is thought to show, that the combat took place on the eighth day of ascent, and that he gained the summit early on the ninth. Mr. Ellis maintains that the battle took place on the fourth day of ascent; and as he admits that the summit was reached on the ninth day, he requires a march of five days from the rock to the summit. His Alpine route is from Le Cheylas to Avigliana (p. 89), given in detail p. 91.

Mr. Ellis seeks to avoid an error of M. Larauza, who reckons two days into the mountain march before he arrives at mountain. Mr. Ellis, on the contrary, seems to be two days



in mountains, before he allows mountain march to begin. Striking from the Isère into the mountains at an earlier point than Larauza, he gives a greater length to his Alpine march. I have no knowledge of the scene of his combat with the barbarians at the White Rock, beyond his own statement and his own engraved plan. I therefore take his rock of Baune to be white, and his plan of the ground about it to be correct: I will first shortly notice his explanation of the character and circumstances of the engagement, as told in the history. It will then be necessary to explore his contrivances for subverting the generally received chronology of the march, requiring five days, instead of a fraction of one, between the *λευκόπετρον* and the summit.

*The Combat.*

Having related the first onset with missiles by the barbarians posted in the ravine, Mr. Ellis says (Treatise, p. 45): "No danger was now to be apprehended on the rear: the heavy infantry there held the Gauls in check, and Hannibal was enabled to devote his personal efforts to the safety of the van. For this purpose it must have been necessary to gain possession of the heights above the slopes, where the Carthaginians had suffered so severely from rocks and stones. One half of the Carthaginian army, that is to say, about 20,000 men, were led on by Hannibal in person against the Gauls on the mountains, and succeeded either in driving them back, or in manœuvring so as to make them abandon their posts. The march through the ravine was performed during the night, which may have been about to fall when Hannibal took up his position on the heights. He probably thought that during the night he could draw his army off better from the Gauls in the rear. During all the night he remained in position, separated from the rest of the army, as it defiled through the ravine."

Mr. Ellis appears to think that, the danger in the rear having ceased, Hannibal and half the army went forward to protect the van. My impression is, that, the danger to the van having been removed or checked, Hannibal and half the army stayed back, to prevent a renewal of it through reinforcement coming to the enemy from the rear. Mr. Ellis thinks that the protection which the word *ἐφεδρεύοντα* imports was given by remaining in position on the heights through the night. I conceive that the word signifies the support given by a force in reserve; and such is the meaning of *ἐφεδρεύοντων* in the preceding sentence, where the arrangement of the column of march is explained. Mr. Ellis gives his opinion (p. 46) thus:—"The most remarkable circumstance the narrative of Polybius contains, a circumstance which gives an important clue by which the scene of this contest may be found, is the fact of Hannibal's having posted 20,000 men on the heights away from the rest of his army, and for the sake of ensuring its safety. This circumstance at once suggests the existence of practicable ground, above the slopes on one side of the road, by no means usually to be found in the Alps." It seems to me that the circumstances which give Mr. Ellis his clue are only to be found in his own engraved plan of the engagement, where Hannibal's 20,000 men are seen posted on the heights, and above them six substantial bodies of the enemy commanding their position from still loftier heights. The plan is drawn in much detail: but Polybius is not to be recognised either in the plan or the Treatise. The idea of *νυκτερεύσαι περὶ λευκόπετρον* is excluded from both. The rock of Baune appears, stretching north from the Arc for nearly a mile: in the plain, lower down the Arc, is the track along which the elephants, cavalry, and baggage seem about to enter the fatal defile which runs from west to east below the end of the rock. It must be two miles further to the north, where Mr. Ellis's 20,000 men are



drawn up on the heights, and the enemy above them. If this plan is to be regarded, it results that Hannibal, instead of passing the night *περὶ λευκόπετρον*, marched away from it two miles and more, in time to pass the night somewhere else. Nevertheless Mr. Ellis thinks (p. 41) that the rock was noticed as a natural monument of the battle fought around it: that Hannibal remained encamped near the rock during the fourth night, and arrived on the summit of the pass on the ninth morning.

*Evasion of the Text of Polybius.*

Mr. Ellis announces in his Preface, that he "conducts the investigation on the principle of trying the claims of every pass by the text of the narrative of Polybius." His Introduction, which follows the two pages of Preface, begins with supporting the same principle in detail. But it ends with disclosing the design of differing from his model on the fundamental matter of the chronology of the march, by making a new division of the greater part of it, changing the most important terminus, and disabling the reader from applying the text of the historian.

Polybius, in c. 39 of 3d book, divides the whole march into five sections, giving the termini of each: he states the fourth to be from the passage of the Rhone *ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἄλπεων*; and the fifth, what remains, the passage of the Alps to the plain of the Po. Accordingly, in the narrative, Hannibal coming to the mountains, *ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἄλπεις ἀναβολῆς*. Mr. Ellis, in his Introduction, begins with correctly repeating the division of Polybius into the five stages, saying (p. 4): "They terminate, respectively, at the passage of the Ebro; at Emporium; at the passage of the Rhone; at the foot of the first Alpine ascent; and at the commencement of the plains of Italy." He gives its importance to the terminus which separates the fourth and fifth sections of the

march, by adding,—"The last two of these stages, in which the passage of the Alps is included, are all with which this book is immediately concerned." In a discussion of distances which follows, he speaks of the *ἀναβολή* as the "ascent of Alps"—"the commencement of the ascent of the mountains." He says (p. 5): "The ascent of the Alps on the way to Italy means the place where the route first became mountainous, the point where the army was first obliged to ascend the mountains." He insists on this, so far as to say that, though a different interpretation might be possible, it is scarcely probable that any other meaning can be attached to the expression of Polybius, *τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἄλπεων τὴν εἰς Ἰταλίαν*.

The reader is then informed, that the narrative will be given in full from the passage of the Rhone to the arrival in the plains of Italy, with the exception of three chapters and part of a fourth. And I think that most readers would now expect to find that the *ἀναβολή* of Polybius is to be recognised throughout by Mr. Ellis. But it is quite otherwise. We soon find (p. 6) that Mr. Ellis sets up a terminus of his own, in preference to the *ἀναβολή* of the history. He makes that very important point of the march to be, not the *ἀναβολή τῶν Ἄλπεων*, but a town within the Alps,—the town to which the enemy retreated in the night from their custody of the *εὐκαίροι τόποι*, and which Hannibal occupied after his successful conflict on the mountain.\* The variation must be a studied, not an accidental variation. If it were without consequences, it would not be worth noticing. It suits Mr. Ellis's special theory to fix his terminus two days more forward than that of Polybius, which he has approved before. We shall see presently that he drops two days out of the reckoning, and

\* If we read on to p. 91, we shall learn the very town, "now a place of importance, and whose ancient name is traced in the modern one."

afterwards dispenses with two more. He is meditating to construct an argument in which that change will be of importance. Not that Mr. Ellis writes in avowed correction of Polybius: he hardly informs the reader that he is making an alteration. But he does make it; the cause being, that his respect for the historian is superseded by his own theory of the Rock of Baune, and by a fancy on the Polybian style invented for aiding it. The variation itself is to make "a certain town" the terminus at the first Alps instead of the ἀναβολή: and the object of the change is to produce a five days' march instead of one of a few hours between the λευκόπετρον and the summit.

These consequences of Mr. Ellis's injurious meddling with the text—viz. the curtailment of four days in the earlier Alpine march—I will presently explain. I have fairly given the substance of his Introduction to some extent: the rest of the matter, which concerns Mr. Ellis's substituted arrangement, with his translation and summaries exhibited in capital letters, as they occur, are too copious for me to transcribe. I can only hope that the reader may be provided with the Treatise itself.

Mr. Ellis first says that there is a peculiarity in the style of Polybius: that, before entering into the details of an event, he gives a short statement or summary of the occurrences, and then narrates the circumstances at length: that the short summary serves as an argument to the succeeding and more detailed account: that in the portion of the history\* which we are dealing with, there are seven summaries, which he shall distinguish by printing them in capital letters. He notifies the change which he makes in dividing the subject, thus: "The first division will consist of the march from the

\* The portion which Mr. Ellis translates begins after crossing the Rhone, and, omitting some parts, ends with the assault on the Taurini.

"passage of the Rhone to the island: the second, the march from the island to a certain defile and town at the commencement of the Alps: the third, the march from the town to the neighbourhood of a certain λευκόπετρον ὄχυρόν, or 'strong white rock,' where the army encountered great danger from an attack of the Alpine Gauls: the fourth, the march from this rock to the summit of the pass: the fifth, the circumstances which took place while the army remained on the summit: the sixth, the descent from the summit of the Alps to the commencement of the plains of Italy: and the seventh (all of which will not be given), the march from the foot of the Alps to the country of the Insubrians."—Pp. 6, 7.

Having thus exhibited a division of his own in his own terms, Mr. Ellis says: "These form the seven parts, into which the narrative seems to be divided." As there is no doubt how the narrative has been divided by Polybius, we need not be diverted from it by the division that seems good to Mr. Ellis; unless it is proposed in preference to that of the historian. As to the summaries, he does appeal to the historian. He says: "The correctness of the supposition, that 'this mode of narrative was adopted by Polybius, will be best seen by an inspection of the historian's own words.'" I have inspected the historian's own words, together with Mr. Ellis's translation of them, and have observed those which he puts in capital letters as summaries, and the succeeding words which he calls the more detailed accounts. I perceive two summaries marked between the passage of the Rhone and the Alps in c. 49 and 50: those for the ascent and summit in c. 52 and 53: two for the descent in c. 54 and 56.

Let any reasonable man give attention to the first of these, which Mr. Ellis takes from c. 49 of the 3d book. I ask, how do the first words give a summary of events, explained and detailed by the rest of the chapter? It seems to me, that what

is called Summary, brings Hannibal to the island : in the rest, we learn what he did after he got there. The first words of the Summary state the march to the island ; they tell us what it is like, and how it is formed. The words which follow, *πρὸς ἣν ἀφικόμενος*, &c., give facts which occurred in his progress through the island, as he approached the Alps. Besides the display of capital letters to give importance to his summaries, Mr. Ellis would impress upon us that the other facts are incidental, episodical, subordinate (pp. 22, 38, 39). The island is to him only the scene of an episode, because he intends to back out of it : he illustrates the episodical character by a very inaccurate statement, and which would not support his fancies, if it were true. He says (p. 23) : " Before proceeding to relate the transactions at the island, Polybius " arrests the march of the army at the confluence of the Isère " with the Rhone, measuring the distance up to that point." Polybius does nothing of the kind. Hannibal's distances have not been measured since he left Spain ; and Polybius never measures the march up to the confluence at all. If we desire to measure it for ourselves, we must first refer to c. 39, when Hannibal was still in Spain : we there read among the five distances of the whole march to Italy, " 1,400 stadia from the passage of the Rhone to the beginning of Alps." There is no mention of the distance, as Mr. Ellis alleges, before proceeding to relate the transactions at the island. After they have been related, we shall read in the next chapter, that, having in ten days advanced 800 stadia along the river, he began the ascent. If we deduct this 800 from the 1,400, we recognise that it must have been 600 from the *διάβασις* to the island. The statement that Polybius, before relating the transactions at the island, arrests the march at the confluence and measures the distance up to that point, is a fiction.

Those who will read Polybius's narrative of the march from the passage of the Rhone to the arrival in the plain, will see

as straightforward a tale of events as is found in any other history. Mr. Ellis bids us to expect that more than the explanatory particulars which occur in all narration will strike us as peculiar to this historian. But on examining the portions marked with Mr. Ellis's capital letters, together with the proximate sentences, we find no propriety in the designation " Summary ;" and sometimes a striking unfitness. A careful reading of his Introduction, annulling the promise of his Preface, which was " to try all by the narrative of Polybius," suggests no other object in the new division of matter made by this explainer of Polybius, than to disfigure Polybius and explain him in his disfigured state. The invention of Summaries is chiefly subservient to the perversion of dates.

I am surprised that so marked and decided an interference with the text should not have been distinctly avowed by its author : and that it should be noticed only at the end of his introductory chapter, the tenor of which is contradicted by it. Though Polybius is thus slighted, his terms are nevertheless used in the titles of Mr. Ellis's chapters : as,— " to the commencement of the ascent of Alps ;" and " from the commencement of the ascent of Alps." We do not there read " to the town ;" and " from the town." And, in the discussion where the town has first to be mentioned, it is only insinuated, that it looked down upon the Carthaginian encampment ;—which is in order to give it an early position in the Alps. For my own part, I think it is to be inferred from the context of the narrative, that the town was quite beyond the *εὐκαίροι τόποι* ; and that, when the enemy had repaired to it for the night, they were no longer in sight of the posts they had quitted : also, that we must conceive the town to have been beyond the scene of the conflict which ensued the next day. There is no fair pretence for setting up the town to usurp the character of terminus between the fourth and fifth sections of the Polybian march.

Mr. Ellis does not speak out as impeaching the Polybian march, till he says (p. 32): "The ten days' march from the junction of the Rhone and Isère, must be taken as terminating, not at the point where Hannibal left the Isère (Mr. Ellis's "*ποταμός*"), but at the town of the Allobroges, which he captured after passing through the defile at the commencement of the Alpine ascent." He proves this, by saying, "The fifteen days of Alps are *clearly* reckoned from the town." I say, on the other hand, that Polybius calls the terminus *ἀναβολή*; and, when Mr. Ellis calls it "the town," it makes two days' difference in a reckoning on which his peculiar theory depends: and further, that, to support that theory, he finds it necessary to reject two more days, without a pretence that any fair critic will justify. All for the Rock of Baune.

This discord from Polybius which Mr. Ellis has invented is so pleasing to him, that he introduces "the town," when there is no need to mention it. In p. 54, he quits the summit with these words: "On the eleventh day after leaving the town, the Carthaginians began their descent into Italy."

In p. 64, he brings the town prominently forward in a journal which he presents of the whole march from the confluence of the Rhone and Isère to the plains of Italy; stating it thus, in two parts: I. The ten days' march *to the town* of the Allobroges, including the halt at that place. II. The fifteen days' march across the Alps, *from the town* of the Allobroges to the commencement of the plains of Italy.

Before I say more on the shallowness of this Summary system, let me notice, as allied with it, the dangerous frame on which the Treatise is constructed. In the chapters where Mr. Ellis discusses the narrative from the passage of the Rhone to the plain of Italy, he lays down, from time to time, some condition with which a theory pretending to be based on Polybius ought to conform: the first is in p. 28: the last in p. 63: they are ten in number, and are put together at

the end of the fifth chapter, following the journal; which is framed according to Mr. Ellis's improvements on the text, or, as he expresses it, "elicited from Polybius." Having supplied all these conditions, and many minor ones, he points out, in chapter vi, that "there are four passes in which there is some *prima facie* probability:" and that "the examination which leads to the rejection of three out of the four will not be long." Accordingly he disposes of them in four pages: chiefly for want of a view, for remoteness from the plain, and for the want of Taurini: and tells us in p. 73, "The Mont Cenis remains alone with likelihood in its favour."

The rest of the work, except what is given to Livy, is mostly devoted to examine whether the characteristics of the Cenis Pass are in accordance with the conditions derived from the narrative by Mr. Ellis. It might be expected that the conditions would fit them pretty well, having been made to order. I will mention the first and the last.

The first is this: "The commencement of the Ascent of Alps must be at a distance of about 100 Roman miles from the junction of the Rhone and Isère, reckoned along the left bank of the latter river."—Treatise, p. 28.

The last is this: "The plains into which the road over the pass enters, when it emerges on the side of Italy, must anciently have been inhabited by the Taurini."—P. 63.

But I must not omit the fourth, which has brought the Rock of Baune into so much favour with him who discovered it. It is this: "The White Rock is nearly half-way, in point of time, between the town of the Allobroges and the summit of the pass."—P. 66. Mr. Ellis's town is Allward; but we do not learn that name till chapter vii. pp. 91, 93. Mr. Ellis speaks of its present importance, and of its preserving, in its own name, that of Allobroges: he says it is six miles beyond Le Cheylas.\*

\* It is right to say that some have approved of these conditions.



It is now to be shown, by what series of contrivances Mr. Ellis makes the Rock of Baune to be the *λευκόπετρον* of Polybius. I will then attend him to the summit. His fifth Summary, which he calls "Circumstances which took place while the army remained on the summit," will belong to another head of my subject.

*Two First Days of Alps removed by Mr. Ellis.*

In the first chapter of this fifth part, I have allotted to each of the fifteen days which Polybius ascribes to the Alpine march, the work which belonged to it: and I believe such distribution of employment to be correct. When Hannibal is said to reach the summit on the ninth day, it means the ninth of the fifteen: this is required by the context of the narrative. I impute, that Mr. Ellis has thrown the chronology, and thereby the geography of the march, into confusion, by setting up a reckoning of his own against that of Polybius.

We reckon the fifteen days of Alps, by beginning with the day of storming the defile and forcing the passage along the edge of the precipices, and afterwards occupying the enemy's town. Hannibal stayed an entire day encamped at the town: this was his second day of Alps. He resumed his march on the third day of Alps. On the fourth day of that renewed march, he met a body of natives, and held conference with them. That fourth day of the renewed march was the sixth day of Alps. After the conference, the natives attended the march for two days before they made attack. The attack therefore was on the eighth day of Alps.

Mr. Ellis reckons the fifteen days of Alps, by beginning with the march from the town, and so omits the two first

In Mr. Ball's "Guide to the Western Alps," p. 54, they are commended as giving Mr. Ellis's arguments in a condensed form, and the author expresses his obligations for them to a Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge, who is also a member of the Alpine Club.

days of Alps. He makes the fourth day of that resumed march to be the fourth day of Alps: and prepares to make the very same day the day of the attack, which he will try to do, by omitting the two days for which the natives attended the army after the conference and before the attack.

We both profess to reach the summit on the ninth day. Our ninth day is the day following that of the assault, which was the eighth. Mr. Ellis's ninth day is the fifth day after that of the assault. Beginning his reckoning on marching forward from the town, he cuts out the day on which the army had fought its way over the mountain, and captured the town, and the day on which they remained encamped at the town. Mr. Ellis knows that *τεταρταῖος* imports the fourth day of the renewed march, and therefore was the sixth day of Alps: yet he merges those two first days of Alps into the previous march of ten days along the river. The excuse is, that Mr. Ellis cannot think Hannibal would have been so long in marching 100 miles. In so getting rid of these two days,\* Mr. Ellis does not pretend to follow the history: on the contrary, he says (p. 32): "The march of ten days ought to terminate where the march of fifteen days begins." It must have occurred to him, that after those ten days Hannibal *ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ἀναβολῆς*. Nevertheless, Mr. Ellis says, "It *must* be taken as terminating at the town of the Allobroges: from this town the march of fifteen days "is *clearly* reckoned." So, as the two first days of Alps are found inconvenient to the Baune theory, he throws them away as being already reckoned in the ten.

Mr. Ellis corrects the chronology of Polybius thus (p. 33): "It would be on the morning of the eighth day after leaving

\* Some have suggested, that the first day of Alps should be deemed the previous day, in the night of which Hannibal with a select body occupied posts in the absence of the enemy. In that case, Mr. Ellis has omitted one day more than I charge him with.



"the confluence of the Rhone and Isère, that Hannibal "encamped before the heights occupied by the Allobroges: "on the same night he seized the abandoned heights: on the "ninth the defile was passed, and the town captured: on the "tenth the Carthaginians remained in the neighbourhood of "the town." Thus Mr. Ellis ekes out his ten days of *παρὰ ποταμόν* with forcing the heights of Alps, and enjoying a well-earned repose in the Alps for the whole of the next day.

Mr. Ellis is well aware of his variance from Polybius—he says (p. 33): "Polybius estimates the length and distance of "a passage of the Alps, from the point where Hannibal left "the Isère (the *ποταμόν* of Mr. Ellis); so that it might be "natural to expect that the fifteen days occupied in that "passage would be reckoned from the same point." However, Mr. Ellis finds something still more natural: he proceeds—"But from the rest of the narrative, it seems plain "that the fifteen days' march is reckoned from the town, the "capture of which makes a natural break in the history." Now, whether or not the critic be more natural than the historian, the text has in express terms made the break, where Hannibal, having left the river, *ἤρξατο τῆς πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεις ἀναβολῆς*; and this accords with the division made in c. 39, between the fourth and fifth sections of the entire march.

Having ratified his doctrine by his three assertions,—1, that it is clear; 2, that it is plain; 3, that it is natural,—Mr. Ellis reposes at last on this additional circumstance, that it is of no consequence; as the space from his river to his town is so trifling. He says (p. 33): "This town no doubt was near "to the Isère, and thus only a short distance removed\* from "the point where the march along the river terminated." Proximity would be a poor ground of argument, if it were true: our question here is on time, rather than space. See

\* Mr. Ellis says six miles, p. 91.

what things were to be done: they stormed the mountain: they achieved their victory after a severe encounter above the precipices, and then occupied the enemy's town on the other side. It required a day to perform this work: what matters the distance? It was mountain work, not river work: Alps, not *ἐπίπεδα*: and after this Hannibal rested for two nights at the Alpine town. If these remarks are just, the fourth day from the town cannot also be the fourth of Alps. It was the sixth.

*Two more Days cut out by Mr. Ellis's reckoning.*

Mr. Ellis proceeds to dismiss two more days of Polybius, in order to accommodate the Rock of Baune. We have seen how he converts the fourth day from the town into the fourth day of Alps: but he almost surprises us by announcing that this same *τεταρταῖος* represents the day of the attack near the *λευκόπετρον*. He says (p. 35): "The attack took place "near a certain strong white rock, and was made on the "fourth day's march from the town." Again (p. 37): "This "day was the fourth: and the treacherous attack was the "great danger which Polybius particularly mentions as "having occurred on that day."

Now, the statement of Polybius is this: "Hannibal, "having occupied the town and encamped, and remained there "for one day, again marched on, and for some days following "led the army through without interruption. Being already "in the fourth day, he came again into great dangers." It is then told how the natives, dwelling near the pass, meditating treachery, met him, bearing crowns and symbols of peace. They make plausible representations, furnish supplies of cattle, and deliver hostages. Hannibal's policy is, not to show his distrust of them: but he takes measures of precaution, altering his order of march. The natives accordingly attend the march of the army for two days; and then make

their attack, when passing through a defile. As that fourth day from the town was the sixth day of Alps, the day of the attack was the eighth.

But Mr. Ellis, having turned the beginning of Alps into the town, and the sixth day into the fourth, has only to dismiss two other days, and to let his fourth day last till the battle is fought. He feels encouraged to this by the words of the history—*ἤδη δὲ τεταρταῖος ὄν, αὖθις εἰς κινδύνους παρεγένετο μεγάλους*. His translation is "encountered dangers;" so he thinks that the bloody work has begun: he exclaims (p. 39):—"What then was this great danger? According to the view we have taken, it was the treacherous attack in the neighbourhood of the rock. According to the general view, it was the meeting with the deputation of Gauls, bearing boughs and crowns. No great danger could be said to result to Hannibal from such an encounter, or such weapons."

Had Mr. Ellis so read Polybius as not to know that two days intervened between the danger that the history points out as belonging to the insidious designs of the natives, shown on the fourth day from the town, and the explosion of their schemes in the ravine? He insinuates (Treatise, p. 36) that these two days were days that preceded that fourth day. I will not do him the injustice to suppose that he thinks so. If he does, I recommend him to read again the passage in Polybius, or his own translation.

The evident object is to shorten the march to the *λευκόπετρον*, because he wants to swell the time which came after it to the summit. The contrivance on which Mr. Ellis most relies is the danger on the fourth day. He admits no idea of danger short of the murderous assault, which was two days later. In short, he does not recognise that a man can be in danger of being killed till he is killed. So, as soon as the word *κινδύνος* appears in the text, he deems the conflict

to have begun, and disregards the additional days which he knows will elapse before the first blow is struck. By such means the Treatise of Mr. Ellis professes to bring out the *real meaning* of the narrative, with *clearness, simply, and without confusion*; and to show that the interpretation usually received is *lax, strained, and without foundation*.—Pp. 40, 41.

Having thus condemned our construction of the text, Mr. Ellis gives his own opinion:—"The only satisfactory view that can be taken of the Greek narrative is, that Hannibal was attacked near 'the strong white rock,' on the fourth day of his march from the town of the Allobroges." He presently clenches his argument, by showing that Hannibal passed that night in camp, and took five days more to reach the summit. "As therefore Hannibal remained *encamped*\* near the rock during the fourth night, and as he arrived at the summit of the pass on the ninth morning, the rock must be situated nearly half-way between the town and the summit of the pass; nearly half-way, that is to say, in point of time, for, in point of distance, the respective difficulties of the way, above and below the rock, must be taken into account. *Another condition* for the determination of Hannibal's route is thus obtained!"

Mr. Ellis, in his zeal for applying *κινδύνους* to produce the battle in his third summary, appeals for illustration to the use of *κινδύνους* in his second summary. He says this:—"Polybius does not merely say that Hannibal had on the fourth day to encounter great dangers, but that he had *again*, on the fourth day, to encounter great dangers. To what previous event does this '*again*' refer? Clearly to the similar part of what has been given as the second summary, where it is stated that Hannibal found himself in a situation of the greatest danger. This danger, we know, befell him, in consequence of the attack made upon

\*We believe that he was under arms.

"him at the commencement of the ascent of Alps." This is quite a mistake. No attack had been made. The situation of danger in which he found himself is explained by Polybius to be in the changing character of the country, by which the cavalry lost its terrors; in the departure of the allied force, and in the enemy's occupation of the requisite pass. Hannibal was then outside the Alps. Danger threatened in the circumstances related; and he prepared to counteract it by stratagem. The day of danger to which Mr. Ellis prematurely assigns the assault near the rock, and the day of danger to which he appeals in the plain of Dauphiné, were both exempt from actual conflict—one as much as the other.

*Final Argument for Baune.*

In my first criticism, written at Nice, I dwelt at some length on these things, not without hope that Mr. Ellis might acknowledge that the fifteen days occupied in the passage of the Alps should be reckoned from the ἀναβολή, or beginning of Alps. I showed him that τεταρταῖος was not the fourth of Alps; was to be reckoned from the town, and that it could not be the day of the battle. In his defence (Journ. of Phil. No. vi. 317), he puts his blunder on ἐνναταῖος into a new shape, as follows:—

"After the halt at the town, the first period mentioned is "one of four days (τεταρταῖος). At the termination of this "period Hannibal fell into great peril. (The battle of the "Rock, according to my view; a conference with some Gauls, "according to Mr. Law's view.) The point from which this "τεταρταῖος is reckoned is not stated."

"The next date mentioned by Polybius gives a period of "nine days (ἐνναταῖος). At the end of this time Hannibal "gained the crest of the Alps. Nothing is said with refer- "ence to the point from which this ἐνναταῖος is reckoned."

It is not safe to read these two sentences without a careful eye upon Polybius himself. "The first period" and "the next period" are terms of Mr. Ellis; but the periods are quite independent of one another. He proceeds:—

"I see here but two suppositions to adopt. The term of "nine days *must* be reckoned either from the beginning or "end of the four days. The latter supposition, the most "obvious, is inadmissible: the passage of the Alps could not "then be effected in fifteen days. As the term of nine days "must thus be reckoned from the same point as the term of "four days, we have only to determine from what point "τεταρταῖος is reckoned. On this the nine days, and, as may "easily be perceived on the perusal of Polybius, the fifteen "days also will depend. But τεταρταῖος is plainly reckoned "from the town." Camb. Journ. of Philol. ii. 317.

Never was a bolder specimen of the *petitio principii*. Our assent is begged to two miserable errors, without an attempt to substantiate them:—1. "The term of nine days *must* be "reckoned either from the beginning or end of the term of "the four days." 2. "It *must* be reckoned from the same "point as the term of four days." Each proposition is unfounded, and backed only by the favourite word *must*. Each numeral is, in truth, to be explained by its context. The reckoning of ἐνναταῖος has no relation to the reckoning of τεταρταῖος. The fifteen days stated by Polybius as the sum of the mountain march, comprehend the whole of that march, beginning with the ἀναβολή: and the ninth day, on which the summit was reached, is the ninth of the fifteen. It is not necessary that every numeral used during the mountain narrative should import some fraction of the fifteen. The word τεταρταῖος has no relation to the fifteen: it has its own special context, which explains it as the fourth from the town; the point from whence he made a new start, αὐθις ὄρμα; and therefore it would be the sixth of the fifteen. So

in the descent, the word *τριταῖος* is a reckoning from the broken way, and expresses no fraction of the fifteen. But *ἐνναταῖος* is a part of the fifteen: the summit was attained on the ninth day of the effort to reach it, which effort began at the *ἀναβολή*. If common sense, exercised upon the meaning of words, did not interpret *ἐνναταῖος*, we might appeal to the translation of such ideas by Livy: *nono die in jugum Alpium perventum est—quinto decimo die Alpius superatis*.

In the argument just considered, we have a fair specimen, not a solitary one, of a system of logic, worthy to be allied with the system of Summaries. When it is desired to establish anything very startling, you are given the option of some other extravagance, possibly more intense; and when you decline that, you are held bound to the first. Here, wishing the ninth day not to be reckoned from the *ἀναβολή* Ἄλπεων, but from the town, according to what I consider Mr. Ellis's perversion of Polybius, he lays it down, that it must be reckoned from the beginning of the four days, which were from the town, or from the end of those four days. He attempts no proof of such necessity, and proceeds to assert that the latter alternative is the most obvious, but inadmissible: whereupon he adopts the other. Both alternatives are inadmissible: and the difference in value between them is but this—that Mr. Ellis adopts one, and nobody adopts the other.

If any should be misled by *τεταρταῖος* being called the first period, and *ἐνναταῖος* the second period, and should fail to detect the fallacy of the dogma, that the term of nine days *must* be reckoned either from the beginning or end of the four days, it may be useful to point out in plain words why both propositions are to be rejected as equally rotten; and that we are not the better for being allowed the option.

The four days are conceded to begin with renewing the march on leaving the town; and, if you reckon the term of

nine days from the beginning of the four days, the four become included in the nine, and the whole gives a reckoning only from leaving the town (*αἰθῆς ὄρμα*). Thus the two first days of the Alpine route are omitted.

If you reckon the term of nine days from the end of the four days, you have a total of thirteen days, which is too much for reaching the summit, and too little for finishing the Alps.

In my adversary on these topics much is original, not only in his views, but in his style of combat, and I hardly know how to denominate it. In my first criticism on his treatment of *τεταρταῖος*, I objected (p. 22) to his not reckoning the two first days of Alps, which preceded those four days. I charged him with knowing the word *τεταρταῖος* to import the fourth day from the town, and not the fourth day of Alps: and I charged him (p. 24) with misrepresenting that day to be the very day of the assault near the Rock. I called upon him to meet that question. What is his answer? He does not surrender the fatal error of *τεταρταῖος* intending the fourth day of Alps, or the day of the battle, or of its being five days short of the summit. But he is delivered of this proposition—" *τεταρταῖος* is plainly reckoned from the town." He produces this as a truth of his own; and, as if I were a hesitating convert to it, adds, "I wonder Mr. Law did not perceive the consequences of *this admission*." If Mr. Ellis should truly state the consequences of *τεταρταῖος* importing the fourth day of renewed march from the town, he would state them to be, that it denotes the sixth day of the Alpine march, the very day of the conference with the natives, and two days before the assault in the ravine. That assault was on the eighth day of Alps, and the next morning saw Hannibal reach the summit.



*Mr. Ellis's Progress from the λευκόπετρον to the Summit.*

Let us now attend this critic to the end of his nine days. After the battle of Baune, fought on the fourth day of Alps, he makes Hannibal encamp for the night near the Rock, and then saunter on leisurely towards the summit. As he has here to fill up a period of five days with what in truth only occupied a few hours, he has thought it expedient to make two additional summaries for that interval between the λευκόπετρον and the summit. I will give them as they appear with their details in Mr. Ellis's translation:—

*Part of Chapter 53, showing Fifth and Sixth Summaries, &c.*

HANNIBAL HAVING ON THE FOLLOWING DAY, WHEN THE ENEMY HAD RETIRED, REJOINED HIS CAVALRY AND BAGGAGE-ANIMALS, LED ON HIS ARMY TO THE HIGHEST SUMMITS OF THE ALPS, WITHOUT MEETING AGAIN WITH ANY CONSIDERABLE BODY OF THE BARBARIANS, ALTHOUGH PARTS OF HIS ARMY WERE HARASSED BY THEM AT VARIOUS PLACES ON THE ROAD.\* For they, watching their opportunity, assaulted and carried off the baggage animals, sometimes from the rear, and sometimes from the van of the line of march. Upon these occasions, the elephants were of very great service: for the barbarians were so much alarmed at the extraordinary appearance of these animals, that they were deterred from attacking any part of the line of march where the elephants were to be found. ON THE NINTH DAY HANNIBAL ARRIVED AT THE SUMMIT OF THE MOUNTAINS; AND, ENCAMPING THERE, REMAINED TWO DAYS, AS HE WISHED TO GIVE SOME REPOSE TO THOSE TROOPS WHO HAD ALREADY ARRIVED SAFELY, AND TO WAIT FOR THOSE WHO HAD FALLEN BEHIND. *During this period* many of the

\* The idea of "various places on the road" is not in Polybius, though it is in Mr. Ellis's translation.

horses which had broken loose in their fright, and many of the baggage-animals which had got rid of their burdens, unexpectedly joined them in the camp, having followed apparently the tracks of the army.

As in our theory it is believed that the summit was reached on the morrow of the conflict at the λευκόπετρον, Mr. Ellis, being at war against that notion, offers this criticism (Treatise, p. 48):—"It is necessary to notice an erroneous interpretation of a passage in Polybius, from which it has been concluded, "that the battle of the rock took place on the day before "Hannibal reached the summit of the Alps. The Greek "narrative runs thus: τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον, τῶν πολεμίων χωρισ- "θέντων, συνάψας τοῖς ἵππευσι καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις, προῆγε "πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω τῶν Ἀλπεων. In this "passage it has been supposed that the words τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον "are connected with προῆγε: and that Hannibal consequently "gained the summit of the pass on the day after he fought "the battle. Yet this supposition is unfounded: for all that "the Greek implies as having occurred on the morrow, is the "junction of the two divisions of the army."

Mr. Ellis has tried to make his English translation liable to such a criticism, by annexing "the following day" to the participle; not beginning the sentence, as Polybius does, with τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον. But he is quite mistaken as to the Greek narrative. Συνάψας does not monopolise the note of time. τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον belongs to the verb, προῆγε; a word which tells what Hannibal did on the morrow, after he had reunited the parts of his force. In the same way, that term in the 44th chapter belonged to ἐξαπέστειλε: and will, in the next coming chapter, 54th, belong to ἐνῆρχετο. Mr. Ellis, however, finds his grammatical perception strengthened by the reasons which have been so effective on other occasions; namely, that his own construction is most natural and clear. He would have done better not to meddle with τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον; but to



have explained what are the places on his map at which he supposes Hannibal to have halted between St. Julien and Granges de Dervieux.\*

Mr. Ellis makes one very true observation:—"The portion of Polybius's narrative relating to the march from the neighbourhood of the Rock to the summit of the Pass, is very short, and presents nothing of much consequence." It was ingenious in Mr. E. out of so little matter to fabricate two summaries. This Mr. Ellis has done. He must have observed that the two together and the space between them are rather bare of incident: so he adds to his English version "various places on the road," not being in the original, and swells the description with many things that had not occurred to Polybius. We read in p. 48 of the Treatise:—

"Most probably they were merely the inhabitants of the several districts through which the army successively passed, who seized any favourable opportunity of plundering that occurred, without offering any organized resistance to the Carthaginians. It is by no means natural to suppose that *ἐπαύριον* is the same day as that indicated subsequently in the word *ἐνναταῖος*; for the latter day seems clearly to be spoken of by Polybius as later than the former. Neither would any sufficient time be left, if this view were adopted, for the series of repeated attacks, and in different localities, which are recorded to have been made between the neighbourhood of the Rock and the summit of the Pass. The predatory attacks which the Carthaginians suffered were in all probability made by the inhabitants of the several districts through which they passed; and the immediate neighbourhood of the summits of the Alpine passes was not inhabited in the time of Polybius."

The last proposition is true: and therefore the several

\* Places in Mr. Ellis's map; one on the Arc, the other on the Little Cenis, as the Durotineum of Pentinger's chart.

inhabited districts are a mistake. Mr. Ellis, being the inventor, as well as the recorder of the five days' march, has very naturally imagined tracts of countries through which it might be performed, and populations worthy to have contested the progress of the invaders. Alas! the several successive inhabited districts are of his own creation: "the various places on the road" are only found in his translation: the plunderers of the history were stragglers from the assailant mass of yesterday: the different recorded localities were the van, the middle, and the rear of a long column of march: and the series of repeated attacks which the Carthaginians suffered from the inhabitants, each district sending forth its predatory population, may be reduced, on a study of the history, to the occasional theft of a knapsack at one end of the column, or of a donkey at the other, during a few hours of struggle to the summit.

The words of the historian, unadorned by his interpreter, teach us this: that Hannibal having, in his wisdom, stayed back about the White Rock, till the advance had got clear of the defile, pushed on before daybreak for the summit, having reunited the different parts of his force, and the enemy being dispersed; and that, with only the annoyance of partial plunderers at different points in the column, he reached the summit on the ninth day. The few incidents which are expressed do, in fact, belong to and wind up the tale of the engagement: the dispersion of the enemy is the dispersion of those who attacked in the region of the *λευκόπετρον*: the reunion is the reunion of those who under that attack had become separated. These things, and the partial aggressions and pilferings, repressed by the terror of the elephants, all are incidents found in the one sentence, which, beginning *τῇ δ' ἐπαύριον*, is applied expressly to the morrow of the assault: we then read, *Ἐνναταῖος δὲ διανύσας εἰς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς, αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε καὶ δύο ἡμέρας προσέμεινε.*

N.B.—If any should be surprised at the amount of confusion which we have been trying to unravel, I would refer to Mr. Ellis's own explanation for the cause of it. In accounting for the common opinion against his doctrine, that *τετραταῖος* represents the day of the attack, he says: "The difference of the two views arises from this cause: that, while we have taken Polybius's narrative in this place to consist, first of a summary statement of the events of four days, and then of an explanation and a detailed account of those events; yet it has, on the other hand, been generally supposed, that the whole is one continuous narrative; or, at all events, that no part of the details of the transactions with the Alpine Gauls refers to the three days preceding the fourth day indicated by *τετραταῖος*." Treatise, p. 35. The statement is a fair one. The question of credit lies between Polybius Megalopolitanus, grave historian, on the one side, and an inventor of Summaries, on the other.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART VI.

#### THE MOUNTAIN MARCH. SUMMIT.

##### CHAPTER I.

*Hannibal encamps on the Summit for Two Days. He calls his Troops together, and addresses them. Evidence of Italy: miscalled view. The Text considered. The following day he begins the descent.*

POLYBIUS says that Hannibal reached the summit on the ninth day: that he encamped there and remained two days, in the purpose of giving rest to those who were safe, and of allowing time for those who were missing to come up.

De Saussure, speaking of the Little St. Bernard, s. 2,229, &c., says:—"L'hospice, ou couvent, est situé dans un vallon en berceau, dirigé du Nord-Est au Sud-Ouest, large de trois à quatre cents toises dans le bas, partout verd, mais sans arbres ni arbrisseaux. La moyenne entre deux observations du baromètre m'a donné 1,125 toises pour son élévation au-dessus de la mer. Du côté du Sud-Est, le vallon qui renferme l'Hospice est divisé, suivant sa longueur, par une arrête étroite qui se prolonge du côté du Nord, à 3 ou 400 toises au-dessous de l'Hospice. Cette arrête produit un second vallon assez profond, parallèle à celui où est l'Hospice. En partant de l'Hospice pour descendre dans la

"vallée d'Aoste, on commence par monter une pente douce, qui aboutit au plus haut point du vallon de l'Hospice, mais ce point n'est que de quelques toises plus élevé que l'Hospice. Il est signalé, ou du moins il l'étoit alors par une belle colonne de marbre cipolin, veiné en zigzag et tiré sans doute des montagnes du voisinage. On voit ensuite, au-dessous de soi, sur la gauche, un petit lac renfermé dans un charmant bassin de verdure."

In the Oxford Dissertation, p. 96, I read this:—"The plain is about two miles and a half in length: it is, according to De Saussure, 1,125 toises above the level of the sea: it is well sheltered, and in the centre of it is a small lake." Brockedon's statement on the position of the lake I conceive to be more accurate: he says (Passes, i. p. 7):—"The lake of Vernai, or of the Little St. Bernard, does not occupy any part of the plain, but is situated far below it at its northern extremity, at the base of the mountains which form the north-west boundary of the Col." The extent of this plain on the summit is well known, and defies the jealousy of M. Larauza, who has ventured (p. 185) to pronounce it impossible for Hannibal to have encamped there. If comparison be necessary, I believe that it has the advantage of being sounder ground than his plain of the Cenis.

We may concur in the common belief that Hannibal remained two days on the summit, which must mean that, having reached it early in the morning of the ninth day, he passed two nights there, and commenced the descent on the eleventh day. Some might remark that, when he stayed two nights at the captured town, the time was told by the words *μίαν ἐπεμείνας ἡμέραν*; and that here we read *δύο ἡμέρας προσέμεινε*. But in the two cases there was much difference in the time for resting. In the first case there was but one day of rest. Hannibal arrived at the town after a very severe day's work to the whole army. The progress to it had been

over a very rough precipitous mountain, impeded by very hard fighting: he could not fail to rest after it; and if the words *μίαν ἡμέραν* did not include remaining for the next day, they would have no meaning at all. On the arrival at the plain of the Little St. Bernard, there were almost two days for resting. That portion of the army which had gone forward, and for whose support Hannibal had stayed back the night before, may have reached the summit at or soon after daybreak; and he himself promptly followed them. This day, though it succeeded a night of labour, was itself a day of repose, and must be counted one of the two, during which the army is said to have stayed on the summit: no one has contended that they stayed beyond the second night, nor is it probable: never was time more precious: it is easier to believe in a pause of two days and two nights, than in one of three days and three nights.

*The Evidence, miscalled the View, of Italy.*

One who should come to the reading of this history, not having already received any particular impression on the incidents of the mountain march, would, I think, not understand from it that the Carthaginian soldiers enjoyed a view of Italy from the summit of the pass. But probably most persons have read the story in their own or some other language before they read it in the language of Polybius, and may have received an impression that the invaders were indulged with such a view. Coming afterwards to read Polybius, they presume that his statement intends what they have heard of before.

The incident on which this notion is built, is an address of Hannibal to his soldiers, an incident which belonged to the one day of entire rest; for Polybius, having related that incident and its effect, says, "On the next day he began the descent." Many a critic has assumed, but not, I think, by

instruction of Polybius, that, when this address was delivered, the expanse of Italy was visible to the assembled army, and has fondly imagined the summit of his own theory to enjoy a special advantage for exhibiting it.

*The Text considered.*

Now what is the statement? Not that Hannibal in march halted his disheartened men at an eminence to enjoy a distant view in bad weather: but that, during the day of repose, he assembled them, and addressed them, having this resource or argument, the evidence, the manifestation, the assurance of Italy—*τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐνάργειαν*. This word, *ἐνάργεια*, though sometimes construed “view,” has not in itself the meaning of “view.” Although the word is founded on a quality which concerns the sense of sight, namely brightness or clearness, the proper force of it is clearness to the understanding. Such is the force of our own word “evidence,” though by derivation it is more decidedly connected with the idea of sight. The certainty or distinctness which *ἐνάργεια* imports, may be a certainty obtained through ocular proof as well as other proof; but the word in itself does not signify “view.” The other passages of Polybius in which the word occurs are these:—

Lib. iii. c. xliv. 6, *ἡ τῆς παρουσίας ἐνάργεια τῶν ἐπισπωμένων*: the clear fact of the presence of those who invited them on. When Hannibal introduced the Cisalpine chiefs on the morrow of the passage of the Rhone, this was the first topic of encouragement in his address to the soldiers. If *ἐνάργεια* signified “view,” *τῆς παρουσίας* would be superfluous.

Lib. iii. c. iii. 3, *πάντων δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν ἐπισημνησμένων διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν*: all signifying their approbation of what was spoken, because of its manifest truth.

Hannibal had desired them to look around, and notice the favourable nature of the ground for an engagement. The truth of what he said was to be recognised by the eye: but *ἐνάργεια* is not a view of what he spoke, but the obvious truth of it.

Lib. iv. c. xvii. 2, *τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικρύψεσθαι τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐναργείας*: to obscure by words the evidences of things done.

Lib. vi. c. xv. 8, *δι' ὧν ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἄγεται τοῖς πολίταις ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἢ τῶν κατειργασμένων πραγμάτων ἐναργεία*: through which (triumphs) the clear evidence of deeds performed by their generals is brought under the view of the citizens. The idea of view is expressed in *ὄψιν*, not in *ἐναργεία*.

Lib. xvi. c. xxiii. 2, *διὰ τῆς τῶν εἰσαγομένων ἐναργείας μνησκόμενοι τῶν προγεγονότων κινδύνων*: remembering bygone dangers through the evidence of things brought forward. This, too, is said in speaking of triumphs. If Casaubon was right in conjecturing *ἐναργείας*, instead of the previous reading *ἐνεργείας*, yet the idea represented is evidence, not view; though visible objects were the means of bringing former calamities to mind.

As the employment of the word *ἐνάργεια* does not require us, indeed hardly permits us to render it by the term “view,” the context of the narrative seems also to require the word “evidence.” The history proceeds thus:—“For Italy has “been so placed\* under the mountains which I have before “described, that, when both are contemplated together, the “Alps bear the character of citadel to the whole of Italy.” The geographical character of the Alps as the barrier of Italy is adduced, as furnishing the topic of comfort to the

\* Literally, *had lain*, or *had been placed*.



desponding soldiers, the description being suggested by the historian's own observation of the course of Alps towering above the Italian plain. In this picture he rather has in mind a view of the ramparts from the plain than a view of the plain from the ramparts: the conception is that the Alps have the character of citadel, and he portrays them as the walls or defences of Italy, not expressing any particular part of them, but speaking of the whole, which he has described as ranging from the Sardinian sea to the Adriatic. He invites you to understand this natural defence, and to appreciate the fact of surmounting it: he, the first perhaps from Rome, who, in the pursuit of knowledge, had completed the passage of the great bulwark, and contemplated, as a soldier and a philosopher, its physical and military importance.

This introduction enables us to sympathise in the consolation which Hannibal administered to his men: they who had toiled for months to master the acropolis of Saguntum, were to be assured that they had now mastered the acropolis of Italy. If, when he commanded their attendance, the expanse of the Italian plain lay visibly before them, each man was receiving through his own senses the argument of comfort, and the assurances of his leader were superfluous. As for a specula, such as some have imagined for the scene of this exhortation while they were in march, no such thing is offered to us by the words of Polybius. The encouragement was administered to them in a scene surrounded with Alpine heights: the important truth, that the citadel was gained, that they had surmounted the source of one stream, and attained the source of another, was to be impressed upon their minds; but it was not offered to their eyes. This other stream was the descending stream to Italy. Nothing can be so fitted to recruit the spirit and temper of the exhausted traveller, as the sure knowledge of such a fact. To feel this,

it is not necessary to have crossed the Alps. Let him, who has only walked from Llanrwst to Bangor, reflect how he has watched the point where he should cease to have a river for his opponent, and begin to have one for his companion: that point is evidence of the success of his enterprise, and that his labour is not in vain.

Observe then the words, which tell the substance of Hannibal's address, in which he availed himself of this geographical truth, applying it for encouragement and congratulation:—"Wherefore, pointing towards the plain of the Po, and "reminding them generally of the friendliness of the Gauls "who dwelt there, and at the same time suggesting to them "the very situation of Rome herself, he succeeded to some "extent in confirming the spirits of his men."

Their attention was called to three subjects: the great Northern plain into which they were about to descend; the favour of the inhabitants among whom they would arrive; the further object of their hopes, Rome. It will probably be admitted, that two of these subjects were not represented as objects of sight; and that we may translate *ὑπομνήσκων* "reminding," and *ὑποδεικνύων* "suggesting." Mr. Ellis says nothing on those words: but takes his stand on *ἐνδεικνύμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία*; saying: "This is of course "the expression on which I relied to prove the fact of those "plains being visible."—*Journal of Philology*, ii. 309. The question then is—need this third topic of the address, the plain of Po, have been at that time an object of vision, by reason of the word *ἐνδεικνύμενος*?

If we regard the usual application of that word, there is surely no such necessity. The plain of the Po had become a familiar object of their desires, as well as the Gaulish alliance, and the Roman capital: and we find in his works six other instances of *ἐνδείκνυμαι* besides this. In one of them, it signifies to point out so as to induce ocular observation: in



one, the idea of sight is supplied by another word expressly employed for the purpose: in the remaining four, it unequivocally means to show to the understanding.

Lib. ii. c. iv. 3, τῆς τύχης, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις συμβαινόντων ἐνδεικνυμένης τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν: fortune, purposely as it were, showing her power to the rest of mankind, by the things which happen to those.

Lib. iv. c. xxviii. 4, περὶ ἧς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐνεδειξάμεθα: on which I have given explanation in the early part of my work.

Lib. v. c. xvi. 7, πάντα ταῦτα μετ' ἀποδείξεως ἐνδεικνυμένου καὶ μαρτύρων: having pointed out all these things by demonstration and witnesses.

Lib. xi. c. ix. 8, ἐνεδείκνυντο τοὺς κεκαλλωπισμένους: they marked out those who were finely dressed.

Lib. xviii. c. vi. 2, ἐναργῶς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἐνδεικνύμενος: pointing them out as clearly within view.

Lib. xxv. c. iv. 11, βουλόμενοις ἐνδείκνυσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ δυνατός ἐστὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἀμύνασθαι καὶ καταπολεμεῖν: wishing to show the Romans, that he is able of himself to repel and subdue Pharnaces.

Such being the use of ἐνδείκνυμαι by Polybius, I think we may be satisfied that in the sentence before us he did not intend us to understand the exhibition of a thing actually seen by the soldiers. If this had been meant, the words ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν might have been added, as in the passage here cited from the 18th book, and that cited before from the 6th book. We may render ἐνδεικνύμενος "pointing out," or "pointing to," without implying a vision of the object by the persons assembled and addressed. Action probably accompanied the words: the chief was encircled by his troops, seeing only those whom

he addressed, they looking only on their leader who addressed them: he enforced the topic of encouragement, pointing back to the horrors of the ascent, and forward in direction of the friendly stream which would guide them into the plain and the country of their allies. All this could be in a scene shut in with mountains and clouded with the dullest atmosphere. The historical fact is, that he made the effort of consolation: the consolation was, that they had gained the summit: for this to be owned and felt, he indicated to them, but not visibly to the sense, the subject plain.

## CHAPTER II.

No practicable Summit gives a View of Italy. It is claimed for Monte Viso by St. Simon and the Anonymous of Cambridge 1830: for Balbotet, by Folard, who is followed by Vaudoncourt and Bandé de Lavalette: for the Cenis, by Larauza, the writer in "Blackwood's Magazine," and Mr. Ellis.

SUPPOSE that the remarks which I have made are not assented to, and that the arbiters of Greek should adjudge ἐνάργεια to be "a view" in its most sensual import; an inquiry of fact will be opened. But it would be a fact for present inquiry: Polybius would not be responsible: we should claim the right to suppose, that, in his own journey through the Alps, he was not favoured with a transparent atmosphere, so conclusive of fact, as to warrant him in rejecting a current anecdote. He had no experience from which he could assert, that there is no practicable summit which gives a view of Italy.

The probability of finding a view is differently estimated by two classes of persons; those who assume that Alpine elevation must necessarily give to the eye the command of all

surrounding country, as from the Malvern hills, or the tower of Lincoln Cathedral, and those who believe that from the summit of every Alpine pass, properly so called, such enjoyment is unattainable. By a pass of Alps one must understand a way not incredible for the passage of an army: there may be parts of the main ridge so narrow that the eye may almost from the same spot command a Savoy valley and a Piémont valley: such places are accessible to the natives, and may occasionally be penetrated by an adventurous traveller: but no part which is so depressed as to be useful for armies or merchandise can furnish a prospect which is not broken by some course of mountain dividing one tortuous valley from another. I do not believe that at any period a large army has come over the Alps by any course which is not now in the limited list of great well-known passes. The result of the enterprising performances of the bolder tourists is, not to show new practicable passes for large bodies of men, but to prove their impossibility.

These comments are sustained by experience: if any lines of passage practicable for an army could supply a summit giving a view of the Italian plain, the discovery would have been made manifest by some of the itinerant theorists who have been searching for it during the last two centuries. Though the discovery has not been made, instances may be adverted to, in which critics of the march have more or less imposed upon themselves by giving locality to this supposed incident. The passes which claim to be so distinguished are not many. The Great St. Bernard confesses not to see the plain of Italy. The Little St. Bernard and Mont Genève also show no pretension to it. Three passes only are to be noticed, as put forward to assert the enjoyment of a view.

*View. Monte Viso. St. Simon.*

Viso is the Carthaginian summit of the Marquis de St. Simon, aide-de-camp to the Prince de Conti in the campaign of 1644; and it is adopted by the anonymous of Cambridge, who, in 1830, attacked Polybius and the Oxford Dissertation. It has appeared that the tracks which those critics assert, one drawn by Valence, the other by Grenoble, fall into one at Tallard on the Durance; and that this comes to a beginning of the Alps in the valley of the Ubaye. One would think that any body of men, once touching the Durance, and on their way up that river to Italy and Viso, would make their way, not by ascending the river Ubaye. It is otherwise with these two writers: each conducts Hannibal south-west to Barcelonnette. Now, supposing a man to have got to Barcelonnette, his onward way to Italy would be by the Col d'Argentière, and down the valley of the Stura to Coni. Instead of that, they forward him from Barcelonnette to the Viso, and both their schemes of movement are curious. The Marquis does not quite know how he managed to get to Viso; but he declares the fact: the other, knowing as little or less, and not going in person, has invented an impossible geography to make the thing clear.

Barcelonnette is about 22 miles up the Ubaye: and beyond this place the Marquis goes "jusqu'au col d'Argentière." Then, instead of letting Hannibal go down into Italy, he makes him to wander northwards upon heights of the main chain of Alps, till he finds himself on the Viso. The perception which the Marquis had of this interesting track is only to be told in his own words, which are these: "Quoique je ne sache pas "précisément quelle route Annibal s'est ouverte pour arriver "à la sommité des Alpes, je ne le perds pas plus de vue qu'un "chasseur qui, des hauteurs, laisse sa mente parcourir les "routes et les fourrées d'un bois à l'entrée duquel il l'a con-

"duite: il ne la voit plus, mais il l'entend au loin, et la rejoint aussitôt qu'elle quitte les fonds. Il me retrouve de même avec Annibal sur le Monte Viso, sans m'inquiéter de tous les détours où la fraude des ses guides, son peu de confiance en eux, et son manque de connaissance de l'intérieur des montagnes, ont dû le faire errer pendant neuf jours." Perhaps the Marquis was not so long about it: but he did not accomplish his object. He had been assured, that from the summit the plain of Piémont was to be seen; but he was unlucky in his day: "On me l'a montré comme on fait à tous les voyageurs; mais je suis forcé à convenir que je n'ai pu la voir qu'en imagination." He consoles himself with describing how far the Carthaginian adventurer had been more fortunate: "Annibal, en arrivant auprès du Monte Viso, devient tout-à-coup un amateur ardent des montagnes. Il monta jusqu'à la sommité de ce pic inaccessible, pour jouir de la vue des plaines du Piémont, et pour les montrer à ses soldats. Il s'élève pour cela jusqu'à une hauteur que l'on croit être de 2,500 toises, et par conséquent supérieure à celle de Mont Blanc." One is inclined to ask, how much of his speech was heard by his troops?

*View. Monte Viso. Cambridge Anonymous.*

The Englishman who has adopted Viso as the summit for a view, finds a way to it for Hannibal not more happy than that of the Marquis St. Simon. Having performed the first Alps in the valley of the Ubaye, he writes thus, p. 64:—"After encamping at the town for a day, the army proceeds by the Chemin Royal up the valley of the Ubaye, and for three days their march is pursued in safety. On the fourth, the mountaineers in token of peace come forward, and purchase the good-will of Hannibal with an abundant supply of cattle. They gain their object by persuading him to accept their

"guidance through the rest of the passage. He is conducted by them from the valley of the Ubaye up the deep gorges of the river Guil away from the right path. The Carthaginians follow their guides into the difficult and dangerous ravine of the Guil, which proves fatal to a great part of the army. In the morning προῆγε πρὸς τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς ἀνωτάτω τῶν Ἀλπεων, and early on the ninth day he reaches the summit of the pass of Monte Viso, about which he encamps and remains two days." Then comes the eulogy of the View; and then, without notice of intermediate points, Turin.

Now the path into which this writer states the Carthaginians to have been seduced by the natives has no existence. After more than three days' marches up the valley of the Ubaye, he carries them up the gorges of the Guil. There are no such gorges: the Guil torrent rising far to the north-west of the Col de Viso, flows south-west, making its course to Mont Dauphin, and so into the Durance. The valley of the Ubaye never approaches the course of the Guil, though perhaps the ranges of mountain, which send contributors to one, may in an opposite direction remotely contribute to the other. To go up a gorge of the Guil towards Monte Viso, is impossible. To go from the valley of the Ubaye up the gorges of the Guil is impossible. According to the best maps, the most fraudulent guide could not take you to the Viso from the valley of the Ubaye up any gorge of the Guil.

The effort of this commentator was, not to interpret Polybius, but to interpret the Marquis de St. Simon. The attempt was indiscreet: for the Marquis avowed that he could not explain his own track: and yet he went in person, which the Cambridge anonymous did not.

*View from Balbotet. Folard.*

The Chevalier Folard, in his elucidations of Polybius, invented this summit with its view. After coming over the

Mont Genève to Césanne, he studies the scene for Hannibal's engagement with the barbarian enemy: he finds it near the ascent of the Col de Sestrière; and calls it "le combat contre les Allobroges des Alpes Cottiennes." He says, "Il est difficile de pouvoir bien déterminer l'endroit où se passa cette grande action entre Annibal et les Allobroges. La connaissance que j'ai des lieux me feroit croire que ce général fut attaqué entre Sezanne et le mont de Sestrières. Le rocher où Polybe dit qu'Annibal passa une nuit si triste, se trouve là comme fait exprès, et existe encore." But the writer looks beyond the Sestrière for Hannibal's summit: the march is carried further forward along mountain tops, to make sure of the best view. "Il gagna enfin le col de la Fenêtre qu'il avoit à sa gauche, par le haut des montagnes. C'est sur le plateau de cette montagne, où est aujourd'hui le village de Barbotet, qu'Annibal dut camper. C'est dans ce camp de Barbotet, qu'Annibal fit remarquer à ses soldats toute la plaine du Piémont, jusqu'au pais des Insubriens. Il n'y a que le seul endroit au plus haut du col de la Fenêtre d'où l'on puisse découvrir l'Italie." Tom. iv. pp. 90, 91.

The translation of Polybius by Dom Vincent Thuiller was published in 1728 in six quarto volumes. The commentary of Folard which belongs to it is to the text in bulk as about four or five to one, the last volume excepted, which is without notes. Certain reviewers had said:—"C'est dommage qu'on ne puisse pas lire de suite Polybe, et qu'il faille, pour ainsi dire, courir après le texte, qui se perd à chaque moment dans un abîme de Notes et de Réflexions." These remarks are complained of in a preface to the fourth volume: but the criticism was lenient, dealing only with material proportions. Other merits might have been questioned, beginning with the title-page, where the annotations are recommended for the improvement of general officers. If all are equivalent to those which concern the *ἐνάργεια* of Hannibal, no subaltern could be the better for them.

*View from Balbotet. Vandoncourt. M. de Lavalette.*

Though Chevalier Folard, as I believe, stands alone for the site of the first conflict with barbarians, and for the track in which he places it, yet before he brings Hannibal over the Genève, he is joined by other commentators, who, in the desire of a view, sanction the latter part of his labours with their concurrence. Two, who have tracked Hannibal up the Durance, and join the Chevalier at Briançon to cross the Genève with him to Césanne, having failed to discover a view of their own, follow him to regale their eyes with the prospect from Balbotet. These are General Vandoncourt, and M. Bandé de Lavalette. The general says (tom. i. p. 50): "Le neuvième jour l'armée vint camper sur les hauteurs de l'Assiette:" and (p. 53): "M. de Folard est le seul qui a saisi le vrai point du passage d'Annibal. Il remonta le col de Sestrières et suivit la crête des montagnes jusqu'au col de la Fenêtre. C'est du plateau qui domine le village de Balbotet, et qui est en face de l'embouchure de la vallée de Pragelas, qu'Annibal fit voir à ses soldats les plaines du Piémont: c'est effectivement le seul endroit où l'on puisse avoir une vue semblable: tous les autres sont masqués."

M. de Lavalette, unable to dispense with a view, says:—"Si, au lieu de s'enfoncer dans la vallée de la Doire au-dessous de Césanne, le voyageur franchit à droite le col de Sestrières, il arrive bientôt sur le plateau de Balbotet: et là les plaines du Po se dévoilent à ses regards. Il n'y a que ce point sur toutes les routes des Alpes, d'où l'on puisse à une telle hauteur découvrir et montrer l'Italie." This writer is, as I had occasion to show before, a conscientious critic: accordingly, having subscribed to this exploit in favour of a view, he is duly disturbed (p. 119) by the fact that Balbotet is no summit: "c'est là," he says, "une véritable difficulté;" however, as no other point in the Alps shows the plain so well, he



is content to have his view in a wrong place, rather than not have it at all.

*View from the Cenis. Larauza.*

The ingenious Larauza, in his effort to establish a view, has said enough to show that there is none. In criticising the plateau of Balbotet, he says, p. 188: "Qu'est ce qu'Annibal serait allé faire au sommet de cette montagne?" May we not ask the same question concerning his own eminence "au sommet du Cenis?" He proceeded from Susa by the new road before day-break; and walking through Jaillon and St. Martin, was for some time in expectation of a view which he had conceived from the study of Lady Morgan's "Italy:" but after a little discussion, he arrives at this: "C'est donc au sommet du Cenis, et près du plateau où campa l'armée, qu'il faut chercher ce *promontorium* d'où elle vit les plaines qu'arrose le Po." Hereupon he quotes from a work of 1764, by two Swedish gentlemen, saying:—"Or, voici ce que dit Grosley qui, comme nous, fait passer par là le général Carthaginois. L'espèce de coupe que forme le plateau du Mont Cenis, est bordée de falaises très élevées, et ainsi il n'occupe pas, au pied de la lettre, le sommet de la montagne. C'est à mi-côte d'une de ces falaises, à la hauteur du Prieuré, qu'on découvre les plaines de Piémont, et c'est de là qu'Annibal put les montrer à son armée."

To this M. Larauza adds his own comment:—"Il est probable que cette Falaise que Grosley ne désigne pas autrement, est la montagne de Saint-Martin, qui se trouve en avant du petit Mont Cenis, formant la partie supérieure de la montagne de Jaillon, et située comme elle dans la direction de la vallée de Suse, à travers laquelle la vue débouche sur la plaine de Turin. Je le côtoyai à partir du petit hameau qui lui donne son nom, l'avant con-

"tinûment sur ma gauche, et arrivé à la plaine du Mont Cenis, au-delà de l'auberge de la Grand-Croix, vers le quatorzième refuge, elle ne me paraissait plus que comme une colline très peu élevée au-dessus du sol. D'après la position de cette montagne, située tout à fait en face de la vallée de Suse, et n'ayant devant elle aucune autre montagne qui intercepte la vue, je conjecturais qu'en montant au sommet on devait découvrir la plaine; ce qui me fut confirmé à plusieurs reprises par des gens du pays avec qui je faisais route, et qui m'affirmèrent que du haut d'un rocher qu'ils appellent Corna Rossa, et qui se présente solitaire et détaché à la partie supérieure de la montagne de Saint Martin, on découvre Turin et toute la plaine. En me montrant la gorge qui sépare la cime de cette montagne de celle du petit Mont Cenis, ils me disaient que leurs anciens leur avaient raconté qu'un fameux général nommé Annibal était passé par là il y a bien long tems. Nous pouvons donc supposer très naturellement que ce fut là ce promontorium d'où ce grand capitaine montra l'Italie à son armée."

We have here come to M. Larauza's own evidence touching what he gathered from the *gens du pays*; and I will add what appears from other writers concerning the Corna Rossa. De Saussure, telling the observations which he made from the Roche Michel, says: "Au couchant du Roche Michel, au dessus du village de la grande Croix, on voit un grand glacier, qui de la poste du Mont Cenis paroît le disputer en hauteur au rocher de la Fraîse,\* vis à vis duquel il paroît situé, mais je le crois moins élevé. De la Roche Michel nous le voyons abaissé de 68 minutes au dessous de notre horizon: ce glacier se nomme *Corne-Rousse*." iii. c. 7, s. 1265. As this glacier was in view to De Saussure looking

\* La Fraîse is south of the Rocher de la Ronche, in the same chain, and east of the southern end of the lake.



westward from the Roche Michel, it is strange that M. Larauza should have conceived it in the track of Hannibal: for he carries that track straight from Lanslebourg to La Grande Croix, and thence through La Ferrière and Novalèse, not by the heights of Bard or St. Martin, p. 137. He can only bring Hannibal to such a spot by supposing a special excursion for the purpose.

There is further evidence on the Corna Rossa, and more recent. They are mentioned by Brockedon, whose investigations of the region westward of the route over the Cenis will be found in *Blackwood's Magazine*, of May 1836, p. 643. He left the Vieille Poste on the Cenis, attended by his guide Etienne, in the morning, not in the best weather; and, crossing the summit of the Little Mont Cenis, soon turned off to the left. Leaving the Val d'Ambin to the right, he went up the valley of Savines, and came to the Lac Blanc. Here he speaks of looking towards the Mont d'Ambin to the right, and the mountain of Bard to the left; and says of the latter: "Its summit can be attained by a difficult path, leading from the lower lake of the Mont Cenis, and, passing by the Roches Rouges, the spot where Larauza says the plains of Italy can be seen: an assertion laughed at by Etienne, who had been there a hundred times, he said, as chasseur and guide; and who observed, that the plain could only be seen from the Roches Rouges, when the Roche Melon, an enormous mountain on the other side of the valley of Novalèse, was removed." He said that, by climbing to the glaciers of the Mont du Bard, in clear weather, the plains of Italy could be seen over the Combe of Susa, and that the view was very splendid; but it required five hours' hard labour to attain the spot: and was inaccessible after snow, or in unfavourable weather.

Mr. Brockedon also reports his disappointment on a subsequent journey in not visiting the Corna Rossa, as he

intended. He says: "I looked out at five o'clock, and before six every object was concealed in mist and cloud." He proceeds: "Whilst I was at breakfast, I obtained information from a respectable old guide, who had twice ascended to the Corna Rossa with botanists and engineers: he denied that the plains of Italy could be seen thence." The state of the weather having impelled Mr. Brockedon direct to Susa, he here speaks of a gentleman of his acquaintance, who had been for fourteen years engaged upon a survey of the Alps, especially of those which divide Piémont from Savoy; these duties had led him to the mountains above Bard: and he said that from its glaciers the plain could be seen, but not from the Corna Rossa, as the view from that is intercepted by the Bois Noir, the mountain which flanks the Roche Melon. Same work, Aug. 1836, p. 246.

Such is the information which offers itself on the Corna Rossa. With M. Larauza, all geographical and optical difficulties are surmounted to his satisfaction by the traditional knowledge of the *gens du pays* whom he fell in with on his way, and who pointed out the gorge between the mountain of St. Martin and that of the Little Mont Cenis as the passage of this famous general "il y a bien long tems:"—"Nous pourrions donc supposer tres naturellement, que ce fut là ce promontorium, d'où ce grand capitaine montra l'Italie à son armée." "Ainsi" (says the amiable enthusiast) "tout se débrouille et s'éclaircit à mesure que nous avançons!"

How susceptible of proof is he who is resolved to believe! What! Hannibal and his army, after ascending from Lanslebourg, to find themselves in a gorge between the Petit Mont Cenis and the Corna Rossa! What could bring him there? He could not collect his army on the Cornes Rousses in their route from any one place to any other place: he gives them a special expedition, utterly *extrà viam*, made from their encampment on the plateau of the Cenis, an expedition made

for the purpose of consolation, but which would have exacted from them a day's walk more severe than any which they performed between the Pyrenees and the Po. The notion of the general mutilating the short repose of the summit, even by the trudge of half a mile up the snowy steep, for the doubtful satisfaction of a view, seems too frivolous to find place in this controversy; but, observe, a young man and an enthusiast goes from Paris to the Cenis in the very purpose of ratifying the fact of a view; he finds himself on the plateau in a season which was not the end of October: he has faith in the gorges and the falaises: there is every stimulus, and no impediment to the process of ratification, save only the difficulty of the enterprise: and he abstains from the experiment. Yet these very mountain steeps, when buried in snow, are to be accepted as the holyday pastime of the African soldier, on a day, his only day of rest, when drooping with toil and privation!

*View from the Cenis. Anonymous.*

Since Larauza made his fruitless search on the Cenis for the prospect which he desired, two of our countrymen have discovered points of view which have respectively given satisfaction to themselves. A writer in "Blackwood's Magazine" of June 1845, gives us this information (p. 758):—"From the southern front of the summit of Mont Cenis, not only the plains of Piedmont are distinctly visible at the opening of the lower end of the valley of Susa, which lies at your feet, but the Apennines beyond them can be seen. To settle this important point, the author made a sketch of both on the spot, on the 24th October, the very time of Hannibal's passage, which is still in his possession."

If this sketch has a virtue that can settle a point of so much interest, the owner should not enjoy it alone: in compassion to the literary world, let him, through Mr. Colnaghi,

give the public the benefit of his exertions, and allow the eyes of others to indulge in the same plain and the same Apennine which have charmed his own. No one will be severe on the performance, seeing the disadvantages under which it was executed. According to the writer, Hannibal, when down at the ἀπορρώξ, was within the circle of perpetual snow; and, as the artist exercised his pencil on the anniversary in front of the summit, his fingers would be touched with frost, and lose their usual freedom. The cherished landscape has probably adorned the wall of his drawing-room, smiling under the title of ἐνάργεια, and having, as a pendant, the still more curious λευκόπετρον. That, too, would be an instructive novelty: for, amidst the variety of Cenisian discovery, this critic alone has found that landmark of Polybius on the summit of the Pass.

Mr. Ellis, in the "Journal of Philology," ii. 325, defends this unknown writer, as well as himself, and designates my notice of him as "uncourteous." Now, I did not doubt that he sketched what he saw; but I did doubt that he saw the plain of Italy and the Apennine from the front of the summit of the Cenis. If Mr. Ellis knows the spot, it is not through the article in "Blackwood." But it was generous in him to sympathise with one whose ideas are so opposite to his own. Their geography can hardly be the same: one discovers the λευκόπετρον on the summit of the Cenis; the other, when he reached the Cenis, had left his λευκόπετρον five days' march behind.

*View from the Cenis. Mr. Ellis.*

Mr. Ellis's theory of a view, like his theory of a λευκόπετρον, is contrived by taking great liberties with time and space. From the Rock to the summit, commonly supposed to occupy a few hours, he has allowed a march of five days. His summit also is on a large scale. One expected an

encampment which should occupy the requisite extent of ground about the Col of the Little Mont Cenis, and within which the rest of a short two days, so much needed, might be enjoyed. But Mr. Ellis finds his summit to be capable of a second encampment, and contrives to occupy the one day of pure rest in shifting the army more than seven miles further on, besides other pursuits.

Among eighteen distances enumerated in his Treatise as composing the march through the Alps, we read this in p. 91: "From Bramaus to Col of Little Mont Cenis,  $7\frac{3}{4}$  Roman miles. From Col to Grand Croix, 7 Roman miles." In the Treatise, summit sometimes means Col, sometimes Grand Croix. Mr. Ellis says, p. 50:—"On the morning of the ninth day Hannibal at length gained the summit of the Pass. Here he encamped, and remained during the greater part of the ninth and *all the tenth* day, waiting for stragglers who had been left behind, and giving repose to his men after the toils and dangers of the ascent." Here summit seems to mean the Col. When he says, p. 54, "On the eleventh day the Carthaginians began their descent," Grand Croix is the summit which they descend from.

Now certainly the notion of "encamping on the ninth day, and remaining all the tenth for repose and to wait for stragglers," is not consistent with the army marching that very day more than seven miles, besides making a lateral excursion for a view. Mr. Ellis makes light of it; only admitting that, "by this movement to obtain the prospect of Italy, the position of the Carthaginian encampment would be *a little altered* from what it was on the ninth day." Indeed, after the view he finds it not worth while to return towards the Col: so, having retraced their steps through a depression in the mountains, they turn round and walk on, in time to make a new encampment around Grand Croix. This additional encampment, told in p. 118, is not only omitted by

Polybius, but does not appear in the journal or conditions of Mr. Ellis.

Such is his repose on the summit. In interpreting the history, we all encroach upon the two days of summit, in making a fraction of the ninth to be the first day: the tenth was the only day of unbroken rest. But Mr. Ellis's invention deprives the soldiers even of this: he converts that one day of rest into a real day of work; attributing to it the labour of disencamping, a march of many miles in deep snow, some being rugged untracked ascent after descent had begun; and at last the making a fresh encampment for the night. Was this relief to the weary? Did this help those who had lagged in the ascent, to rejoin the quiescent mass?

Though Mr. Ellis's arrangements are utterly irreconcilable with Polybius, he has the merit of explaining whereabouts his own view is to be found: and I should expect that a traveller might walk to the spot on his instruction. He deals with a few miles of descent as the Polybian summit, to the part which overhangs the plain of St. Nicholas, guiding us to the view thus:—"On leaving the plateau of the L. Mont Cenis for La Grande Croix, the path turns sharply to the right, and eventually passes over the hills, at a point where there is a depression in the chain. Turning to the south, along the crest of the heights, from this point, so as to ascend out of the hollow through which the path runs, and thus arrive upon the long summit of the ridge, the traveller will gain a prospect of Italy in the course of some five minutes. The view is better seen from the southernmost extremity of these eminences, a walk of a few minutes further. The part of the hilly range from whence this prospect is gained, and which lies to the south of the depression through which the path runs, forms a ridge about half a mile in length, without any definite head rising above the general level of its summit. It presents a very steep

"slope towards La Grande Croix, and terminates, as before mentioned, above the plain of St. Nicholas, in a very lofty precipice. From the crest of this ridge it may be conjectured that Hannibal pointed out Italy to his army." Treatise, p. 115.

Thus instructed, we try to realize what a capital view Mr. Ellis must have had, and how much Hannibal would have lost if he had not wandered to it. Taking these *indicia* of distance as affecting Mr. Ellis himself on a walking tour in summer, this ascent of the ridge would not be serious—ascend out of the hollow—some five minutes—a few minutes further—ridge of about half a mile. The labour here depicted would not be distressing to him, although it would require the unpleasing change from descent to ascent: indeed the whole half mile of ridge might not be wanted for a tourist, though it would for an army: but in either case, whatever the distance may be, it would have to be retraced from the ridge to the point of depression, where the track emerged into the route for La Grande Croix. But we are not estimating the excursive energies of a tourist, but a superfluous effort exacted from an exhausted army, and said to have been imposed for their comfort, on the one day when all was rest and repose. The severity of the snow is told by Polybius: the length of the little walk is told by Mr. Ellis: the pleasure of the *extra viam* we must imagine for ourselves.

And now, what was the display of Italy that rewarded the soldiers when they got to it? Mr. Ellis is the relator as an eye-witness: and we would readily receive his testimony on its merits, if he had plainly given it. He tells us what the Carthaginians would have seen; saying,—“The country seen would be the district to the east of the Po, and the south of the Tanaro, where the cities of Alba and Acqui are situated. This part of the plains is intersected by several ranges of hills—one of which may be discerned from the

"point of view on the Mont Cenis, even after the hazes, so prevalent in the plains of the Po during a great part of the day, especially in summer, have effaced the prospect of the flat country. In the extreme distance the chain of the Apennines closes the view, and would have offered to Hannibal the means of indicating the position of Rome."—P. 116.

So much for what the Carthaginians would have seen. But we would rather know how much Mr. Ellis did see. On this the particulars are scanty: he says,—“It is indeed only a very small portion of Italy that is descried.” This is his fact: a fact which does not require him to have seen one acre of what Hannibal referred to in his address, the plain of the Po. But further Mr. Ellis gives us to understand, that it was such a poor view, that the men would not have found out that there was one, if Hannibal had not told them, and himself helped their eyes to it; and that, if it had been perceptible of itself, he would not have taken the trouble to make a speech about it: accordingly it is suggested that the action intimated by *ἐνδεικνύμενος*, was a natural gesture, necessary for making a man to see something; for that, if he could have seen it of himself, Hannibal need not have helped him. These are his words: “The existence of any extensive prospect does not seem to be required by the narrative. In fact, if we suppose the action, intimated by the word *ἐνδεικνύμενος*, to have been a natural, and not merely an oratorical gesture, we should be led to imagine that only a small part of the plains was visible: for to any very large expanse it would have been superfluous to direct attention. Besides, any prospect of Italy, however limited, would have been sufficient for Hannibal’s purpose. It would have proved to the Carthaginians, by visible demonstration, that their ex-  
“trication from the Alps was at hand, that the mountains were about to terminate, and that the plains of Italy were almost gained.”—P. 116.

Here at last it is admitted, that Hannibal's object in addressing his troops was, to demonstrate to them that their extrication from the Alps was at hand. Polybius says, that this was done by words during the second day in camp. Mr. Ellis does not give that opportunity, and holds the general's oratory so cheap, that no demonstration short of a view would effect the object: so on the one day of repose he first makes them all march many miles down hill: and considering this not to be demonstration enough, he turns them up hill again, to make them quite comfortable on the subject. I apprehend that Hannibal made his demonstration at the time, and place, and in the manner stated by Polybius: Mr. Ellis's method, if it had opened to them a view of the plain which he shows it did not, would still have been superfluous, after their senses had taught it them by some miles of descent. If anything could then have unsettled their faith, it would be the senseless interruption of that descent, and carrying them up to an eminence foreign from their route.

By this process the demonstration would have been imperilled: if Hannibal had inflicted this toil extraordinary, and given nothing better in return than the dubious prospect of Mr. Ellis, each sufferer, whether private or field-officer, would have stigmatised, not perhaps without an oath, the folly of the proceeding. But common sense was not so precarious an attribute of the Carthaginian leader, that he should impose a task, which would have quenched, not enlivened, the nascent hope of emancipation.

In the narrative thus shaped, we do not recognise the value of Mr. Ellis's improvement, when, correcting the divisions of march made by Polybius, he gives this name to his fifth summary, "The circumstances which took place while the army remained on the summit of the pass." (Treatise, p. 7. Introduction.) The circumstances ought at least to be according to Polybius: and Mr. Ellis has said, in his own

abstract of events, p. 50,—“Hannibal at length gained the summit of the pass: here he remained during the greater part of the ninth and *all the tenth* day; waiting for stragglers who had been left behind, and giving some repose to his men after the toils and dangers of the ascent.” But when Mr. Ellis's *circumstances* are detailed, they make his contradiction of the historian most glaring. Polybius does make Hannibal encamp on the summit on the ninth, and remain all the tenth, and says that the stragglers did come up. Mr. Ellis does not. He encamps on the ninth, but waits no part of the tenth: allows no time for those who were left behind: pities “the languor of inaction,” and gives no repose to the men.



## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART VII.

#### THE MOUNTAIN MARCH. DESCENT.

##### CHAPTER I.

*Descent from the Little St. Bernard. The disaster of the first day requires particular examination of circumstances told. The same phenomena still occur in the ravine below La Tuile. Arguments on the Descent from the Cenis. Larauza. Writer in "Blackwood's Magazine," June, 1845. Mr. Ellis.*

By the recent snow, which concealed the irregularities of the surface of the ground, and by the greater steepness of the Alps on the Italian side, there were dangers attending the progress in descent, which had not belonged to the ascent. The great peril was, when they came to a part of the track where the path lay along a steep mountain-side, but had then been quite broken away for nearly a stadium and a half, so that they could proceed upon it no further, and must have had to turn back. Hannibal made an attempt to conduct the army so as to get round the impracticable part of the track, meaning to regain it where it was sound again. The attempt was unsuccessful; and it became necessary to encamp, and to set to work at once for making the usual path passable: and this was accomplished. The account of this calamity is given in detail, and affords the hope that we may be able to

identify the scene of obstruction: for the description shows a local character, likely to be permanent, and still capable of recognition. Let us, then, with this view, examine the early descent from the Little St. Bernard, that we may be able to compare its characteristics with the incidents described in the narrative.

*Descent from the Little St. Bernard.*

The descent from the summit plain of this mountain is in a direction to the north-east. After about three miles or more of descent, the road crosses a torrent, which flows from left to right, being derived from many mountain streams, the largest that which has come from the little lake which was mentioned as below the summit. This torrent, after you have crossed it, receives one which has accompanied your descent on the right hand, and presently falls into a larger stream, which has come from the glacier of the Rutor. This river I take to be rightly called the Baltea, throughout its course to Pré St. Didier: there it falls into the Doire, which is thence called Doria Baltea. The stream from the Little St. Bernard, which you crossed at a place called Pont Serrant, was running in a very deep hollow. Passing then over a small plain, with the ground swelling on your left hand towards the Cramont range, you come to the village of La Tuile, which seems to stand on both sides of the Baltea. At La Tuile the great steepness of the descent ends, and cultivation and pine forests soon begin. Not far onwards you come to the spot where the march of the Carthaginians, there carried along the mountain-side on the left bank, was arrested by failure of the path; and this would compel those who had advanced so far to retrace their steps for some way, before they could turn down to the torrent along which Polybius intends that they had the hope to proceed.

Below the part where the path was broken away, the river runs in a deep narrow chasm, mountain rising on either side. The present road onward from La Tuile was made about eighty years ago: it never rises to the mountain-side on the left bank, but proceeds close along the river till it crosses the stream by a bridge, and is then carried up high along a rocky brow on the right bank, as related by De Saussure, who travelled it in 1792. At the time of General Melville's visit in 1775, the old track was still in use, keeping the left bank, and not crossing the Baltea. That old path was to the last liable to be broken away and destroyed by massive volumes of snow sweeping down from the heights. Now, as before, the avalanches are, in some years, arrested at the bottom of the ravine, and the snow sometimes remains there through a whole season, covering the bed of the torrent.

The tale as told of the labours of repair seems to indicate such a path: and one would say that, for the passage of the Carthaginian armament, not only was reparation required, but some improvement on what the path had been before. A road in such a place may be made by cutting a continued notch in the mountain side: the horizontal cutting gives a floor: the perpendicular cutting gives a wall.\* If you make a path a yard wide, and then increase it to two yards, the labour of the second yard will greatly exceed that of the first, from the much greater height of the wall, and quantity of materials to be removed: and, if you further enlarge it to a width of three yards, the third yard will claim far more labour than the second. Accordingly we read that a horse-

\* The method stated by Mr. Ellis is not of this rude kind: he supposes that the natural slope was not broken into; but that the Carthaginians built up terraces outside of it from below; and he says that this is still the mode of construction in the Alps: he saw fragments of an old terrace-wall near Novalèse, "such as Hannibal must have raised." Treatise, pp. 56 and 121.

path was soon accomplished: but much labour was required to make it capable of an elephant. If indeed in the 218 B.C. the mountain-path in question had received no particular injury to make it worse than usual, some improvement of it might still have been required for the passage of these extraordinary visitors. It was an exigency never known before on these mountains.

Those who were already in the mountain-side path, must have returned to the sloping plain where it began, and where presently the recampment was made. From this ground the men and beasts were sent at first upon the masses of snow which lay choking up the ravine itself. Here was the accumulation of solid snow which had survived from the previous season, now covered with snow lately fallen. Hannibal hoped that by this course the army might be able to get forward for the short distance to which the injury of the regular path extended. This hope failed in the way which Polybius explains. The Oxford Dissertation (p. 112) finds a difficulty in understanding what were the perplexities caused by the old snow, saying,—“It does not appear quite certain to which of the roads the difficulties occasioned by the new snow falling upon the old are to be referred:” and it is suggested as possible, that Hannibal may have endeavoured to turn the ravine altogether, by some road which runs at the back of the rocks on the right bank, and after crossing a chain of mountains, falls into a lower part of the valley of Aosta, opposite to Morgés, below Pré St. Didier. Nothing in the history corresponds with such a notion: and I can see no difficulty in the text which should provoke it. The accustomed track is represented as impracticable; it was broken away, and there could be no width to tread upon: hence it was impassable. The calamitous details are given in explanation of the failure to circumvent that broken part. After stating the great injury which the

road had received, Polybius says that Hannibal attempted “to go round the bad places;” evidently limiting the contemplated deviation to the necessity of it; that is, that they should avoid the stadium and a half to which extent the path was destroyed, and get into it again as soon as they could where it was not destroyed. The only *détour* which suits these ideas and makes the incidents intelligible, would be by the bottom of the ravine: and here only would be the peculiar phenomenon which the narrative exhibits; the under floor of old snow, with its fatal slipperiness for the lighter weight, and its tenacity for the heavier. Half an hour of experiment or less must have proved the hopelessness of the resource.

It is now more than 70 years since a new cornice road was made on the opposite side of the chasm. But it is interesting to know that he to whom we owe the development of truth on the subject of our inquiry, crossed this mountain a few years earlier, and himself trod in the footsteps of Hannibal on that perilous mountain side. M. De Luc (p. 200), having before him the notes of General Melville, writes thus:—“Après que le Général Melville eut passé le village de la Tuile, son guide lui dit: A présent nous approchons d’un endroit très mauvais, qui nous donne beaucoup de peine pour le réparer toutes les années, parcequ’il est emporté au printemps par des avalanches de neige.—Lorsque le Général Melville traversa cette montagne en 1775, le chemin étoit fait de troncs de sapin placés deux à deux, suivant leur longueur, et aplanis à la surface pour que le pied pût reposer de plat. Ce fut sur ces troncs d’arbre que le général, son domestique et ses mulets furent obligés de passer. Dans cet endroit le chemin suivoit avec une pente douce le côté escarpé d’une montagne, composé de rochers désunis et pouvant s’écrouler facilement.”

Not long after this journey of Gen. Melville, the new road

was made by the Sardinian Government. De Saussure went over these Alps on 8th August, 1792, and states that, having passed the village La Tuile, he presently crossed to the other side of the torrent, which he also calls by the name La Tuile. "A dix minutes de la Tuile, on passe ce torrent, et on vient côtoyer le pied d'une montagne dont les conches coupées à pie sont d'une belle calcaire grenue, souvent recouverte de mica. Le chemin est bon et assez large, mais sur une corniche très élevée au-dessus de la Tuile. On voit là, sous ses pieds, des amas de neige qui se sont conservés depuis l'hiver, et qui forment des ponts sur ce torrent." iv. s. 2,232.

M. De Luc (p. 201) quotes M. Roche, author of "Notices historiques sur les Centrons," who visited this spot about two years before De Saussure, and reports that the snow of the previous season was lying in mass, coming nearly up to the level of the road. M. De Luc adds in his 2d edition that a friend of his own, passing this mountain in May 1822, saw this ravine almost filled up with snow, to a depth, as he estimated, of sixty feet, the torrent running beneath it.

Mr. Brockedon was on the same spot at the end of August, 1826; and found a large mass of snow in the ravine. Alluding to the incident of the baggage cattle becoming wedged in, he gives his own ideas thus:—"The water had submelted the snow, and, as the feet found no support, the beasts could not extricate themselves." *Passes of Alps*, i. ii.

The authors of the Oxford Dissertation, after a second study of these scenes, make the following statement, p. 109:—"After La Tuile, the modern road crosses from the left to the right bank of the river, and recrosses it about three miles lower down. The old road remained constantly on the left bank, and was obliged to be abandoned in consequence of the numerous avalanches, which always fall from a pointed rock that overhangs it, and which in the winter frequently carried

"it away. It is very remarkable, that that part of the old road which was most exposed to these accidents is about 300 yards in length, a distance agreeing almost exactly with the stadium and a half of Polybius; and it appears that, from the very nature of the ground, it must always have been so exposed: for it is situated at the bend of the river, and immediately under one of the highest points of the Cramont and that chain of mountains which forms the south-east side of the Allée Blanche. From this point the ground slopes rapidly down to the river in a concave or funnel-shaped direction, the mouth of the funnel ending at the river, so that an avalanche from the top would be necessarily confined within the limits of the bend, and within the space of 300 yards. It appears, from the reports of the inhabitants, that this passage is peculiarly subject to avalanches: and it happens also that, owing to the narrowness of the bed of the river in this spot, and the precipitous nature of the rocks on both sides of it, the snow which is brought down in this manner from the Cramont, and which falls in immense masses into it, remains sometimes unmelted during the whole of the summer, and forms a natural bridge over the torrent for a considerable distance. Our guide told us that this had happened in 1816, at which time the snow formed a complete bridge over the river. The snow remained unmelted also in 1823. I took great pains to ascertain whether the snow ever remained unmelted the whole year round in any other part of the road, and I was assured that such an event never took place; nor would it occur in this spot, were it not entirely sheltered from the sun by the extreme narrowness of the ravine and the great height of the mountains on both sides."

In these reports of safe witnesses we have plain evidence on which to declare the conformity of this "mauvais pas" with the "mauvais pas" of Polybius. The frequent visitation of it

by avalanches is proved as a fact. It is proved that they continue to sweep smooth that mountain side; and that the masses of snow deposited below often remain unmelted through the following season, as had the snow which he describes. In exhibiting this phenomenon as it offered itself in the progress of Hannibal, Polybius speaks of it as proper and extraordinary; importing, that the place was from natural causes liable to the incident, and that this had now befallen it in an unusual degree. And the evidence of our own times, which has been adduced, strikingly shows how the avalanche, annihilating any artificial track in its downward rush, is received into the chasm beneath, and often perseveres to occupy it in defiance of a summer's warmth. These proofs of identity receive satisfactory confirmation, when we see that the distance of the spot from the edge of the plain of the Little St. Bernard corresponds with the distance that is to be inferred from the narrative; and that the extent which Polybius ascribes to the dilapidation of the road agrees with the usual scope of the mischief as known at this day. It may well be believed that, after a total disuse of the track for 70 years, that mountain side is now worn so smooth as not to suggest that it can ever have afforded a path at all.

*Descent from the Mont Cenis. Larauza.*

M. Larauza cites with some approbation a notion of Le-tronne, which is this: that the old snow may not have been much older than the new snow; that snow usually begins to fall at the end of September; that on this occasion it was probably earlier; and that we may presume the slippery under-surface to have been six weeks old when Hannibal passed, which was about the 26th October, and to have acquired a consistency; inasmuch as the early snow of autumn is the most ready to freeze. His conclusion is this:

“Lorsque cette neige déjà ancienne eut été recouverte par “de la neige toute récente, ainsi que le dit Polybe, les Carthaginois purent la prendre pour de la vieille neige, restée “là depuis l’année précédente.”—*Journal des Savans*, Dec. 1819. Larauza, however, diffident of the value of this conjecture, finds for himself another excuse in the difficulty of identifying the place. He thinks that, even if the Carthaginians were right in their belief of the last winter's snow, we cannot reasonably expect evidence for discovering the place of it now: he says that, according to Polybius, “c’était “un phénomène accidentel, singulier, extraordinaire, et non “pas propre de ces montagnes: ce n’était pas un fait habituel “et caractéristique du lieu.” Now the words of Polybius are, τὸ γὰρ συμβαῖνον ἴδιον ἦν καὶ παρηλλαγμένον: peculiar to the place, and now to an unusual degree: ἴδιον fully imports that which M. Larauza says it does not—“caractéristique et propre:” it does not mean “accidentel” or “singulier:” and παρηλλαγμένον means “more than usual,” an idea very different from “accidentel.” It is reasonable then to inquire whether such incident of a place is confirmed by experience in the probable part of any suggested route. Experience does not testify masses of superannuated snow choking up the trough of a defile and bridging it from one side to the other, in the descent from the Cenis. Experience does testify this phenomenon in the descent from the Little St. Bernard.

M. Larauza (p. 140) supposes that Hannibal, having in his descent reached the plain of S. Nicolas, followed the old route, now abandoned, which attended the left bank of the Cenise by La Ferrière and La Novalèse: he himself went up, as we have seen, by the present post-road formed by Napoleon, through Bard, Molaret, and S. Martin: the old line he did not explore. The higher part of it between that plain and La Ferrière is liable to the visitation of violent avalanches; so much so that, more than a century ago, a



covered way was constructed by the Sardinian government for the safety of travellers on the right bank of the stream, built with solid masonry, and reaching for some distance along the steep mountain side. When this was made, it superseded the prior track, which had been on the left bank. De Saussure, who was there in 1780, says, after passing the plain of S. Nicolas and before coming to La Ferrière,—“On laisse à droite une grande gallerie, couverte d’une forte et solide voûte: cette gallerie a environ 300 pieds de longueur sur 15 de largeur: on l’a construite pour servir de passage aux voyageurs, lorsque le chemin comblé par les avalanches devient impraticable.” iii. s. 1250. The same account is given by Alb. Beaumont: and Mr. Brockedon describes the ruins of that once useful work, which was blown up on the completion of the new road by Napoleon.

M. Larauza, fancying that these facts tend to identify the Carthaginian track, exclaims: “Les avalanches, si communes et si considérables en cet endroit, cette longue voûte construite pour en garantir, n’expliquent-elles pas cet éboulement de terres qui avait interrompu le passage?” The answer is, that this covered way is very good evidence of the frequency and violence of avalanches; but that it is no evidence of the fact which distinguishes the subject of our inquiry. Any spot of ground may be subject to avalanches, if the shape of the ground above it is such as to conduct volumes of snow towards it. But a place the most subject to be so visited, need not be subject to an endurance of the snow throughout the year: this will depend upon aspect and exposure to the sun’s influence. The “voûte” makes us believe in the avalanche against which it was to give protection: it does not make us believe, that the snowy masses continued to defy the ordinary action of a summer’s warmth.

One who confidently asserts, in the descent from the Cenis or any other pass, the scene of so great calamity to the Car-

thaginian army, is not entitled to be silent on such a topic as this. Although the mass of snow which Hannibal found in the chasm was not a thing of regular occurrence, still it was likely to be repeated: the same promoting causes would tend to the same result. A hollow funnel-shaped slope in the mountain-side, which confined within particular limits the downward rush of a great mass of snow in one year, would operate in the same way if an unusual rush should come in another year; and the deep chasm below, screening the mass from melting influences, would have the same preserving effect. Such disposing causes, existing in the permanent features of nature, together with the effects of those causes, are things capable of evidence; and in the route of the Little St. Bernard that evidence has been supplied. masses of the last year’s snow, occupying the chasm and concealing the torrent that drains beneath, are testified for the years 1792, 1816, 1823, and 1826, by the distinguished travellers to whom I have referred, while such evidence is utterly wanting between the plain of St. Nicholas and La Novalèse. The Swedish traveller, who favoured the hypothesis of the Cenis, is silent upon such phenomena. Both De Saussure and Albanis Beaumont seem to have travelled by the old Novalèse road, and would have noted such a circumstance had they become acquainted with it. M. Larauza himself, though eager and curious, did not explore the ancient track, nor does he report any knowledge gained on this subject: he listens to the tales of the *gens du pays* as he went along the new road, and retails the nonsense which they amused him with, about Hannibal cutting down trees “pour combler la vallée.” Those natives, if they could be primed by a few conversations about old snow under new snow, would soon establish the very spot on either road, and explain it to the next comer.

Neither Letronne nor Larauza represent Hannibal trying to

circumvent the "mauvais pas" by carrying man and beast higher up the mountain; they saw, at least, that the old snow was "au fond de la gorge." One invents for the Carthaginians a blunder on the age of the snow, and the other fails in his translation of the history; but there is nothing extraordinary in these casualties of criticism. Our English critics are more adventurous.

*Descent from the Cenis.* Writer in "Blackwood," June, 1845.

This writer has already been referred to, as having discovered the λευκόπετρον on the summit of the Cenis, and sketched the "View of Italy" from the southern front of the summit. On the "mauvais pas" which embarrassed the descent he thus expresses himself, p. 758 :—"The steep and "rocky declivity, by which the old road formerly descended "to the valley of Susa, corresponds perfectly to the famous "places mentioned both by Livy and Polybius, where the "path had been torn away by a recent avalanche. This "place in Mont Cenis is immediately below the summit of "the pass, and may now be seen furrowed by a roaring "torrent, amidst dark ledges of rock. The corresponding "chasm on the southern side of the Little St. Bernard is "below the reach of avalanches." He then supplies this version of the Polybian narrative :—"The way on every side "was utterly impassable, through an accident of a peculiar "kind, which is peculiar to the Alps. The snows of the "former years, having remained unmelted upon the mountains, "were now covered over by that which had fallen in the "present autumn, and, when the soldiers' feet went through "the latter, they fell and slid down with great violence. "This shows the place was within the circle of perpetual "snow, whereas that on the Little St. Bernard is much below "it, and far beneath any avalanches." June, 1845. P. 758.

This is not a happy edition of Polybius. The history,

speaking only of the way by which Hannibal tried to get round the broken path, says of the snow, ταύτην ἀδύνατον ποιούσης τὴν πορείαν: the translator writes, "the way on every side was impassable." In the history, the circumstance noted as the cause was peculiar, ἴδιον, to the way which Hannibal attempted: in the translation it is "peculiar to the Alps." In the history, it is peculiar to the one particular place, because of the fresh snow lying there upon the snow of a former season; the translation changes a particular thing into a general one, telling us, that the snows of the former years had remained unmelted upon the mountains.

After all, one would expect that the sinister incident, if applied to Alps generally, might belong to the Little St. Bernard as a part of the Alps, especially as the elevation of that mountain is 75 toises higher above the sea than that of Mont Cenis. But the author has his contrivances for raising one and depressing the other: on his "famous place by "which the old road descended to Susa, and where the path "had been torn away by a recent avalanche," he reports that it is "immediately below the summit of the pass," and "within the circle of perpetual snow;" while our corresponding chasm, the ἀπορρώξ at La Tuile, is pronounced to be "much below that circle, and far beneath any avalanches." It is indeed below that circle: his famous place also is and was below it. But it is not a consequence of that position, that it should be exempt from avalanches. Happy would it be for the mountaineer, if he could reckon on such security; his cattle and his crops live not above the snow-line; but he has to witness and to deplore the destroying avalanche.

*Descent from the Little Mont Cenis.* Mr. Ellis.

We rejoin Mr. Ellis: who, as we may remember, having (p. 50) brought Hannibal to the summit on the ninth day, and encamped him there to remain the rest of that day and

all the tenth, forgot his engagement, and turned the tenth into a day of hard work instead of repose. We proceed through two more summaries: and find Mr. Ellis performing the task of exploring the old line of descent by the course of the Cenise torrent through La Ferrière and La Novalèse to Susa. He describes the track on the left bank of that torrent, which was abandoned a century ago, when a new mule-road with protecting masonry was constructed on the right bank under Emmanuel III. This, too, is now obsolete: the traveller to Susa uses only the safer road, through Bard, Molaret, St. Martin and Jaillon, which diverges from the old one in the plain of St. Nicholas, below La Grande Croix. In the old track Mr. Ellis professes to have ascertained by inspection the very scene of Hannibal's disaster, and to have found the place where the path was broken away from the precipitous mountain side, on the north of the hollow that holds the river about a mile below La Ferrière.

The calamity of the path, which all understand to have been along a steep mountain-side, and the rupture of it which arrested the march, present the same topics to all inquirers. All must try to explain the attempt made to circumvent the part which, for a stadium and a half, had become impassable; and to say where the snow of a former season was still remaining; and to understand the causes which prevented the army from proceeding on the surface of it; and whether the attempt at circuit was made by first moving in one direction or another from the point where those in advance were brought to a standstill. All know too that, in this inquiry, a question has been made on change of climate. Mr. Ellis gives a portrait or plan of the scene, to aid us in understanding the movements as he apprehends them.

The words which most claim explanation are, *πρώτον ἐπεβάλετο περιελθεῖν τὰς δυσχωρίας*. What was this experiment? How did they get to the place of it from where

the rupture of the path had arrested their progress? And, when their experiment failed, how did they get from it to the place of encampment? for the encampment was made before they set about the repairs. I have supposed, that they first retreated to the open ground from which the mountain-side path had begun; and that they then tried to pass along the trough of the torrent in which the old snow was found to lie; and that, failing in this, they turned back to the open rising ground, made their encampment, and issued from thence to the work of repair.

Mr. Ellis discusses the circumstances of the ἀπορρώξ, when he is explaining Polybius in order to deduce conditions of congruity, and thus introduces us to the scene, p. 59: "When-  
" ever a man, descending a mountain where there is no track,  
" finds his progress arrested by arriving at the edge of a range  
" of precipices, he naturally creeps along their summit, till  
" he finds a gully breaking through them from above, and  
" affording him a tolerably safe passage down to their feet.  
" A course of this nature would not improbably be that adopted  
" by Hannibal: although it must, in his case, have been of  
" an easier kind than is usual, as he would never have at-  
" tempted to bring his whole army—men, animals, and baggage  
" —down by such a line as might be taken by an unen-  
" cumbered traveller. When Hannibal's attempt to make a  
" circuit was frustrated, and he found himself obliged to halt  
" and repair the broken path, he is said to have encamped  
" *περὶ τὴν ῥάχιν*—back of a ridge—'dorsum montis.'

Mr. Ellis discusses the same circumstance, when he is accommodating his theory to his conditions from pp. 119 to 128 of the Treatise. In order to give us his views relating to the ruptured path, he seems to have placed himself on the right bank of the Cenise, and taken a sketch which, being engraved, offers an elevation of the whole mountain-side that was facing him, and which includes more than the extent of the stadium

and a half for which the usual path had become impracticable. One would expect here to see the point where Mr. Ellis supposes the progress to have been prohibited, and from which those who were in advance would have had to turn back. But the plan does not indicate the part where advance became impossible, and retreat necessary, nor does it show how they got to the scene of the disaster by which the attempt at circuit failed: neither does it appear how they proceeded from it to the place of encampment, after failure of the attempt. If these positions had appeared in their relation to one another, the author's views would at least have been intelligible.

A plan drawn for explaining the casualty of the ἀπορρώξ ought to express these things, if it is expected to assist our apprehension of the author's meaning: and the obvious excuse for Mr. Ellis not marking them, is that he was undetermined where to place them. But then why publish a portrait without the necessary features? There is the mountain side, with a blue line carried down it to represent Mr. Ellis's gully: there is a zigzag line, meant to represent a track along the mountain-side. Nothing helps to the position of the important points: the arrest of the progress; the intended circuit, and its calamities; the place where they then made encampment, from which the work of repair went to the damaged road. All is important to illustrate his theory.

The author's want of conception on the scene he desired to delineate for others, appears by his own statements. In p. 60, he says: "The account naturally leads us to look immediately "above the broken path for an encampment partly extending "over a ridge-back." We may look for it; but it is not to be seen. Then, in p. 125, Mr. Ellis states it to be probable, that the ῥάχης of Polybius is about half a mile to the south of the Cenise, where a rill of water runs in a hollow parallel to the Cenise, with a ridge between them extending from west

to east. And when this has been put forth as the ῥάχης, a third place, very distant from it, is suggested: "The fields "through which the Cenise flows between La Ferrière and "the commencement of the broken precipice would have "afforded in themselves a considerable space of ground for the "encampment." Thus explicit and satisfactory is Mr. Ellis's theory of the ἀπορρώξ. He criticizes the historian (p. 59) for using the article τήν with ῥάχιν the first time he employs the word, and attributes the inadvertence to Polybius being personally acquainted with the country. On some things he is satisfied with his own evidence, as when he says, p. 121: "The old road, still remaining, forcibly recalls the narrative "of Polybius: it is in many places supported on terraces, such "as Hannibal must have raised along the mountain-side."

In the explanations of περιελθεῖν there is a characteristic difference between the process conceived by Mr. Ellis, and that which is understood by us. In his idea the circuit which Hannibal contemplated was down a precipitous gully: we apprehend that it was along the declined channel of a stream. His old snow stands high up and exposed on a mountain side, facing south. Ours lies in a low bottom, shielded from the sun throughout the year. This competition was not brought to notice in his Treatise: nor did he disclose, that evidence had ever been brought forward on the "mauvais pas" of the Little St. Bernard. Mr. Ellis took pains to wield his own deductions: but declined to measure them with the facts of a rival theory.

That other hypothesis had been long before the world. Mr. Ellis was aware of the evidence of General Melville, reported by De Luc; of the facts of De Saussure and others to the same point, viz., the accumulation of the snow in the bed of the torrent below La Tuile, which still from time to time occurs; and the pointed comments of the Oxford Dissertation. Nevertheless his Treatise did not contain a hint that



the route of the Graian Alp had pretended to supply a site for the calamity of the broken way. This silence was the more remarkable, as he discussed the matter largely himself, not forgetting the old snow or the subject of the snow-line; and alluded to certain writers, as if they agreed with him: to Gibbon and Arnold, and to Evelyn, mentioned in Arnold's note M which refers to Evelyn. Yet the rival pretensions of the broken way, which had been so thoroughly asserted for the route of the Little St. Bernard, are not alluded to in the Treatise of 1854.

My criticism, written at Nice in 1855, caused that silence to be broken: and in 1856 Mr. Ellis noticed me in the "Cambridge Journal of Philology," vol. ii. 327. He reluctantly admitted the fact, that the Baltea torrent is sometimes filled up by the snow of a former winter. On this fact, verified by so many eye-witnesses, his words are: "I am ready to acknowledge, that the circumstance which Mr. Law mentions has 'sometimes occurred.'" Then, instead of excusing himself in his defence, for having shirked these facts, he blames me for not dealing with the old snow more largely; saying this: "That no permanent snow is now found on the route of Mont Cenis at the place where I have supposed Hannibal to have met with it, is a circumstance easily explained by the change of climate in the Alps, a fact supported by the authority of Gibbon and Arnold, and proved by the testimony of an eye-witness, that of Evelyn. Of these witnesses Mr. Law takes no notice: there is not a word of Gibbon and Evelyn, and but a slight remark (p. 59) about 'Dr. Arnold.'"

If I had cared for their evidence, I could not have dealt with these witnesses at Nice. Mr. Ellis's Treatise had accompanied me from England: not so the works of Gibbon and Arnold and Evelyn. I directed the criticism only against Mr. Ellis; and I gave it to the printer immediately on my

return to England in April, 1855. But let us see what Mr. Ellis's witnesses have to say.

Mr. Evelyn reports the Simplon, one of the lowest passes, as covered with snow in September, 1626: to this fact, which may happen in any year, he was an eye-witness. His account ("Memoirs," i. p. 220) is this: "That there were on 'the summit a few huts and a chapel; and population 'enough to bully his party on their spaniel killing a goat. 'He says that a multitude came and disarmed them, and 'kept them prisoners till masse was ended: then came half a 'score of grim Suisse, on which they were glad to make 'payment and escape; being told that their way onward had 'been covered with snow since the Creation.'" Such is the philosophy of the snow-line: and yet my credulity does not accept, even on the testimony of the eye-witness, that the Simplon in 1626 was, with its chapel and congregation, on a summit of perpetual snow.

Gibbon says, in Chapter ix., to which Mr. Ellis refers, "Some ingenious writers have suspected that Europe was 'much colder formerly than it is at present.'" He admits that two circumstances tend to confirm their theory: 1. That the Rhine and the Danube were often frozen over and capable of supporting enormous weights. 2. That the reindeer was a native of the Hercynian forest; which is said on the supposition that the reindeer was the "bos cervi figurâ" of Cæsar, "cujus à mediâ fronte inter aures unum cornu existit." Gibbon adds, "The modern improvements sufficiently explain the causes of the diminution of the cold: these 'immense woods have been gradually cleared, which intercepted from the earth the rays of the sun.'" Surely this has no bearing on the Alpine snow-line.

Mr. Ellis appears surprised that I made but a slight remark upon Dr. Arnold: and I am surprised that Mr. Ellis alluded to him at all. My remark was this: "Though I



"entertain the truest respect for Dr. Arnold, and a high admiration of his history of Hannibal's campaigns, yet in all that he has said of the invading march I find nothing to commend: on this point of the snow-line of Polybius, as on some others, I quite differ from him." Mr. Ellis was then the special object of my criticism: he is not now; and I shall comment on Dr. Arnold with equal freedom. But why should Mr. Ellis pretend to care for the opinion of Dr. Arnold? They do not agree. Dr. Arnold says that the old snow of Polybius was "no accidental patch." Mr. Ellis says, that "it was clearly an isolated patch." Dr. Arnold placed the ἀπορρώξ of Polybius above the snow-line. Mr. Ellis says that there is no reason for imagining it. Having so brought their opinions into contrast, I may say this. Thinking Dr. Arnold wrong on the snow-line, I must think Mr. Ellis right in differing from him. But in the application of their opinions, I do not think Mr. Ellis has the advantage. Both resist our theory, in which the permanence of the old snow is accounted for by its lying in a deep ravine, not exposed to the sun: both disallow that argument. Dr. Arnold has the better excuse: he disregarded it, being under a delusion on the snow-line. Mr. Ellis has not that delusion to palliate the blunder. His "isolated patch" flourished through a summer under exposure to a southern sun, not having perpetual snow to protect it.

The question between our old snow which occupies the trough in which a stream is used to run, and Mr. Ellis's old snow which is an isolated patch half-way up a mountain, is almost a question between horizontal and perpendicular; between level and precipice. A rapid stream cannot be quite a dead level: but it is opposed to precipice. Mr. Ellis does not seem alive to the difference. His phenomenon displays itself in an erect gully, where man and horse can acquire no footing, and must roll down the mountain: ours lies in a

trough at the bottom of a defile with mountain on both sides; but it was so slippery and otherwise injurious, as to prohibit a march. Mr. Ellis, in his defence,\* instead of confessing his own sins, imputes them to me, and gives vent to this sage exclamation: "How does this snow in the bed of the torrent help Mr. Law! how could it possibly cause men to slip down the precipices at the foot of which it lies!" I never sought the aid of such nonsense. It is Mr. Ellis, and no other, who would circumvent the "mauvais pas" by slipping down a precipice: he it is, who conceiving his gully to be spoken of by Polybius (whom he represents, *Treatise*, p. 59, as personally acquainted with it), construes ἐπιπολὺ κατωφερῶν ὄντων τῶν χωρίων, "for the declivity was one of excessive steepness." Κατωφερής signifies "declined," not "precipitous:" and ἐπιπολὺ κατωφερής is not "excessively steep:" ἐπιπολὺ signifies "mostly"—"for the most part." There may be declivity in a line of railroad; not precipice: it may be κατωφερής, but not κρημνώδης. Mr. Ellis's notion is somewhat akin to that of Livy, for which he is so roughly handled by Niebuhr; namely, for turning the three half-stades of length into three half-stades of height. *Lect. ix. vol. i. p. 173.*

## CHAPTER II.

*Hannibal, having completed the passage of the Alps in Fifteen Days, came down boldly into the plain of the Po and the nation of Insubres. c. 56.*

κατῆρε εἰς—came down into.

OUR opponents, unable to say that a man, entering Italy by the route of Susa or of Pinerolo, would come down into the

\* *Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology. Vol. ii. p. 327.*

Insubres, struggle against the words of the history: and first they pretend that *κατῆρε εἰς* does not signify "came down into:" they have discovered, that this expression does not import the arrival at an object, but an inchoate movement in the direction of it.

M. Larauza challenged the translation of M. De Luc, "entra dans le pays du Insubres," calling it "une traduction évidemment fausse:" and he adds, "Nous nous bornerons à remarquer que le Grec ne dit nullement qu'Annibal entra dans le pays des Insubres, mais qu'il se dirigea vers ce pays, *εἰς τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος*." One who could so translate, has very naturally the additional merit of making an imperfect quotation. The term *κατῆρε εἰς* is applied by Polybius both to the plains and the Insubres. M. Larauza exhibits it as applied to the Insubres only: he may have felt that it would be absurd to assert that Hannibal, who in the previous sentence was said to have reached the plains, "se dirigea vers les plaines:" so he suppressed the plains in expounding the sentence. This was not fair: he should also have contended, "que le Grec ne dit nullement qu'Annibal entra dans les plaines:" but for this his courage failed him.

Other critics, since M. Larauza, have tried to misconstrue this simple expression. In the work of 1830 on Hannibal's passage by "A Member of the University of Cambridge," the author objects to the translation "descended into," and says this (p. 77): "The word *κατῆρε* must here, as it frequently does in Polybius, simply mean 'he marched;' and the entire passage must refer to the ulterior and eventful circumstance of his bold movement into the plains of the Po, and his first encampment in front of the Roman army in the territory of the Insubrians. Should there be any surprise at the peculiarity of this arrangement of matter, the following passage will show that in Polybius it is not unexampled. In the 35th chapter of the 3d book Hannibal is described as

"crossing the Ebro, and there parting with some of his troops" — *τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν στρατίαν ἀναλαβὼν ἤγε διὰ τῶν Πυρρηναίων λεγομένων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν*. All the latter part of the sentence has reference, as in the instance "above, to an ulterior event."

This illustration is inadmissible, though we shall find it adopted: *καταίρω* is never so used. The passage cited as analogous occurs thus: Polybius, having explained Hannibal's proceedings after crossing the Ebro, having told how he discharged a portion of the troops, and committed another portion to the command of the general who was to remain in that country, says of Hannibal: "Taking with him the rest of the army lightly equipped, he led them on through the Pyrenean mountains for the passage of the river called the Rhone." Now see the weakness of imagining an analogy between *ἤγε* in this place, and *κατῆρε* in the other. In these words of the 35th chapter the historian, having brought Hannibal across the Ebro, exhibits the scope of a portion of march about to be performed; and the notice of the passage of the Rhone is the notice of an ulterior event, which will be long after that to which *ἤγε διὰ* is applied.

*ἤγε διὰ* tells an initial proceeding; and for that reason it is wholly unlike *κατῆρε εἰς*. But the want of prudence in this anonymous critic is equal to his want of discernment: he not only exhibits, as corresponding expressions, those which have no correspondence, but he proves that they have none, by adding these words: "For in the 40th chapter he is again crossing\* the Pyrenees: and in the 41st he arrives at the passage of the Rhone—*ἦκε μετὰ δυνάμεων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ διάβασιν*." Here his error exposes itself: it is this expression *ἦκε ἐπὶ*, which is analogous to *κατῆρε εἰς*, not the words of the 35th chapter. Each of those expressions tells an accomplished fact; one bringing Hannibal to the

\* *ἐνεχίρει ταῖς διεκβολαῖς τῶν Πυρρηναίων ὁρῶν*.

Rhone, the other bringing him to the plain and the Insubres.

Another patron of this false construing is Mr. Ellis. Not that in his published translation he adopted "se dirigea vers" from the French critic, or "he marched to" from the anonymous of 1830: he prudently rendered *κατῆρε εἰς* "descended into." But two years afterwards, on defending himself in the "Journal of Philology," ii. 329, he condescended deliberately to adopt the error of his Cambridge predecessor, and borrowed his false illustration, saying this:—"The words, *κατῆρε* "τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ περὶ τὸν Παδὸν πεδία καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος, may be compared with ἤγε διὰ τῶν Πυρρηναίων λεγομένων ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ καλουμένου ποταμοῦ διάβασιν, xxxv. 7. Yet Hannibal does not actually pass "the Pyrenees or reach the Rhone till several chapters "further on. Does any one believe that either of these "events occurred twice?" The answer to this wise question is, No; the transit of the Pyrenees occurred once, and is told once. The reaching the Rhone occurred once, and is told once: it is not told by the words ἤγε ἐπὶ of chapter 35, when Hannibal had crossed the Ebro, and it is told by the words ἦκε ἐπὶ of chapter 41. Mr. Ellis must be aware that *καταίρω* εἰς never meant to march or set out for a distant object, and that it always imports "to come to," "to reach," "to arrive at." An old lexicon of Budæus aptly quotes from the 5th book of Polybius, *κατῆρε μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς εἰς Κόρινθον*, illustrating the effect of the words with "Huc ubi delati portus intravimus."

*τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία—the plain of the Po.*

Some advocates of a Taurine pass are persuaded that the historical statement, that Hannibal came down into the plain of the Po, accords with their theory, because the Turin of Augustus is on the Po. If the town sacked by Hannibal

could be traced to that site, which it is not, this expression would not help to place it there. The meaning of *τὰ περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδία* is too clear to be controverted. Every pass into Italy from the Brenner to the Col di Tende, leads you to the plain of the Po. The words signify, by the express definition of the historian, the great northern plain of Italy, bounded by the Alps, the Apennine, and the Adriatic. When we read that the potentates, *Βασιλίσκοι*, who waited upon Hannibal after his passage of the Rhone, had come *ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων*, we recognise the large application of the term. The *πεδία*, so often named by Polybius, comprised not only Cisalpine Gaul, but a large portion of Liguria and of the Venetian States, districts quite away from the stream of the great river, whose course divided the plain and gave its denomination. Senigaglia is said to be *παρὰ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι κείσθαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Πάδον πεδίων*. Polyb. ii. 19, 13.

General St. Cyr Nugues limits the scope of this large term to the very banks of the Po itself. Being an advocate for the Mont Genève, he gives as a reason for declining the line of Susa, and seeking the Po at a higher point than Turin, the purpose of recruiting his army "sur les bords" before he attacks that place. He says, p. 19: "Prenons la carte, et suivons le cours du Pô. Ce fleuve, sorti du Mont Viso, coule du midi au nord jusqu'à Turin. Nous lisons qu'Annibal fut obligé de faire reposer plusieurs jours son armée; qu'il ne put éviter de prendre la capitale des Taurini. Il est naturel de conclure de là qu'il descendit sur les bords "du Pô à quelque distance de Turin."

A still more curious conception of the plains is that of M. le Comte de Fortia D'Urban, whose singular theory will be noticed in Part X. He writes, p. 14: "Après avoir franchi "le Tesin, Annibal fut entré dans les plaines du Pô: c'est "encore la vérité." Many others, among them M. Larauza, when they have occasion to express the idea of the Plain, say "plaines qui bordent le Pô;" or, "plaines qu'arrose

"le Pô." For avoiding the risk of error in giving too narrow a construction, it is but to say simply plain, or plains of the Po.

*The Insubrians—τὸ τῶν Ἰσόμβρων ἔθνος.*

It is well that Polybius has applied the word of arrival, not only to the plain as the terminus of the march, but also to that nation of the plain, whose friendship and co-operation welcomed the approach of the invaders. He promised in c. 36, that he would make known πότεν ὁρμήσας Ἀννίβας, καὶ τίνας καὶ πόσους διελθὼν τόπους, εἰς ποῖα μέρη κατήρε τῆς Ἰταλίας: he now announces into what nation of Italy Hannibal came down; namely, among the Insubres. Unless this statement is rejected as unmeaning, it results that he came down the valley of the Doria; for neither the people of the Cenis nor of the Genève can be reconciled with it.

Our adversaries, however, though not pretending to reconcile Polybius with their own schemes, find a geographical difficulty in ours. Polybius has said (lib. ii.) that, on the first immigration of Gauls into Italy, nearly 200 years before Hannibal, certain tribes called Lai and Lebecii, settled on the Po in the parts above those which were occupied by the Insubres. Accordingly it is objected, that a descent by the valley of the Doria would have led into the former peoples, and not into the Insubres, who were lower down the Po and whose capital was Milan: and that, if we suppose him to have come down into the Insubres, we are bound to introduce him by the Simplon pass or the St. Gothard.

It is very true that, if we want to bring him down upon Milan, we must suppose him to have crossed the Simplon or the St. Gothard. But we do not desire to bring him down upon Milan: we know not that he ever was at Milan. We desire to find meaning in the words of Polybius: he it is, who has related that Hannibal came down into the nation of Insubres. Those who profess to swear by Polybius, and

desert him at every step, are false disciples: an honest interpreter seeks, not to throw aside the author's words, but to find sense in them. Was not the Insubrian the great leading state among the Gauls, prominent in their resistance to Roman encroachment? In the record of the first irruption, Polybius says of them δ μέγιστον ἔθνος ἦν αὐτῶν: and they survived the extinction of all the rest. True it is that Milan was their capital, founded long before the time of Hannibal; and that their proper original territory did not comprise the plain near Ivrea, which received Hannibal's first encampment. But who can resist the probability, that minor tribes who had first settled in that plain, and were probably still its occupants in name, had become subordinate to their more powerful neighbour? Is it any stretch of imagination, to believe that Insubrian chieftains and an Insubrian force should be on the banks of the Doria to welcome the approach of their illustrious ally? Besides being in hostility to the Romans, the Insubres were themselves at war with their neighbours the Taurini. Is it strange, that the historian, whose narrative has contained no name of a people, besides Allobroges, during the entire march from the Pyrenees, should now, on reaching Italy, select, as fittest to be named, the great leading State of the confederacy against Rome, by whom the Carthaginian advent was so eagerly expected? Polybius was not writing in controversy: he had no thought of the track becoming subject to dispute: he was not defining it, to avert the quibbles of future ages. In the plain assertion that Hannibal came down into the plain and the nation of Insubres, he states a broad fact of history, whose truth is intelligible save to those who have a purpose in perverting it. If Polybius had written that he came down into the Cisalpine Gauls, this quibble could not have been made: but the chief geographical inference would have been the same; namely, that he came down the valley of Aosta.



It is obvious that among the Gaulish adversaries of Rome, in the second Punic war, there must have been political subjection; that Lai, Libui, and Lebecii, with other of the original Gaulish tribes, had in the lapse of two centuries become subordinate to a greater State, whose forces were free to watch the coming of their expected deliverer, whether on the banks of the Doria, the Po, or the Tesia. It is in unison with all prior notices of the Insubres by Polybius in his account of the preparations for war in Cisalpine Gaul, that he should have them in mind as the prevailing power in the region where Hannibal found the plain.

Which of these minor tribes deserved to be distinguished as the ally of Hannibal? Surely at the time in question, the Gaulish population of the district were serving under the Insubrian banner. A very few years later, they were serving under that of Rome. But no exploits are celebrated under their name. In the details of Roman aggression, the smaller tribes of the original settlers are not among the recorded victims. The names of surrounding nations appear in the annals of Roman conquest; triumphs are celebrated over Ligurians; over Cisalpine Salassians; Comensians; over Insubrian Gauls. Lai, Libui, Lebecii, have no rank as enemies of Rome. They belong to the history of Italy; because they made part of the tale of the great irruption. Names of no importance are just mentioned by Polybius and Livy: they find a place in the catalogues of Pliny and Ptolemy, as now in the maps of D'Anville or Walkenaer. But they are unseen as actors in the affairs of nations: and the land in which they settled became at last an integral part of Roman possessions, without record of their annihilation to tell that they had been.

The supremacy of the Insubrians vindicates the *κατῆρε* of Polybius without more. Whether the same small tribes which squatted in that district two centuries before, were

still tenants of the ground where Hannibal encamped, and put his men into hospital quarters among friends, while he waited for them to become fit for service, is quite immaterial. Their condition was restored before they were led to action; and it was restored on friendly ground.

Mr. Ellis does not reply to what I have said, but only to what I have not said. In my first criticism written at Nice I stood, as now, on the supremacy of the Insubres. But it is a point which he has never noticed. He lays down peremptorily the identity of the Insubres with the modern Milanese, and trumpets upon it thus: "That the country of 'the Insubres corresponded to the modern Milanese is in accordance with the opinion of all geographers, Mr. Law 'excepted. Polybius, in spite of Mr. Law's prohibition, 'obstinately persists in considering the Milanese as the Insubrian country.'"

Mr. Ellis is aware that the Mediolanum of the Insubres became the capital of Lombardy; and he may believe that, from before Hannibal to the late expulsion of Austrian power, there has been the same territorial consolidation of the dependencies. But it would be prudent to moderate his notion of the immutability even of their confines. I will not enter upon so large a field. I care not whether a place of interesting association, Cremona, belonged to the Insubres: a point on which there is diversity of opinion. As to what Mr. Ellis says of our theory at the other end of his Milanese frontier, that it supposes Hannibal to have turned back from the Milanese to besiege Turin, and that the early settlements of the Insubres reached to the Doria and the Oreo, I never imagined any such thing; nor believe that Hannibal was ever on the site of Turin; or that it then existed. The notion of turning back is a great mistake. The order of events was this: Hannibal arrived among his friends on the Doria, whom Polybius rightly calls *ἱσόμβρων ἔθνος*:



among friends the army recovered its condition. This done, they attacked the adjoining people, the Taurini, divided only by the Orco or the Po. Having chastised them, Hannibal advanced against Scipio.

This crotchet on the Insubres must have received Mr. Ellis's peculiar attention: he gives it out in his Introduction as one of his Seven Summaries, but hardly makes up his mind, whether it shall be a summary or not. In p. 60 he says: "There is little doubt that the passage concerning the 'Insubrians, is one of Polybius's succinct accounts or summaries, and that it merely states the direction and end of 'a march, the details of which are afterwards to be given.'" In the next page he says: "It is not necessary to take it 'for granted, that the passage relating to the Insubrians is 'a mere summary:' and he tells us (p. 7) that he shall not give us the whole of it. Thus the seventh Summary is left to take its chance: and, as the plains and the Insubres are never mentioned again during the campaign, we cannot be expected to recognise an Insubrian summary.

### CHAPTER III.

*On the Time employed in Descent. Many, and among them the Oxford Dissertation, differ from De Luc, who supports Polybius. Dr. Arnold on the Snow-line: his scruples on the Salassi.*

*Dr. Liddell on the Time.*

DISTINGUISHED writers have blamed Polybius for his allotment of time in telling the march through the mountains. Dr. Liddell writes thus:—"In seven days after Hannibal began 'the ascent, he reached the summit. Polybius says *nine* ' (iii. 53, 9). But this must include the two days' halt at the 'top of the pass. For the descent occupied at least *six* days

" (compare iii. 55, 8, with 56, 1); and the whole passage took " *fifteen* days (56, 3)."

I abide by Polybius: his ninth day of ascent is as clear as words can make it. Hannibal was two nights on the summit, one of them being the night following the morning on which he gained it. This gave only one integral day of pure rest; and I hope it will be seen, that he marched again on the eleventh day, and touched the plain on the fifteenth. The eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days represent *τρισι* in c. 55, 8, and the fifteenth day represents *τριταῖος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν* in c. 56, 1. See *ante*, part v. c. 1, for the employment of each day.

*Dr. Arnold on the Time.*

Dr. Arnold thought that the descent could not be effected in the time allowed by Polybius. He says, in a note to p. 91:—"I have little doubt as to Hannibal's march up the 'Tarentaise; but the val d'Aosta puzzles me. According to 'any ordinary rate of marching, an army could never get in 'three days from the Little St. Bernard to the plains of 'Ivrea." Now Polybius relates no such fact as the army getting in three days from the Little St. Bernard to the plains of Ivrea. *Τριταῖος* signifies "on the third day" of the progress made on liberation of the elephants from the precipices, and is applied to the arrival of the head of the column in the plain. It is consistent with the narrative that, when this last event took place, the tail of the column of march was between Aosta and Verres.

*The Oxford Dissertation on the Time.*

The arrangement of time which Polybius has expressed is not only disputed by opponents, but has been embarrassed by ourselves. De Luc arranged the five days of descent very accurately according to the words of the history. Second edition, 1825.

A few extracts will give his notion of this chronology, pp. 212, 213 :—

“ Le 11<sup>e</sup> jour fut employé à descendre au village de la Tuile, à tenter de passer sur la vieille neige qui couvroit le torrent de la Tuile, et à commencer la réparation du chemin éboulé. Une partie de l’infanterie traversa ce mauvais pas le même jour.

“ Le 12<sup>e</sup> jour la cavalerie et les bêtes de somme passèrent et se distribuèrent dans les lieux qui leur offroient des pâturages et des fourrages ; les plus avancés durent arriver jusqu’à la ville d’Aoste.

“ Le 13<sup>e</sup> jour au soir, le chemin dégradé fut achevé pour les éléphants qui arrivèrent à Pré-Saint-Didier. Pendant le même temps l’avant-garde de l’infanterie et une partie arrivèrent à Nuz, qui est à huit milles d’Aoste.

“ Le 14<sup>e</sup> jour cette avant-garde se trouva au village de Montjoie et à Verrex.

“ Le 15<sup>e</sup> jour entre Saint-Martin et Ivrée.—On est sorti tout-à-fait des montagnes que l’on est encore à une lieue et demi d’Ivrée.”

Thus De Luc supports the fifteen of Polybius. The O. D. would have it eighteen. As we agree, that the descent was commenced on the eleventh day of Alps: any ambiguity must attach to the events of that and the four following days. They assert that the descent could not, consistently with the history itself, be made in those five days. The question, then, between us is this: whether Hannibal reached the plain on the fifth day of descent, which is in accordance with the total fifteen; or on the eighth, which is in contradiction of it.

The following view of the subject is given in the Oxford Dissertation, second edition, 114–116 :—“The descent probably commenced on the eleventh day, one day for the “passage of the cavalry makes twelve, and three for the

“elephants fifteen: and this is the number of days which, “according to Polybius, he employed in passing the Alps. “Having performed the passage of the Alps in fifteen days, “he descended boldly into the country of the Insubres, and “the plains about the Po. This statement is, however, rather “inconsistent with the account in the beginning of this very “same chapter, which says that, having assembled his army “after the passage of that difficult piece of road, which had “delayed him for four days, he descended, and reached the “plains in three days’ march from the broken ground, which “would give eighteen days instead of fifteen. I think that “there can be very little doubt that we must read eighteen “days instead of fifteen, and that the 150 miles are to be “completed at the commencement of the plain, and at the “spot where the army was encamped. Indeed, the enumeration he makes of the losses sustained by the army, and the “recapitulation of the march, are not made till after the fact “of their having reached the plains has been stated; and “there can be no doubt, upon his own showing, that eighteen “days must have elapsed before this event took place. It is “possible that he might have intended to leave out of the “account the three days employed in making the road for the “elephants; but I think it more probable that he meant, “that in fifteen days the chief difficulties of the passage were “overcome, and that he entered into a friendly country.”

It seems to me that Polybius is here ill construed. As to the notion of ending the fifteen days when the chief difficulties were overcome, while the 150 miles expire many miles further on, it seems quite inadmissible; as is the other suggestion, of omitting three days from the middle of the reckoning. Such ideas are prohibited by the context: time and space must begin together and end together. If it is true that upon Polybius’s own showing the passage occupied eighteen days, it follows that he made an unhappy blunder in naming fifteen. But the truth is that, in this criticism, the narrative has been

misapprehended: Polybius does not say, as imputed, that "the difficult piece of road delayed Hannibal for four days:" his text does not warrant you to say, "One day for the passage of the cavalry makes twelve, and three for the elephants fifteen;" neither does it express, as my friends report, "He reached the plains in three days' march from the broken ground." The cause of error is, that they accept every notice of time as cumulative: they conceive that Hannibal, having failed in his attempt to circumvent the place, encamped and did no more on that first day; that he made the road for the cavalry on the next day; that he constructed one for the elephants in three days *more*, and that he brought the whole army into the plain in three days *more*. I propose to show, that not one of these propositions is expressed by or justly deducible from Polybius; and that his notices of time, fairly interpreted, are consistent with the fact that Hannibal touched the plain on the fifth day of descent, being the fifteenth of Alps.

The Oxford Dissertation, p. 112, tells the story thus:—"In whatever way the attempt to turn the pass was made, the troops were finally obliged to encamp at the entrance of it, and, in all probability, in the plain on which La Tuile itself is situated. The *next* day was employed in making a road good enough for the passage of the cavalry, and three days *more* in constructing one for the elephants." This imports, that nothing more, besides encamping, was done on that first day, after failing in the experiment upon the old snow which covered the bed of the torrent, and that the business of repair was only begun on the following day. The text of Polybius tells a different story: he says: "Wherefore, abandoning this hope, Hannibal made his camp near the edge of the mountain,\* having cleared away the snow that lay there; and then, turning out his force (τὰ πλήθη) reconstructed the path along the precipice with much

\* Probably where the ground begins to swell towards the Cramont.

"painful toil; and so in one day made good a passage fit for horses and baggage-cattle. Wherefore, carrying these through at once, and having pitched his camp about those parts which had as yet escaped the snow, he forwarded them away to the pastures. He brought up the Numidians in successive gangs to the building of the road; and it was with difficulty, and after severe work, that he got the elephants through in three days."

From this narrative it appears to me, that the most vigorous application of strength for clearing a passable track along the damaged line on the mountain side, was made on the same day which saw them leave the summit; that the prompt transit of man and horse, evident from εὐθέως διαγαγών, confirms the activity which I am supposing; namely, that so much success must have attended the exertions of that first day, that the pass would be ready for all but elephants the next morning. This view of the subject accords with all probability, as it does with the text. The difficulty which seemed to defy the progress of the expedition, must have offered itself to the head of the line of march within two or three hours from the time when the army was put in motion, which we may presume to have been, as on other occasions, at daybreak—ἄμα τῷ φῶτι. The plain of the summit is about two miles in length: and the first movement of the column is to be dated from near the brink of the descent. From thence they would reach the place of obstruction in about four miles. The attempt to proceed along the bottom, where the new snow lay upon the snow of the previous winter, and so to circumvent the stadium and a half of ruptured road along the mountain slope, was made by those who first arrived in order of march. It was disastrous to those who made it: but soon proved hopeless of success; and the known character of Hannibal for prompt decision assures us, that he did not fail in that promptitude under

circumstances which placed in immediate peril the existence of his army. The narrative in terms exhibits instant action, not idle postponement to another day. After describing the attempt to get round, how it failed by the slipperiness of the older surface when stepped upon through the soft fresh snow, and how the weight of the cattle made them to break in and become fixed, Polybius says, not that Hannibal pitched his camp and went to sleep, but that he pitched his camp and then set to work in earnest with all hands.

A small portion only of the army can have got down to the scene of difficulties, when Hannibal commenced the effort to vanquish them. If the text had spoken less plainly, one would still ask—why presume delay in such a crisis? Every man in the army had become accustomed to apply himself at a moment's notice to the encountering, by all personal labour, of rocks, rivers, ravines, and every natural obstacle. If the night of this first day was not such as to prohibit all operations, we may be sure that relays of men were digging and clearing throughout that night, and that not day only was devoted to this vital struggle. As to the actual transit of the cavalry, the words of the history best consist with the notion that they went through early on the morning of the second day, the labour which enabled them to do so having been applied on the first day. The tenor of the narrative shows, that on that second day Hannibal advanced his encampment to a part which remained free from snow, below the scene of reparation: and the next note of time is, that the elephants were got through with difficulty in three days of hard work and suffering. But why three days *more*? The work done in favour of the horse was work done in favour of the elephant. It was a continuous process: *ἐξωκοδόμει* and *οἰκοδομία* are terms equally applying to all parts of it. The hardships signified in *κακοπαθήσας*, and predicted of the three days, belonged as much to the earlier labour which availed for the

horses as to the further exertions which were to liberate the elephants. Hannibal did not, after making a narrow road for the smaller animal, begin another road for the larger animal. It was the same path made wider. The first day's work gave a horse-path: the work of the second and third days gave it width for an elephant.

I insist therefore that the terms *μῆα* and *τρισι*, introduced as they are into this narrative of the descent, do not warrant the addition of one and three to the day of starting, so as to make five spent in vanquishing the obstruction. And I claim of those, to whom the author's meaning may seem doubtfully expressed, that they will lean to a construction that shall make him consistent with himself. I certainly think, that you best consult the context of the narrative, if you believe that the labour which liberated the elephants, being the labour of three days, was undergone on the eleventh, the twelfth, and the thirteenth days of Alps. If the descent began on a Monday, the *κρημνοί* were vanquished on the Wednesday. And now, to close the reckoning, it is to be shown that Hannibal would touch the plain of Italy on the Friday.

The scheme of reckoning, to which I am taking objection, after stretching the three days of reparation into five, gives three days more for reaching the plain, so making altogether eight: this is by virtue of the word *τριταῖος*, as if the word signified "in three days:" but such is not the force of the word: the expression of Polybius is, *τριταῖος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν ἤψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων*—in the third day from the precipices Hannibal touched the plain. Those who require "three days more," exclude the day on which the repair was finished, and on which the elephants passed away from the scene of obstruction. But that day is to be reckoned as one of the three: if I have quitted London on a Wednesday, I am *τριταῖος ἀπὸ* London, in my third day from London, on the Friday: and this is so, whether I began my journey at day-



break or in the afternoon. In the 52d chapter all understand in τεταρταῖος the fourth day of movement from the town. If Polybius had there filled up the expression as he has the one before us, and had written τεταρταῖος ἀπὸ πόλεως, you would not have understood four days more besides the day of quitting the town. Περμπταῖος ἀπὸ Πισῶν imports the fifth day of navigation from Pisæ. So τριταῖος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν imports the third day of progress from the "mauvais pas:" the actual day of quitting it being included in the reckoning. That day was the thirteenth day of Alps: the progress of the beasts would not be delayed for one unnecessary moment, and the day which overcame the κρημνοί must be deemed the first ἀπὸ κρημνῶν, the day of escape from them.

The first day from the precipice being thus the thirteenth of Alps, it follows that Hannibal was τριταῖος ἀπὸ κρημνῶν on the fifteenth day: and our case is proved, though not to the satisfaction of those, who say that this would have required an impossible degree of speed. Let us then inquire what it was that happened on that third day. What means ἤψατο τῶν ἐπιπέδων? Are we to understand that the whole army arrived into the plain on that day, elephants and all, with the Numidians and whatever force had been left for extricating them? By no means. I do not conceive that any one portion of the army, unless perhaps Hannibal and his personal staff, was both at the place of precipice on the first of those three days, and in the plain on the last. It may be that he superintended in person the safe extrication of the elephants: and he may have been among the first in the plain. But the words of the history require neither. In the narrative "Hannibal" and "the Carthaginians" are often convertible terms: and the words here employed are correct and intelligible, even if on that third day his head-quarters were remaining at Aosta or Verres. They do not import that

the Carthaginians, as a mass, had occupied the plain; nor do they import any speed of movement measurable by a rate of walking. No time is predicated for the duration of an act. Τριταῖος gives date to an event by its distance from a prior event. We learn from it that the touching of the plain by those who first touched it took place on the third day of moving from the precipice by those who last left it.

The statement, of Hannibal collecting his force and coming down, συναθροίσας ὁμοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν κατέβαινε, seems to have been looked upon, as aiding the notion of the army making a given three days' march between the two termini. To me they only convey the idea, that, from the moment when the rescue of the elephants was secured, and the hesitation which might be caused by the detention of the extreme rear was removed, the progress as of an army was again brought into full activity, and the continuity of the column of march restored. Συναθροίσας certainly suggests the idea of bringing bodies of men from various directions into one central mass. It can mean no such thing here. A centre supposes radii: the only radius here was the onward line to Italy. It is not credible that the soldiers were allowed to disperse themselves into the lateral valleys. During the short time which intervened between the passage of men and horses and that of the elephants, the cavalry and a good portion of the army were moving forwards, into and down the main avenue to the plain; a sufficient force remaining to conduct and protect the work on the mountain. One cannot believe that this numerous host stood still, all waiting for the elephants. The richer part of the valley, about and below Aosta, must have been greedily sought; so that, when the compulsory halt of the rear had ceased, and the advance was again the advance of all, as suggested by Συναθροίσας, &c., the leading squadrons may have been as near to the plain which they sought as to the summit which they had left.



There is one critic who seems to think that the horses and smaller beasts remained on the mountain, until the elephants were released from their detention. The anonymous of Cambridge (p. 17), in one of his efforts to correct others, undertakes to interpret the words *ταῦτα μὲν εὐθέως διαγαγὼν διαφῆκε πρὸς τὰς νόμας*; and he conceives, not that the cavalry were sent down by Hannibal to the valley, but that "he turned out the tired cattle to pasture, of course under cover of the entrenchments, where they would be as safe as by the walls of a fortified city."\* Hannibal had better care of his horses than to send them to graze in the fresh mountain snow, when a rich valley promised provender at a few miles' distance. As to their shivering under the favour of Alpine entrenchments, I doubt that the mountain regions witnessed any entrenchments at all.

I believe I have rightly explained the proposition that Hannibal on the third day from the precipice, touched the plain. On the first of those three days there was no whole army at or about the precipice: on the last of them there was no whole army in the plain. Those who have been startled with the extraordinary speed of a great army transferring itself from the summit or from La Tuile into the plain of Italy in three days, must be told that the words of the history do not contain such an idea: they do not exhibit 26,000 men disgorged from the Alps; they represent rather those who were at the head of the column stepping out of mountain into plain. This event was the earnest of triumph over the great barrier: and, when interpreters of Polybius, after telling the day of the elephants' liberation, quote as a thing not credible, that in three days more the armament was encamped in the plain, they would report more truly, if they said that on the third day of that liberation, Hannibal

\* Dissertation by a member of the University of Cambridge. 1830. P. 17.

touched the plain. *Ἀπτομαι* imports the contact of the end of a line with another body; as when a rope hangs from a beam; so here, when the foremost point of a long thin line of march, threading the way through mountains, first gains the expanse of plain which is beyond. When at Newmarket or Epsom the winner's nose is at the post, the word for that crisis is *ἄπτομαι*. Hannibal won his race and defeated the Alps, when his foremost banner waved in the Dorian plain.

This notice of time may be thought tedious and minute. I have desired to show, that Polybius is free from the contradiction which is imputed to him: his words may not be clearly apprehended on a first reading. But, after reasonable attention, they cease to be obscure. To my mind they import that the Carthaginian armament commenced the descent at daybreak on the eleventh day of Alps, and met with an obstruction that same morning; one day's labour enabled all but the elephants to proceed on their march; three days' labour, not three days more, was required before these could move on with the force which had remained with them. On the third day of their liberation, being the fifteenth day of Alps, the invaders hailed the plain of Italy.

*Dr. Arnold on the Snow-line.*

The bold writer, who ventured to suggest the pass of Hannibal to have been one by which you may pass from the higher Arc into the Vale of Vin, could not have escaped the necessity of committing the Carthaginians to tracts of enduring ice and snow. But one was hardly prepared to find that predicament engrafted on a more sober theory. If Hannibal transgressed the snow-line, *à fortiori* the earlier Gaulish invaders, who trod the Great St. Bernard, must have done so. But, after studying the perils of the snowy regions in the tales of modern adventurers, moving two, three, or four

together, with the complement of professional guides, one listens with distrust to an invasion of these solitudes by a party of thirty thousand men with arms and accompaniments; and, when one of high attainments and respected authority presses the fact for our acceptance, it claims grave attention.

In Dr. Arnold's "History of Rome," iii. c. 43, we read as follows:—"Hannibal was on the summit of the Alps about the end of October: the first winter snows had already fallen; but two hundred years before the Christian era, when all Germany was one vast forest, the climate of the Alps was far colder than at present, and the snow lay on the passes all through the year." He says further in the note: "It is clear, either that Hannibal passed by some much higher point than the present roads over the Little St. Bernard or Mont Cenis; or else, as is highly probable, that the limit of perpetual snow reached to a much lower level in the Alps than it does at present. For the passage of the main chain is described as wholly within this limit; and the 'old snow' which Polybius speaks of was no accidental patch, such as will linger through the summer at a very low level in crevices or sunless ravines; but it was the general covering of the pass, which forbade all vegetation, and remained alike in summer as in winter. How great a contrast to the blue lake, the green turf, the sheep and cattle freely feeding on every side, tended by their shepherds, and the bright hues of the thousand flowers, which now delight the summer traveller on the Col of the Little St. Bernard!"

I believe these notions to be erroneous. It seems to me, that we need not desire any higher point than the present track affords over this mountain, nor assume a change of climate for reconciling that track with the history. I do not understand that Polybius describes the passage of the main chain, or any part of it, as within the limit of perpetual

snow; and I believe that the old snow spoken of was just that which Dr. Arnold says it was not, "such as will linger through the summer at a very low level in crevices or sunless ravines."

Let us examine the narrative, and consider whether Polybius intended "that the passage of the main chain was really within the limit of perpetual snow." Such an impression has been caused by these words of the historian: "They (the elephants) had come to be in a wretched state from hunger; for all the highest tops of the Alps, and the parts reaching up to the heights, are utterly without trees and bare, because of the snow remaining continually, both summer and winter." This notice of the unproductiveness of the high Alps is called for, in showing that the elephants were in a miserable plight by want of food. Constant snow, it is said, causes the higher Alps to be without trees and naked—*ἄδενδρα καὶ ψιλὰ*. These negative terms are not sufficient to characterise the pure mass above the snow-line; and we look to context, to know with what degree of strictness *συνεχῶς ἐπιμένειν* is to be received. If, in a philosophic discussion of the temperature and measurement of mountains by De Saussure or Forbes, we should find it laid down that snow remains constantly on a particular summit, our thoughts would advert to the snow-line. But Polybius was not so employed: what he says of bareness and barrenness, and the cause of it, is introduced only as accounting for the fact that the elephants were in a very bad plight by the time when they escaped from their detention. Those beasts might well be out of condition, without being above the snow-line: the last possible day on which any supply of provender can have been obtained, was before that of the barbarian attack: if any had been got then, still five days at least elapsed, in which their stock of food received no reinforcement.

We may well believe that the Graian Alp in 218 B.C. pro-

duced no store for their supply. The same is true of that mountain at this day, and, I should think, of all the rival passes, though they too do not reach the snow-line, and some are far milder than the Little St. Bernard. This fact is quite consistent with the sheep and shepherds that delight the eye of the summer traveller, the cow pasturing by the waters of the blue lake, and the gentians and rhododendrons known to smile on the margin of glaciers. In Hannibal's time there were probably no residents between Bourg St. Maurice and La Tuile, perhaps not higher than Pré St. Didier; and, if the elephants at La Tuile had to rely on provisions grown in the country above that place, their lives were unquestionably in danger. The cause imputed is climate: passes of Alps, Grimsel, or Graian, have at no season a sure vacation from snow: hence barrenness and bareness of surface; hence the risk of starvation to a large animal coming from a milder region. Such cause and such effect the historian imparts in the words under consideration. Knowing something of the Alps, and writing for those who knew nothing, he meant to tell that the cold and snow, to which those higher regions are always subject, prohibit a vegetation that will meet an unusual demand for the support of animal life: but he had no intention to describe the full incident of perpetual snow, nor was the snow-line of the philosopher present to his mind.

It seems to me, that every circumstance of the story which Polybius tells, proves that the old snow was not "the general covering of the Pass." It is only said to have been met with in the attempt to circumvent the ruptured path, which was at a level far below that of the summit. We know that the fall is much steeper on the Piémont side than on the Savoy side. If there was perpetual snow at this part of the descent, there must have been perpetual snow for a considerable tract of the ascent: if the ἀπορρώξ was within the snow-line, the λευκό-

πετρον can hardly have been out of it. And yet snow is not commemorated in the ascent: the arrival of the army at the summit, their encampment, and the waiting for stragglers to come up, has all been told before ever the idea of snow is introduced into the story: it is mentioned then, as a new cause of gloom and dejection to the suffering soldiers: "Snow "having by this time become collected about the tops of the "mountains, for the setting of the Pleias was at hand."

Seeing that snow is only introduced at this period of the narrative, as a proper incident of the season, first causing alarm after they had reached the plain of the summit, one can hardly suppose that the perils of the ascent had been aggravated by struggles above the snow-line; indeed, when snow is first spoken of, it is only said to be collecting about the mountain peaks, περὶ τοὺς ἄκρους. In the descent we read of it as a special and grievous embarrassment: it is put in contrast with the perils of the ascent. The history says that they hardly fell in with an enemy; but that the loss was nevertheless almost equal to that of the ascent, from the bad ground and the snow which concealed the stepping-place from view. He who wrote thus, cannot have conceived any portion of the track of ascent to lie above the snow-line.

As to the actual summit, Dr. Liddell, as well as Dr. Arnold, has apprehended perpetual snow. Having stated, i. 342, the halt on the summit, he says: "It was now near the end of "October. The last year's snow, frozen into ice, lay thick at "the top of the Pass." Dr. Arnold predicates perpetual snow, not only of the summit, but of parts far below, that is, of the mountain slope to which the ruptured path belonged. If this were so, the whole Carthaginian armament must have been for three days and nights above the snow-line, and a portion of it, including the elephants, for a longer period: it fairly raises the question, whether the old snow of Polybius

was an accidental patch or the general covering of the pass.

Can there be doubt on such a question? The phenomenon of old snow under new snow is noted by Polybius, not in the path of descent, not where they found the path to be broken away, but only in that place by which Hannibal tried to get round the broken path. It is there that he gives a minute description of incidents dangerous to men and cattle, caused by the soft fresh snow melting under their tread, and having beneath it the hard old snow. By these incidents the hope was frustrated of circumventing that obstruction to the march, the extent of which is defined. The phenomenon was purely local; and, when Hannibal was compelled to desist from his experiment, he encamped. This encamping was not impeded by old snow under new snow: he cleared his ground without difficulty, because that singular embarrassment did not interfere with this proceeding, which only required the removal of snow lately fallen. We observe also that on the next day, when the road was sufficiently repaired for all but the elephants, the camp was shifted to a part beyond the 300 yards of injury, which had escaped the snows altogether—*περὶ τοὺς ἐκφεύγοντας ἤδη τὴν χιόνα τόπους*.\* Polybius says that, straightway carrying those through, *εὐθέως διαγαγόν* (that is, all but the elephants), and encamping on those places, Hannibal sent them away to the pastures: he then set the Numidians, by relays, to the construction of the road.

It seems that the account of this obstruction to the march, so related in the history, did not reconcile Dr. Arnold to the

\* The Oxford Dissertation gives this translation, p. 224: "when these were immediately led down to the plains which were free from snow, and sent to pasture." The freedom from snow is predicated by Polybius, not of the pastures, but of the scene of encampment.

idea of a chasm holding the accumulated snow: and it is true that, however strongly suggested, no Greek word is employed, which represents the particular thing. But is there any other explanation, consistent with the history? Dr. Arnold for himself gives this statement. Hist. iii. c. 43: "At last, they came to a place, where an avalanche had carried away the track altogether for about three hundred yards, leaving the mountain side a mere wreck of scattered rocks and snow. To go round was impossible: for the depth of snow on the heights above rendered it hopeless to scale them. Nothing therefore was left but to repair the road."

According to this statement, no attempt to go round was made; and, if it had been made, it would have been by scaling the heights above. Now Polybius relates that an attempt was made: he gives a most particular description of the attempt, with the causes of its failure: and it is quite clear to me, that the attempt was made, not by the heights above, which would have been a change from bad to worse, but by the hollow beneath. This was found impracticable, because a thing had happened there, namely, the fresh snow with the last year's snow under it, which was *ἴδιον καὶ παρηλλαγμένον*; proper to the spot, and unusual in its degree. This circumstance is stated as the reason for desisting from the attempt: it could not be *ἴδιον*, if all surrounding parts had been above the snow-line; it would then have been the permanent and usual predicament of the mountain. The description, together with the facts, is only intelligible, as of snow abiding in a hollow chasm between mountains. The encampment of the first day, the new encampment of the second day, and every incident of the story is inconsistent with the notion that this mountain was within the limit of perpetual snow; and compels us to see that the old snow of Polybius was precisely that which lingers through the summer in a sunless ravine. Such is the trough of the Baltea torrent at a short distance



below La Tuile : and from time to time, in these our days, the place continues to tell its own tale.

*Dr. Arnold on the Salassi.*

The non-resistance of this people contributed to make Dr. Arnold incredulous of the Little St. Bernard. He says, p. 90 : " After the two days' rest the descent began. Hannibal experienced no more open hostility from the barbarians, " only some petty attempts here and there to plunder : a fact " strange in itself, but doubly so, if he was really descending " the valley of the Doria Baltea, through the country of the " Salassi, the most untameable robbers of all the Alpine bar- " barians." In the note M. we read : " The Salassians of that " valley were such untameable robbers, that they once even " plundered Cæsar's baggage, and Augustus at last extirpated " them by wholesale. And yet Hannibal on the Italian side " of the main chain sustains little or no annoyance." Dr. Arnold might safely have credited this freedom from annoy- ance in the Val d'Aosta. Strabo, indeed, reports the plunder of Cæsar's baggage by the Salassi. This people held out bravely against the domination of Rome. Why should they at any time have been unwilling witnesses of the advance of an enemy to Rome? Some Gauls on the outer side, and Inalpine nations whose country was invaded, had been hostile to this strange force, having no sympathy with, and not comprehending the object of the expedition. But in the valley of the Doria Hannibal found himself in what may be called the great Gaulish duct into Italy. Niebuhr, speaking from a quotation of Cato by Pliny, classes the Salassi among those who composed the great irruption of Gauls through the Alps ; and supposes them to have re- mained in those mountains and mountain valleys when others advanced through the last barrier onward to the plain.\*

\* Translation. Hare and Thirlwall, ii. 335.

Why should not the masters of that valley, though fierce and given to plunder as mountaineers, have sympathised with rather than counteracted the designs of their brethren in the plain? Some plunder might be made by individuals ; but all probability is in favour of the Salassi being as a nation friendly to the Carthaginian invasion. The passage of Strabo that we are referred to, telling the last struggle for independence made by their descendants against the tyranny of Augustus, leads us to believe that they would at any time be inclined to the Gaulish confederacies against Rome, and, at the time we speak of, to that which was ripened under the auspices of Hannibal.

CHAPTER IV.

*On Passes between Little St. Bernard and the Cenis.  
Brockedon. Albanis Beaumont.*

WHEN Dr. Arnold expressed his disbelief of the speed which he understood to belong to the descent as told by Polybius, he was waiting to learn, whether by further ascending the Isère beyond Scez, there might not be found some track through the chain of Alps, not quite so far northward as that of the Little St. Bernard, and by which the march would be shorter from the summit to the plain. In the same note he proceeds to say : " I have often wished to examine " the pass, which goes to the actual head of the Isère, by " Mont Isèran, and descends by Usseglio,\* not exactly on " Turin, but nearly at Chivasso, where the Po, from running

\* Usseglio here is a mistake : this place is on the Chiara above Viu.



"N. and S., turns to run E. and W." This accords with what he had said in July, 1830: "The Little St. Bernard is not at the source of the Isère, but some miles below it. If Cramer's statement fail anywhere, I have always imagined that it was here, and that the army might possibly have followed the Isère higher up than he imagines, and descended into a valley which would take them more directly down upon Turin. The passes between the Little St. Bernard and Mont Cenis are almost the only points which I believe have not been examined."—*Stanley's Life*, letter 18.

That note may have been written long before the history to which it is appended. The curiosity expressed concerning intermediate tracks was reasonable, especially in one who had a distrust of the pretensions of the Little St. Bernard. That curiosity would have been satisfied with information given in *Blackwood's Magazine* of January, March, April, May, and August, 1836, as "Extracts from the Journals of an Alpine Traveller." That traveller was Mr. Brockedon, one who, as a resolute and persevering explorer of Alpine tracks, had no equal. I heard of his death when I was at Aix in 1854: and deeply did I, with many, deplore his loss: he was a man as much respected for his talents and varied attainments, as he was beloved for his amiable and friendly nature. I am not aware that the instruction contained in those extracts is to be found in any of the works published with his name. Many passes over the main chain are there explained, between the Little St. Bernard and the Mont Cenis: and that which is particularly pointed to by Dr. Arnold, as going by the actual head of the Isère, receives an ample notice, such as, if read, would have erased that pass, the Galèse, from the list of possibles, to Dr. Arnold's mind.

There are many passes into Piémont, both from the valley of the Isère above Scez, and from the valley of the Arc above Lanslebourg. From the former, there are the Col du Mont,

known to Mr. Brockedon, and the Col de Clou, both carrying you into the Val Grisanche, down which you come into the Val d'Aosta at Livrogne: the summits of these two passes are at about the level of the snow-line. Higher up the Isère, you may turn over the Col de Réme, from whence the Val Remy takes you into the Val d'Aosta at Villeneuve. Pursuing the Isère to his source, and ascending his glacier, you come to a difficult and dangerous pass, by which you arrive at the sources of the Orco, whose courses will bring you by Courgne to Chivasso. This is called the Galèse: Mr. Brockedon knew it well: that glacier lay before him, when he turned from La Val to cross the Mont Isèran, which stands on the Savoy side, having at its south-eastern base the early stream of the Arc. On the Piémont side, he was more than once at the same point near the source of the Orco: on one occasion he returned, and went north from Ponte, walking over the Col de Reale and the Fenêtre de Cogne to Aosta: on another, after surveying Mont Isèran and the surrounding peaks from the crest of the ridge, he proceeded some way down the glacier itself; and returning, not quite to Ceresol, went over the Mont de Nivolet and by the Val Savaranche to Villeneuve. If the summit of that Isère pass approaches, as we are told, 11,000 feet, and the details of difficulty deserve the credit which I fully give to them, we may rest assured, that the crags of the Galèse would fatally arrest the progress of a company of infantry, even with the amplest supplies, and the fullest exemption from human hostility. No armament will ever rest on that backbone of ice.

The passes of the main chain from the Arc above Lanslebourg I believe to be five: of these, the three more southern courses, the Col du Lautaret (called by some L'Autaret), the Col d'Arnas and the Col du Colarin, are mentioned in the Extracts I have spoken of: one higher up I see in the maps as Col d'Insea: and the highest of all, Col Girard, is sanc-

tioned by the authority of Mr. Brockedon in "Selections from the Diary of a Traveller in the Alps," given in *Fraser's Magazine* for February, 1839. The most southerly of all these, in his Journal of January, 1836, before mentioned, Mr. Brockedon has given an account of as explored by himself; the Col du Lautaret. For reaching this pass, as well as that by the Col d'Arnas (which is far more difficult), you turn from the valley of the Arc at Bessans, a place about half-way between Lanslebourg and Bonreval, which is at the foot of the ascent of Mont Isèran. These two passes send you into one track on the Piémont side, near the sources of the Chiara, which runs by Usseglio and Viu into the Stura above Lanzo. The next track, by the Col du Colarin, also leaves the Arc at Bessans, and carries you over to the source of one chief tributent to the Stura, and down the valley of Ala to Lanzo. Higher up the Arc, from Vellet according to Raymond's map, a pass over the Col d'Insea takes you to another source of the Stura, and down the Val Forno to Lanzo. And at the very glacier of the Arc there is a pass, called by Mr. Brockedon Col Girard, which joins the one last mentioned in that same valley at Gros Cavallo.

It must be by the Col du Lautaret, the easiest of all these, that a well-known writer, M. Albanis Beaumont, has stated, as his opinion, that the Carthaginians effected the invasion of Italy. In his "Description des Alpes Grecques et Cottiennes," iii. 632, giving account of diverging tracks in the Arc valley, and having said, "une branche pénétroit dans le pays des Centrôns," he proceeds thus: "L'autre se dirigeoit vers Lans-le-Bourg, Lans-le-Villard, et Bessan; là elle commençoit à s'élever au-dessus de la chaîne primitive des Alpes, qu'elle traversoit et venoit aboutir dans la vallée de Viu en Piémont, et ensuite à Turin: cette voie, qui n'est guère connue maintenant que par les contrebandiers, m'a parue, lorsque je l'ai parcouru en 1782, avoir été celle

"qu'avoit dû suivre Annibal pour pénétrer dans les plaines de Lombardie. La situation topographique de cette même voie, sa direction, la distance du sommet de cette chaîne de montagnes des vastes plaines de la Lombardie, un peu avant d'arriver à Roche-Melon, semblent venir à l'appui de ma supposition. Comme aucun historien n'a encore, à ma connaissance, fait mention de ce passage, il servit à désirer que ceux qui s'occupent de ces sortes de recherches, visitassent cette partie des Alpes, ce qui ne sauroit que tourner à l'avantage de l'histoire, et jeter des nouvelles lumières sur un sujet qui a occupé jusqu'à présent plusieurs hommes de lettres très distingués."

As M. Beaumont thought it so desirable that some one should help us to a knowledge of this pass, and regretted that nobody had done so, we also may regret that he has said nothing about it himself, beyond the fact that he traversed it. He could not have taught us less if he had stayed at home. The curious thing is, that he should have offered to us both the propositions: 1, that he crossed the pass himself; 2, that he thought it to be the pass of Hannibal. It is not easy to accept them both.

The detailed account which Mr. Brockedon gives of his journey over the Lautaret is most interesting and amusing. For the subject of our speculations, the Carthaginian march, this pass would be about as improbable as that of the Galèse: perhaps not quite; there is a story of its having once been crossed by a patrol of French soldiers; and we know for certain that it has been traversed by a mule, which is a thing that could hardly happen to the Galèse. One who takes interest in Alpine things, will be amply repaid for a careful attention to those pages of Mr. Brockedon which I have mentioned. It is the number for January, 1836, in which you may study the exploit of Garinot, Trag, and the mule, over the crevasse on the Lautaret: let any one tax his

imagination for bringing upon that scene 30,000 men and a troop of elephants, and weigh well, how far this route may pretend to an improved accordance with the postulates of Polybius.

I have taken this opportunity of pointing out the many ways, practised by natives and open to pedestrians over the great Alpine barrier, between the well-known passes of the Little St. Bernard and the Mont Cenis: and what I have adduced rests upon safe authority. These two ways have supplied theories for our question: not so, any which are between them. If Hannibal came up the Isère to Bourg St. Maurice, he took for his onward course that which alone is known to history. The course over the Graian Alp is the recorded line from the Po to the Isère in the war against Anthony: it was confirmed by the erection of a military way under the empire: it is commemorated as a way to Lyons by the geographer Strabo: and it is commended by the great historian of the Alps, De Saussure, as the easiest pass of all through the chain of those mountains. From the Mediterranean to the Adriatic there is no pass of Alps, where by so short and practicable a mountain line you move from one very fertile valley to another.

N.B. Though the Alps only are my proper subject, I hope to be excused, if I shall add, in an appendix, a few comments concerning the first movements made by Hannibal against the Romans, being the sequel of the great enterprise which we commemorate. For these also are distorted with doubt: and unhappily I am driven to differ from the best friends of our cause.

Of the many works written for contesting the question of the Alpine track, there are but two, in which the line that I follow has been maintained: the work of De Luc and the Oxford Dissertation. In that question our agreement is

substantially unbroken. And yet, on the first conflict with a Roman army, Cramer differs from De Luc; and I am compelled to differ from both. Among the most celebrated men of our times, there is but one, who has positively sanctioned the Passage of Alps which is supported by us; the renowned Niebuhr. But in the early progress down the plain, I find occasion to dissent from his statements.

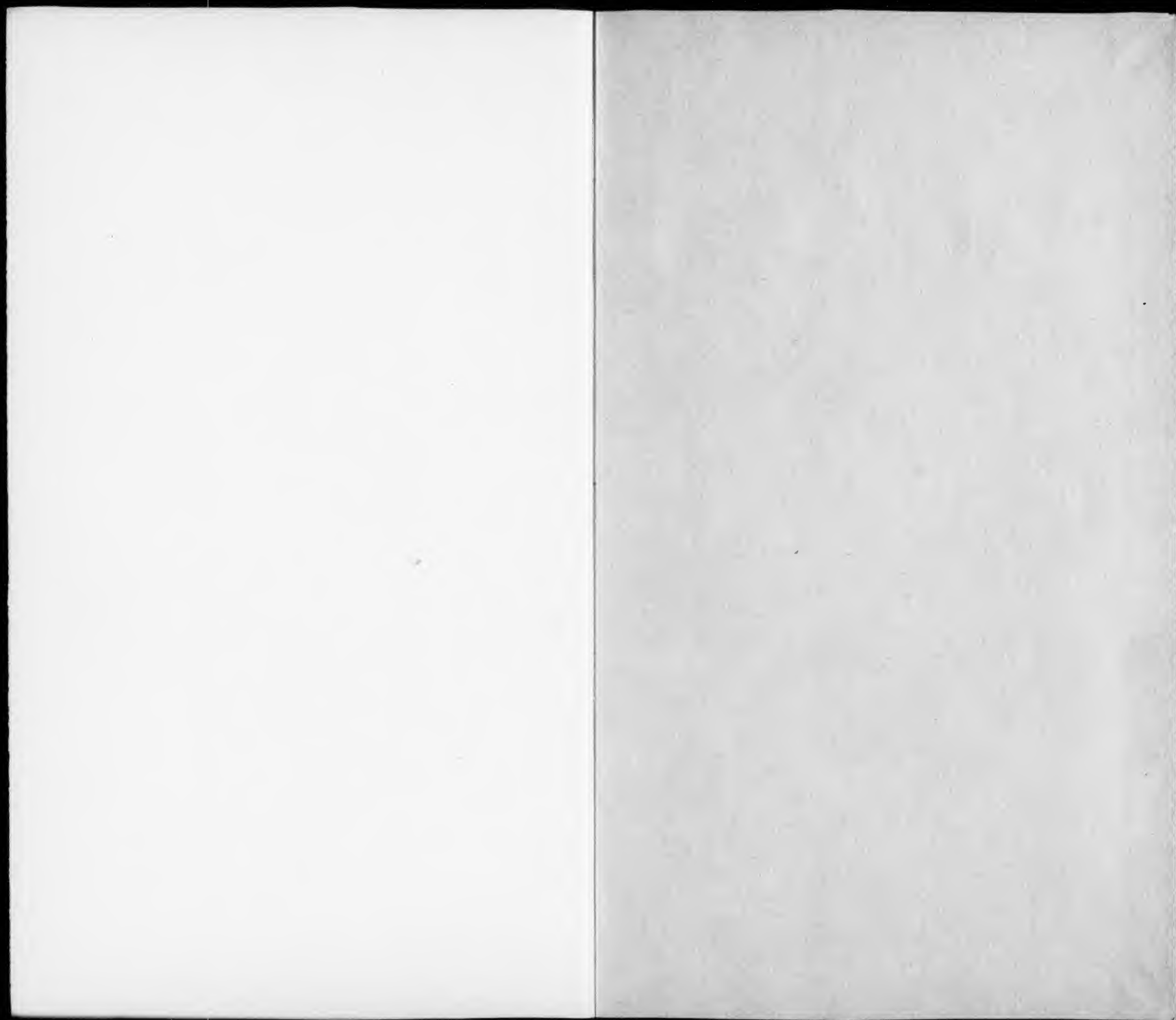
Thus I shall be tempted to transgress my proper subject: but it will be only so far as the Ticinus and the Trebia.

END OF VOL. I.

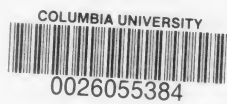
LONDON  
R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,  
BREAD STREET HILL.

h





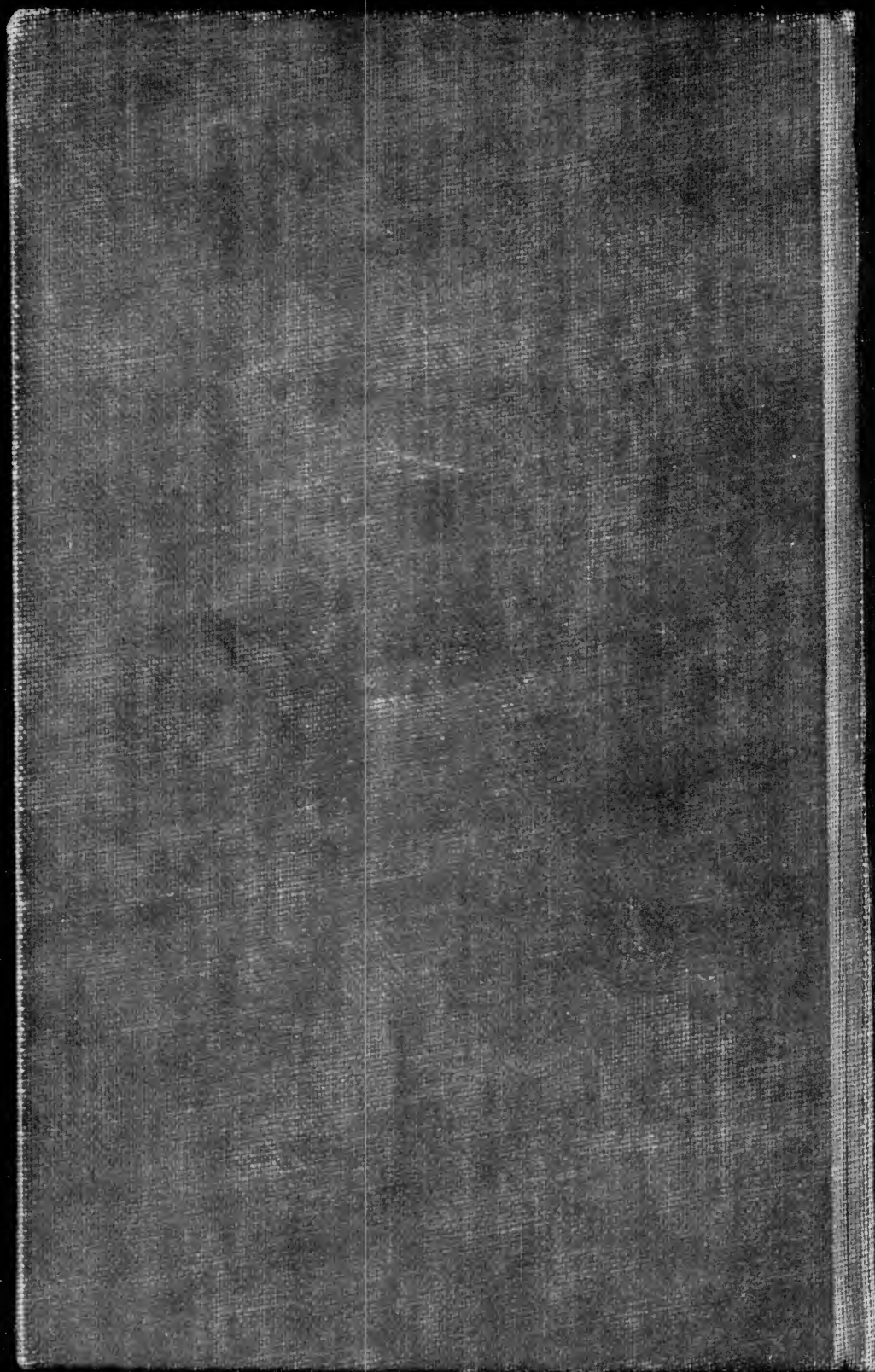
874.04  
L414  
v. 1



09798021

MAY 31 1957

JUN 7 1944



# VOLUME 2

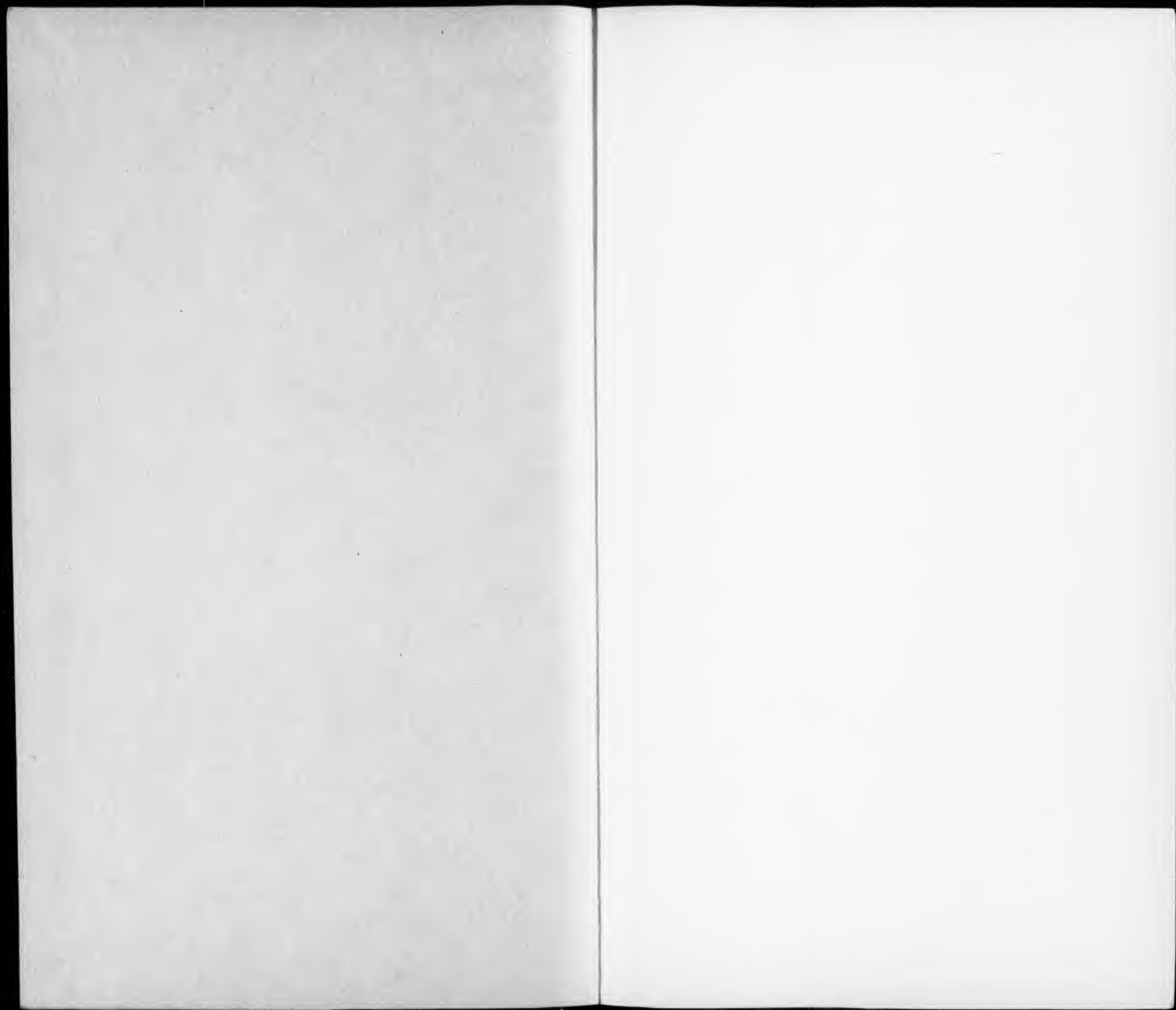




2  
Columbia University  
in the City of New York

THE LIBRARIES





THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



THE ALPS  
OF  
HANNIBAL.

BY  
WILLIAM JOHN LAW, M.A.  
FORMERLY STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH,  
OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.  
VOL. II.

London:  
MACMILLAN AND CO.  
1866.

*[The Right of Translation and Reproduction is reserved.]*

874.04  
L414  
V.2

LONDON :  
R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS,  
BREAD STREET HILL.

58982

## CONTENTS OF VOLUME SECOND.

### PART VIII.

#### KNOWLEDGE OF THE ALPS IN EARLY TIMES.

	PAGE
CHAP. I.—Strabo on the Alps. His allusion to Polybius and Hannibal. Doubtful that he wrote the three words. Improbable that the four Passes were named by Polybius. Errors of M. Letronne . . . . .	1
CHAP. II.—The Salassian hyperbasis of Strabo . . . . .	13
CHAP. III.—The Taurinian hyperbasis of Strabo, being also the Medullian of Mr. Ellis.—On the Medulli of the <i>Dictionary of Geography</i> , 1856 . . . . .	16
CHAP. IV.—Polybius knew no Taurinian hyperbasis. The Po of Polybius . . . . .	28
CHAP. V.—The Po and the Doria of Strabo: Lib. IV. p. 203 . . . . .	35
CHAP. VI.—The Po and Doria of Strabo: Lib. V. p. 217 . . . .	44
CHAP. VII.—Mr. Ellis on the early use of the Little Mont Cenis. His appeal to Ammianus Marcellinus . . . . .	52

158967



CHAP. VIII.—Mr. Ellis on the Little Mont Cenis. His appeal to the Peutingerian Table . . . . .	PAGE 57
--	------------

CHAP. IX.—Mr. Ellis on the Mont Cenis. His appeal to Cæsar's march from the Inner to the Outer Province . . .	76
---	----

## PART IX.

## INTERPRETATION OF LIVY.

CHAP. I.—Introduction. Passage of the Rhone. March to the Island. Livy's hypothesis on the Pass. Usually interpreted as the Genève, latterly as the Cenis. Tenets of the Cenisians on the Island and the Allobroges. Larauza. Ukert. Ellis . . . . .	101
--	-----

CHAP. II.—March from the Isère. The turn to the left, a fact variously dealt with, by numerous translators. I believe that the text wants no mending for telling the author's meaning . . . . .	116
---	-----

CHAP. III.—The march continued. Tricastini. Vocontii. Tricorii. D'Anville and Letronne are both right in thinking that Livy, in naming these peoples, intended an ascent by Briançon to the Genève. But each commits great mistake in his mode of reaching that town . . . . .	126
--	-----

CHAP. IV.—Druentia is the Durance. According to Mr. Whitaker it is the Arve. According to Mr. Tytler, it is the Dranse. According to the three Cenisians, it is the Drac . . . . .	135
--	-----

CHAP. V.—The Durance being conclusive of the Genève, identity of tracks is disproved. Livy diverged from Polybius at the Isère; thence to the first Alps there is utter dissonance both in incidents and topography. In the Alps Livy copies incidents from Polybius: topography there is none. Ascent. Summit, where Mr. Ellis attempts conciliation. Descent. Livy's own argument will belong to the ulterior question of preference . . . . .	144
--	-----

## PART X.

## TWO PECULIAR THEORIES.

CHAP. I.—1. Theory of M. le Comte de Fortia D'Urban, whose route never tends to the Isère . . . . .	PAGE 157
---	-------------

CHAP. II.—Of M. Replat. This work, having been controverted by me in a pamphlet, written at Aix-les-Bains, in August, 1854, and republished in London in 1855, will be shortly adverted to, but to give it again at length, would be superfluous . . . . .	162
--	-----

## PART XI.

## CONCILIATION FAILS. QUESTION OF PREFERENCE.

CHAP. I.—We must select between the two historians. Their general reputation. Polybius had better access to facts. Livy's facts bear against his hypothesis. We learn from him that the prevailing belief was in a descent by the valley of Aosta; and that an early writer of celebrity had named the Pass of Crenio. He avoids to name Polybius . . . . .	167
---	-----

CHAP. II.—Livy founds his hypothesis on the words of Cincius, inferring that the Taurini lay in the line of Hannibal's march to the Cisalpine Gauls. The inference is unsound. Salassi. Libui. Explanation by Gibbon. Version of Ukert. Version of Ellis. On the notion of placing Turin in the line of march . . . . .	181
---	-----

CHAP. III.—No writer prior to Livy favours his hypothesis. We find some evidence in Sallust and Cornelius Nepos, tending in favour of the Little St. Bernard. Writers after Livy give no light. Silius Italicus. Pliny. Appian. Ammianus Marcellinus . . . . .	198
--	-----

## PART XII.

## CAUSE OF DOUBT. CONCLUSION.

	PAGE
CHAP. I.—Doubt has come through neglect of Polybius. D'Anville failed, in ignorance of Polybius. Gibbon failed, in deference to D'Anville. Niebuhr did not fail. Melville had unveiled the Truth: and De Luc had proclaimed it, adding fresh light . . . . .	211
CHAP. II.—Arnold recognised the Truth: and might have extinguished Doubt. Not giving to Polybius the credit of showing him the Truth, he blamed him where he should have commended him. Conclusion . . . . .	220

## APPENDIX.

Narrative of Polybius translated . . . . .	253
Narrative of Livy translated . . . . .	277
Comments on doubts entertained concerning Hannibal's first conflict with the Romans in Italy.	
1. The Encounter on the Po . . . . .	299
2. The Battle of the Trebia . . . . .	303
TABULA PEUTINGERIANA . . . . .	To face page 57

## ERRATA.

- Page 17, line 25, for "could" read "could not."  
 ,, 133, ,, 35, for "Durentius" read "Druentius."  
 ,, 176, ,, 15, for "of the summit" read "the summit."  
 ,, 191, ,, 6, for "Walckenner" read "Walckenaer."

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

## PART VIII.

## KNOWLEDGE OF THE ALPS IN EARLY TIMES.

## CHAPTER I.

*Strabo on the Alps. His allusion to Polybius and Hannibal. Doubtful that he wrote the three words. Improbable that the four Passes were named by Polybius. Errors of M. Letronne.*

HAVING done what I can to interpret Polybius, I find myself called upon to touch some subjects which others have resorted to in interpreting him. I postpone, therefore, for a while the examination of Livy.

One would have desired that, for this interpretation, it might not be necessary to explore the topography of Strabo, to dissect the narrative of Caesar, to notice so late a writer as Ammianus Marcellinus, or to contemplate that curiosity, nearly contemporary with him, the Chart or Table of Peutinger. But the task cannot be avoided: it is not enough to answer argument: we must meet the influence of learned men, attending them where they call us, though they may bring into their service things which hardly belong to the subject. On whatever topics our laborious and dexterous adversaries

have exhausted their efforts of invention, we must grapple with them; and some inquiry into the early knowledge of the Romans on Alpine passes may aid us in exposing the errors of prevailing theories.

*Strabo on the Alps.*

Many commentators rely on Strabo, not as being himself an authority on Hannibal, but as an interpreter of the views of Polybius. M. Letronne says gravely, "La géographie de Polybe étoit la source unique où il puisoit ce qu'il rapporte des Alpes." We may not find elsewhere a proposition quite so rash as this; but the learned Ukert, the zealous Larauza, with other French and English critics,—in short, every theorist who favours the Cenis, the Genève, or the Viso,—all rejoice in the aid of Strabo as guiding them to the meaning of Polybius. We, then, who repudiate their theories, are compelled to investigate the worth of the evidence.

In his account of Gaul, in the fourth book, Strabo treats the Alps as a distinct subject of inquiry. He notices tracks by which they had been surmounted, and clearly recognises some as leading into Gaul. In speaking of the first conquests made by the Romans beyond the Alps, in a warfare of many years along the coast, he indicates a maritime pass: in the route which he describes from the Rhone, through Briançon, over the crest of Alps, to the boundary of the Cisalpine province, he designates the Genève pass; and he points out, in the most explicit terms, the passes of the Great and Little St. Bernard as two ways that lead to Lyons. In his notice of the chain of Alps eastward, and the nations that belong to them, his words do not identify any particular pass until he names the extreme Oera, the pass of the Carnic Alps, which led from Aquileia to Nauportus; but he certainly apprehended passages through the mountains into the Grisons and the Tyrol.

*His allusion to Polybius.*

Towards the end of the book there are allusions to Polybius. Strabo refers to him on the elk, the gold in Noricum, and the comparative magnitude of the Alps and the mountains of Greece. We then read these words:—*Τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον· διὰ Λιγύων μὲν, τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν· εἶτα τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν· τετάρτην δὲ διὰ Ραιτῶν· ἀπάσας κρημνώδεις*, p. 209. "He names four passes only: "that through the Ligyes, being the nearest to the Tyrrhenian Sea; then that through the Taurini, which Hannibal went through; then that through the Salassi; and the fourth "through the Rhaeti: all precipitous."

This sentence has attracted notice: not, as it might have done, for a question on the Rhaetian pass, but by the mention of Hannibal. It is pressed by some as important, and slighted by others as unimportant. The patron of a Taurine pass is ready to adopt conclusively the three words *ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν*, as an interpretation of Polybius by one who was sure to understand him. Now, I conceive that Strabo was by no means sure to understand him; and others who have before them the details of Polybius himself on Hannibal's march, claim the right of interpreting him for themselves: they ought to be more capable of doing this rightly, inasmuch as there is now ample knowledge of Alpine passes such as no man in Strabo's time had attained, or had the means of attaining.

Whatever may be deemed the value of the three words touching the passage of Hannibal, it is not clear that Strabo ever wrote them. There is a manuscript of high value, lately examined by the learned Gustavus Kramer, *Epitome Vaticana* No. 482, in which the words *ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν* do not appear: he examined every letter of this manuscript; he

ranks it among those "quorum maxima est auctoritas," and pronounces it "quantivis pretii." Præfat. pp. xliii. lxxxix. Further, if the three words are genuine, it is quite possible that Strabo placed them after *Σαλασσῶν*, and that they have been shifted into their present position after *Ταυρίνων*. Those, therefore, who have so greedily seized the three words for identifying the track of Hannibal with a track through Cottian Alps, are threatened with these casualties:—1. That the words have been shifted by some careless or officious copier into a wrong place; 2. That in Strabo's own edition they had no place at all. I will not rest on either contingency as dissuading from inquiry. If Strabo had expressed his opinion on Polybius in the most unequivocal manner, we are not bound by it when we find it unsound, on a deliberate study of the original narrative. It is best, however, to face all objections; and to take the text as it stands in the printed editions. One preliminary observation is requisite: that the phrase *διὰ Ταυρίνων* does not imply that the mountain pass was in the Taurini; but that, in making your way to the Cisalpine province in those Alps, you must go through the Taurini: in the same manner Strabo calls the two more northern passes *ὑπερβάσεις διὰ Σαλασσῶν*, because, to reach them, it was necessary to travel through the Salassi.

The Oxford Dissertation insists that the words are Strabo's own words: and by the logic of the sentence they are so. Others have expressed the same idea, saying that the words are a parenthetical comment or gloss of Strabo. Such remarks, however, do not deprive the sentence of importance: as it stands, it exhibits four passes as having been named by Polybius; and Strabo would hardly append to one of them the notice of Hannibal, if he did not imagine Polybius to concur upon the fact so introduced. He might himself be under the impression erroneously: he might, like others, assume the fact for no better reason than that the first operation in Italy told

by Polybius was against the Taurini: still, if his words, taken altogether, make it probable that he wrote under that impression, they claim attention. The inquiries, to which such a subject leads us, will be found also not uninteresting in themselves.

Those who assent to the leading facts of Polybius's narrative, and take pains in drawing a conclusion from them, may be indifferent to a construction made by the later writer: they will rely on the historian as his own interpreter. But, if any are inclined to submit their judgments to the three words as presented, let them advert to questions which fairly offer themselves. Is Strabo safely to be relied on, when he quotes an earlier author? For instance, is he justified, when, in his fourth book, he appeals to Caesar's Commentaries, as giving the same descriptions as himself of Aquitani, Celtæ, and Belgæ? Is Hannibal's line through the mountains a subject that interested him, so as to engage his attention, and produce accuracy? Was Polybius likely to speak of *ὑπερβάσεις διὰ Σαλασσῶν*, or *διὰ Ταυρίνων*, or of any *ὑπερβάσεις* at all?

*Hannibal's Route did not interest Strabo.*

If there was reason to suppose that Strabo would care for the Alps of Hannibal, it would be more likely that he should be accurate in the allusion to Polybius: if it did not interest him, he might, without scrutiny, adopt an hypothesis which was entertained by his contemporary Livy. There is not in all Strabo's works an allusion to the Carthaginian march from Spain to Italy, unless it be in those three words *ἣν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν*. He had abundant opportunity of noticing the expedition in its earlier stages. He has been exhibiting the geography of Valentia, Catalonia, the Pyrenees, Outer Gaul, and the regions of the Rhone, the approaches to the Alps, and portions of the Alps themselves. Nevertheless, the Carthaginian invasion is nowhere alluded to by Strabo till it reaches

the confines of Etruria, unless it be in those three words. He describes particularly the route from Spain to this very pass, the Mont Genève, but with no note of Hannibal. It was his habit to illustrate geography by ascertained features of history, as in the case of the Salassian valley; and he often alludes to the later operations of Hannibal in the regions nearer to Rome. It seems, therefore, that if he had cared for the question on the Pass, and himself studied the route of the invaders, he would have annexed to his own description, whether of a Taurinian or of a Salassian hyperbasis, some commemoration of the great exploit. This is unquestionable: that, if the words *ἦν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν*, which appear in this list of four passes, should be shifted from one of those passes and attached to another, there is not a thought in Strabo's works that would be offended by the exchange.

*Reasons against Polybius having authorized those names of Passes.*

We do not find any of Strabo's nominations of passes in the extant writings of Polybius. Rhæti are not mentioned at all. Salassi are not mentioned at all. Ligurians are called *Λιγυστινοί*, not *Λίγυες*; and Taurini are not connected with a pass. If Polybius had been prepared to speak of a Salassian, a Taurinian, or a Ligurian pass, there were opportunities for doing so in those parts of his works which survive to us. He tells of the early invasions of Northern Italy by the Gauls, and of their irruption before the second Punic war: they made their way through the valley of Aosta; he might therefore have introduced them *διὰ Σαλασσῶν*. He details the invasion of Hannibal, and might have introduced him *διὰ Σαλασσῶν*: or, if he apprehended the invasion to be by the pass which Strabo calls *διὰ Ταυρίνων*, he had every provocation to name it. But, on the contrary, he completes his narrative of the passage through the Alps; he launches

Hannibal into the plain and the nation of Insubres; describes his encampment; and, when the army is restored to health and fit for service, relates how he turned his arms against the Taurini, who were at war with his friends, the Insubres: then only do we find a notice of that people. As to a pass *διὰ Λιγύων*, this also he had full opportunity to speak of. Throughout his life the Romans were working to bring their schemes along the coast to maturity: he records their first enterprise beyond the boundary of Italy, when the consul Opimius invaded the country of the Oxybii, beyond Nice and Antipolis. He marched *διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὁρῶν*: not a word of a pass *διὰ Λιγύων*.

If these expressions were truly imputed to Polybius, we might fairly expect to meet with them: his second book exhibits a geographical description of Italy, the plains of Italy, the great river of Italy, the seas of Italy, the mountains of Italy; and, if he had recognised by those titles four entrances through the great barrier, he might have added such information to the rest. There is not a word which gives countenance to these names of passes; and the words of Strabo, in which he seems to assume that those which he recognised himself had been similarly recognised by Polybius, are not to deter us from weighing the probabilities that this historian ever designated those things as *ὑπερβάσεις διὰ Λιγύων, διὰ Ταυρίνων, διὰ Σαλασσῶν, διὰ Παιτῶν*.

Though I find no reason to suppose that Polybius ever gave expression to any one of these *ὑπερβάσεις*, I need not dwell on the first and last of them: they are not involved in our inquiry, like the other two. The routes through Salassi and Taurini are closely concerned with our controversy, and these I propose to consider more deliberately. I have against me an ample list of critics, ending with Mr. Ellis, who have professed obedience to the words of Strabo. But M. Letronne has gone beyond the rest, by discussing the value of the



sentence; and I will advert to his doctrines before I proceed further.

*Errors of M. Letronne.*

This eminent man, the first assailant of De Luc, has thus expressed himself: "Ce passage contient non seulement la pensée de Polybe, mais jusqu'à ses expressions" . . . "dans tout ce qui précède et ce qui suit, Strabon ne fait que rapporter les opinions et les propres paroles de Polybe;—que Strabon suit sans restriction pour tout ce qui concerne les Alpes." Again: "La géographie de cet historien, ou plutôt la partie de son histoire qui traite de la géographie, étoit la source unique où il puisoit ce qu'il rapporte des Alpes;" and further: "l'ouvrage de Polybe son unique guide."\*

These propositions are one and all erroneous. Most of what Strabo says concerning the Alps is drawn from events which arose after the death of Polybius: he by no means follows him, and I doubt that in any instance he adopts his expressions. The Alpine matters drawn from Polybius are few and easily told: Strabo refers to him on the fact that the elk is found in the Alps; he refers to him on the superiority of the Alps to the mountains of Greece and Thrace, adding the sentence on the passes now under discussion; and he refers to him on the Alpine lakes, naming and describing the three large lakes of Italy,—Benacus, Verbanus, Larius,—and the rivers issuing from them. This is all. And, as Strabo throughout his work is from time to time citing Polybius as his authority for facts, we are not to presume that he has that authority where he does not adduce it. Indeed, if we search for other things on the Alps that could have been derived from Polybius, though not so alleged, we find very little, and may be the more surprised with M. Letronne's proposition, that one followed the other "pour tout ce qui concerne les Alpes."

\* Journal des Savans. Janvier et Decembre, 1819.

So far as the Alps had been connected with Roman events, they were likely to be noticed by Polybius. But the scope of this connexion was very limited. The Romans in his day were just beginning to feel their way towards either extremity of the great chain that severed them from the rest of Europe. The entire central range was unvisited by them. The eastern Alps were approached in the unauthorised and fruitless attempt of Cassius Longinus, in 171 B.C., and Strabo's appeal to Polybius on the gold mines near Aquileia, and the salt springs at Timavum, might lead to the conjecture that the historian had himself made the land journey between Italy and Greece. The first advance of the Romans along the Mediterranean coast took place while Polybius was an exile in Italy; the movement in aid of the Massilians against the Oxybii and Deciatæ, tribes in the neighbourhood of Frejus. Strabo refers to him on the existence of those peoples. Twenty-nine years elapsed before such an effort was repeated.

How small then at that period was the knowledge of Alps arising out of Roman transactions! If we look to all prior history of the great natural rampart, the only operations which had been recorded were in the passage of Hercules; the irruptions of the Gauls; and the invasion of Hannibal. On the passage of Hercules Strabo says nothing: on the Gaulish invasions through the Alps nothing: on Hannibal's pass the three words which produce this discussion. And never does he allude to Polybius as the historian of Hannibal, unless you suppose him to do so in those three words.

Strabo himself abounds in matter connected with the Alps, especially with the outer side of them: but it is not derived from Polybius. I believe that the only fact on the Transalpine cited on his authority is the fact of the Rhone having two mouths. The Romans in the time of Polybius had little

acquaintance with those regions: the agents of their intrigues were hardly as yet moving in the interior of Gaul when he made his journey through the Alps: their communication was through Marseille by sea. They gained no footing in Gaul till after his death. In his time, what they knew, he knew. They may have heard of the lake of Geneva: but there is no evidence that they had, or that he had. As to the other Swiss lakes, there is strong reason to think that he did not know them. When Strabo tells the peculiarities of the Rhone and its great lake, and names the nations bordering on the Rhine and its great lake, he makes no reference to Polybius. He rather shews that Polybius had never mentioned these things: for he does say that Polybius had spoken of Alpine lakes, and that three were large ones: he names them, and they are all Italian. Polybius acknowledged the obscurity of those regions. When he opens his narrative of the march from the Pyrenees, he announces that he shall not attempt to express names belonging to countries so unknown. Accordingly we do not meet with the name of any town visited by the invaders between Spain and Italy, and only of one people. Names begin when mountains end.

Thus trifling in fact is the amount of Alpine matter that Strabo did or could draw from Polybius. The history of conquest brought geography along with it: Strabo's memoranda on the Alps were drawn from later events. His notices of southern Gaul are founded on the performances of Fulvius, Sextius, Domitius, Fabius, Marius: and his details of the passes are Roman details. Before he came to write on the passes, they had been traversed by Pompey, Cæsar, D. Brutus, Augustus, Tiberius, Drusus. Some exploits he had heard of: not all. Every anecdote which he brings forward, excepting in those three words, concerns some event which was after the death of Polybius. In the route from Spain to the Cottian pass he names places and distances. But he stops

much short of the plains; and introduces no anecdote or historical matter whatever.

How then does M. Letronne trace Polybius throughout the Alps of Strabo? How persuade himself that the mass of Strabo's materials was derived from that early source? Strabo's information came from Roman intercourse with the Alps, which in the days of Polybius had not begun. M. Letronne has no facts for his hypothesis: and where there are facts, he is not observant of them. Strabo, where he might refer to Polybius, is not always inclined to follow him. Polybius, ii. 14, says that the Alps begin near Marseille: Strabo, iv. 201, 210, makes them to begin near Genoa or Vado. Polybius, iii. 47, says that the fountains of the Rhone face westward, and that the course of the river is to south-west: Strabo, iv. 186, says that the first course of the Rhone is to the north—*καταρχὰς πρὸς ἄρκτον*. Polybius, ii. 16, describing the Alpine course of the Po, says that the poets call him Eridanus: and it is pleasing to recognise the "fluviorum rex" on so ancient authority: Strabo, v. 215, denounces Eridanus as the creature of fable, said to be near the Po, but in truth having no existence. Polybius, ii. 14, exhibits the Alps as the base of the Italian triangle: Strabo, v. 210, in express opposition to him, declares that Italy is a figure of four sides rather than of three—*τετράπλευρον μᾶλλον τὸ σχῆμα*.

M. Letronne not only declares Strabo's matter to be all Polybian, but insists that he expresses it in the very words of that historian. It seems to me, that every part of the phrase *ὑπέρβασις διὰ Ταυρίνων ἢν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν*, as well as the whole taken together, is most unlikely to have been used by Polybius, but probable in Strabo. First of all, *ὑπέρβασις* is not a Polybian word: Strabo employs *ὑπερβαίνω* and *ὑπερτίθηναι* to tell the passing over a mountain, and represents the transcendent or pass by *ὑπέρβασις* and *ὑπέρθεσις*: in the second

book, p. 68, &c. he applies both terms to the same thing at the interval of a few sentences: ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλατταν ὑπέρθεσις—ἡ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν ὑπέρβασις. Polybius never so uses those words: his words are ὑπεραίρω, ὑπερβάλλω, ὑπερβολή. He uses ὑπέρθεσις in the sense of postponement: ὑπέρβασις he did not use at all: we see it indeed printed in lib. iv. 19, 6, meaning the conveyance of vessels across an isthmus; where probably it should be ὑπερβίβασις. His descriptions of Alps, his notice of Gaulish invasions, and his history of Hannibal, gave opportunities to use the word, if it had been his word. Many compounds of βάσις are found in his works: ἔμβασις, ἔκβασις, σύμβασις, ἐπίβασις, διάβασις, ἀνάβασις, κατάβασις: never ὑπέρβασις.

Strabo uses both his words in the plural, for expressing several distinct mountain passes, as when we speak of several passes together, the Cenis, the Simplon, the Splügen. Polybius never so speaks, as intending by a plural word different passes through the chain. He uses ὑπερβολαί for mountain heights generally, and for the course of heights which constitute a pass from one side of the chain to the other: thus one section of the march from Carthagera to the plain of Italy is αἱ τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολαί. The singular ὑπερβολή represents the passage of, or act of crossing the Alps, as in ποιησάμενος τὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων ὑπερβολήν. So, in iii. 34, 6, and 47, 6.

Where, then, has M. Letronne found "les propres paroles de Polybe, que Strabon suit sans restriction pour tout ce que concerne les Alpes?" Strabo is the rightful owner of ὑπέρβασις: and the three words which have brought the sentence into notice, ἦν Ἀννίβας διήλθεν, have the same stamp of authorship. When he speaks of the marshes and the draining of them by Scaurus, he says, δι' ὧν Ἀννίβας χαλεπῶς διήλθε, προιὼν ἐπὶ Τυρρηνίαν. In a similar way he refers to Hannibal, on mentioning the lake Trasymenus—καθ' ἣν αἱ ἐκ τῆς

Κελτικῆς εἰς τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἐμβολαὶ στρατοπέδοις, αἷς πὲρ καὶ Ἀννίβας ἐχρήσατο, v. 217.

When M. Letronne, reading Strabo, thought he was reading Polybius, he had before him not only words and the combination of words, but the general frame of the sentence bore the style of the geographer. The method in which Strabo names and enumerates the four passes is exactly the method in which he has a few lines before enumerated four roads—τὴν διὰ τῶν Κεμμένων ὁρῶν μέχρι Σαντόνων καὶ τῆς Ἀκουιτανίας, καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥήνον, καὶ τρίτην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανόν, τὴν πρὸς Βελλοακοῖς, καὶ Ἀμβιανοῖς, τετάρτη δ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν καὶ τὴν Μασσαλιωτικὴν παραλίαν. These will not be claimed as the "propres paroles de Polybe:" for the work is attributed to Agrippa.

## CHAPTER II.

### *The Salassian hyperbasis of Strabo.*

WE know that Strabo speaks of a Salassian pass: and our question is, whether, as he is thought to allege, Polybius had done the same. Strabo has used the term ὑπέρβασις διὰ Σαλασσῶν for himself, before he alludes to the passes known to Polybius. He uses the expression, to mean at once two distinct Passes of Alps: he says, p. 208, that "of the passes of Alps (τῶν ὑπερθέσεων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὴν ἔξω Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν προσάρκτιον) there is one through the Salassians leading to Lyons—ἡ διὰ Σαλασσῶν ἄγουσα ἐπὶ Λούγδουνον." By this transcendent of Alps leading to Lyons, he means both the Great St. Bernard and the Little St. Bernard: for he goes on to say of it that "it is twofold; one practicable

"for a waggon from its greater length, through the Centrones; "the other steep and narrow but short, through the Pænine." This explanation, that he means to include both passes, so far corrects the expression as to prevent any ambiguity in his meaning. But the expression is a bad one, and peculiar; and must be looked upon as his own. The road of ascent from the plain is common to both passes as far as Aosta: but that common approach is no *ὑπέρβασις*: the word imports transcent. At Aosta the lines of ascent diverge: one is to leave Mont Blanc and his dependencies away to the left; the other will leave them to the right. Such nomination of passes is the nomination by Strabo.

While I deny for Polybius both the supposed use of *ὑπέρβασις* and the word itself, I have no doubt that he had some information of a passage by the Great St. Bernard as well as experience of the Little St. Bernard. The invasions of the Gauls had given to these mountain regions an interest and a celebrity which would engage his attention: his history tells their earlier inroads, and the more recent irruption of the Gæsatae; who are likely to have come by the Great St. Bernard, though he does not denote the pass by which they came. Niebuhr was fully satisfied that the barbarians issued into the plain from the valley of Aosta: but does not pursue an inquiry as to the point from which they came down. Transl. Hare and Thirlwall, ii. 535.

In the Oxford Dissertation, p. 29, it is supposed that some of those earlier invaders came up the Isère and over the Graian Alp: on the Gæsatae it is said, "Polybius informs us "that they derived their name from their mercenary disposition. He also clearly intimates that Hannibal followed "the same route which this people had taken to cross the "Alps:"—and further, "From the description given of this "people by Polybius, their going to battle naked, their mercenary disposition, and extreme ferocity, it appears that they

"were not Gauls but Germans, who had crossed the Rhine "and settled near the Rhone." Now I do not perceive, that Polybius identifies the track of the Gæsatae with that of Hannibal. He rebukes the foolish writers who had painted the Alps as utterly impracticable; and charges them with not knowing that the Celts of the Rhone had crossed the Alps in great masses, not once or twice only, nor in former times only, but recently, and had made head against the Romans in the plain of Italy. But he does not himself define the channel of those invasions, nor identify Hannibal's track with it.

In the only passage where Polybius speaks of the Gæsatae, ii. 22, he calls them *τοὺς κατὰ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς καὶ τὸν Ῥοδανὸν ποταμὸν κατοικοῦντας Γαλάτας, προσαγορευομένους δὲ διὰ τὸ μισθοῦ στρατεύειν Γαισάτους*: adding, *ἡ γὰρ λέξις αὐτῇ τοῦτο σημαίνει κυρίως*. Niebuhr, lect. iv. p. 150, objects to that derivation, and ascribes the name to the weapon gæsus, javelin; a weapon which we know to have been efficiently used by the natives in the approach to the Great St. Bernard. Cæsar de Bell. Gall. iii. 4. But Polybius' notion agrees with the habits of the people as mercenaries in war: and it is sensibly observed by M. du Theil, "Contens de l'étymologie donnée par l'un des plus graves historiens de l'antiquité, nous "ne rapporterons point ici toutes celles que d'autres écrivains "anciens, la plupart simples grammairiens et de beaucoup "postérieurs à Polybe, ou de critiques modernes, donnant "trop aux conjectures, ont prétendu y substituer."—Strab. ii. Éclaircissemens, p. 15. If, as suggested, the Gæsatae were Germans who settled near the Rhone, that too does not aid the question: they need not have come on to the Isère: their irruption might be made past the upper end of the lake. Pushing on from thence, they would keep the direction of the great river, which seemed to lead them to their object, the Italy which they coveted. When that guide deserted them by its reflex line at Martigny, they desisted not from their



enterprise; but still pressed onward to the south, and by a short though difficult effort found the desired plains.

I fully believe, then, that earlier invasions were effected by the Great St. Bernard: and, if they were, the fact could not fail to reach Polybius. He would be aware of both passes which gave descent into the Salassian valley. But I do not believe that he had spoken of them as Strabo speaks of them, and bracketed two such passes in one. He made himself the ascent from the plain of Italy: but, when he gazed at the distant wonders of that valley, a happiness that Strabo, perhaps, never enjoyed, the giant pinnacles clothed with perpetual snow rising in the centre of the scene, he did not designate a route which sought the transalpine to the left hand, and a route which sought the transalpine to the right hand, as one *ὑπέρβασις*, one transcent of Alps. Mont Blanc stood before him, to prohibit such abuse of language.

### CHAPTER III.

*The Taurinian hyperbasis of Strabo, being also the Medullian of Mr. Ellis.—On the Medulli of the Dictionary of Geography, 1856.*

No man can doubt that Strabo was informed on the Pass of the Mont Genève, on the ascent to it from the Rhone, and on a portion of the descent on the Italian side: for, though his sentences are imperfect, he names many important places with some distances. Those, therefore, who try to show from his writings his knowledge of the Mont Cenis, must understand that he was acquainted with both those passes of Alps.

I conceive that, when he names a pass *ὑπέρβασις διὰ Ταυρίνων*, p. 209, he does not intend a mountain passage

occupied by that people, but which is to be approached through them from the Roman possessions; and it may be conceded that, if he could have purposed to speak of the Cenis, he might have spoken of that also as a pass *διὰ Ταυρίνων*. One who sought either of these passes may first have advanced from the plain through Taurine territory. Thus Livy seems to mark the descent from the Genève by the same circumstance. He says of a body of Gauls, who took that way from Marseille into Italy, "*Per Taurinos saltusque invios Alpes transcenderunt*," v. c. 34: and must have intended the same pass which Strabo describes, which is reached by coming up the Durance to Briançon.

Mr. Ellis, assuming that Strabo was acquainted with the Mont Cenis, contends (Treatise 181) that, in designating a pass *διὰ Ταυρίνων*, he intended the Cenis. Now, it is very remarkable, that Strabo's notice of those regions should have been so limited and partial as we see it to have been; and particularly that such a place as Segusio (Susa) should not be mentioned in his works. It was not necessary for him to mention it in speaking of the road which he describes over the Genève, for he describes it only as far as Ocelum; nor would it have been, had he continued it to the plain. But his never naming the place seems conclusive that he was ignorant of a route over Mont Cenis; for in a descent from that mountain, Susa could be avoided. If Strabo's knowledge were not proved, as it specially is, from the Rhone to Ocelum, we should pronounce him uninformed on the Genève, as we do on the Cenis.

It might have been expected that one who can discern the Cenis pass in the works of Strabo, would have perceived other things in that writer's topography of this region, which he certainly is not seen to mention. He omits Susa, the stronghold of Cottius; and, I think, never mentions Turin, nor the Po as running past that place; nor other discernible



object, natural or artificial. Strabo points to no such things: he knew of the route from Spain through Gaul to the Genève, and a little way beyond. He knew of the two places, which he has named Scingomagus and Ocelum; one on the boundary line of Italy, one on the boundary line of the Roman province. If he had known of the Cenis pass, he might have named something in the way to it, or in the way from it. But there is in his works no landmark which helps to bring the Cenis into a route from the Rhone to the Po. Even in the line of the Genève, where he does guide us into Italy, he does not disclose an object in the whole tract of country spread between that pass and the junction of rivers near Chivasso, besides the two points which I have mentioned: not Susa, nor the river on which it stands; nor the Po, till it is spoken of as if separating the Salassi and the Taurini. Whether Strabo instructs you for coming into Italy in the fourth book, or for going out of it in the fifth, he gives no object between Ocelum, which is near Fenestrelles and the Salassian Doria.

Though Strabo has said nothing which suggests to other persons the mountain now so well known as the Cenis, Mr. Ellis professes to have discovered a Cenis for him by means of the Medulli, of whose districts Strabo has related some definite particulars in p. 203, but not those which Mr. Ellis represents him to have related. Mr. Ellis says, p. 132, "Strabo speaks of a pass from the country of the Medulli into that of the Taurini: the pass seems clearly to be that of the 'Little Mont Cenis. The ascent begins at Bramans, from which place to Susa the distance is nearly 200 stadia, the lake on the summit being about half way.'" Thus Mr. Ellis's Celtic ascent is from the Medulli at Bramans,\* and his

\* This places the Medulli in the Upper Maurienne. When Mr. Ellis wants that place for others, he will shift them to the Lower Maurienne. Were they in either?

Italian descent is to the Taurini at Susa. Accordingly, in p. 180, after urging that Julius Cæsar was familiar with the Cenis and the Arc valley, he says this:—"It may now therefore be concluded with safety, that the pass of which Strabo speaks (lib. iv. c. 6) between the country of the Medulli and that of the Taurini, was that of the Little Mont Cenis. (For this, and not the Great Mont Cenis, is the line of road traced in the Peutingerian Table.) The distance also from Bramans to Susa is, according to that table, 25 Roman miles, or 200 stadia. The most accurate half-way point would be where the road passed by the south-western corner of the lake on the plateau of the Mont Cenis. From this point, reckoning to Susa on the one side, and to Bramans on the other, we should have the two lengths of one hundred stadia each, which are mentioned by Strabo."

I believe there is no foundation for any one of these propositions. Mr. Ellis can hardly mean to say that Strabo ever mentions either Bramans or Susa, or that Cæsar ever mentions them. But Mr. Ellis does say this, which is as little warranted by fact. "The distance from Bramans to Susa, by the 'Little Mont Cenis, is given in the Peutingerian Table as 25 Roman miles, or exactly 200 stadia." Treat. p. 132. Nothing whatever is said about Bramans in the table: nor does that document show a line of 200 stadia between Medulli and Taurini, or between Bramans and Susa.

If Mr. Ellis intends the Mellosedo of the table, which is the Bramans of his own imagination, as being 25 miles from Susa, he has by no means hit the truth; for that distance is marked in the table as more than double of 25 miles. Mr. Ellis has etymological resources with which he converts one word into another, but they cannot defy the common processes of arithmetic. The sum of the stages from Segusio to Mellosedo is at the least 55 miles by the Peutingerian Table

itself,\* though 25 miles accommodates itself better to the 200 stadia of Mr. Ellis.

Though Mr. Ellis declares his conclusion to be a safe one, there is in it this infirmity among others; that Strabo, in all that he says on the Medulli, does not speak of any pass or road at all. Mr. Ellis imagines a Medullian pass out of a few sentences which import no pass, and do not even embrace the idea of getting from one place to another. When Strabo mentions the Medulli, he has been pointing out in a rough manner the locality of many peoples; enumerating Ligyes, Salyes, Massiliots, the Volcæ of Nemausus, the Vocontii extending to the Allobroges. Then, as if following a direction up the Isère, he says this, p. 203:—"After the Vocontii are the Iconii and Tricorii; and after them the Medulli, who hold the highest peaks: in fact, they say that the most direct height of them is 100 stadia in ascent, and the same again in descent to the bounds of Italy. Up in the hollow places there stands a great lake, and two springs not far apart from each other; from one of which the Druentia, a river in deep channels, flows in one direction, which dashes along into the Rhone, and the Doria in the contrary direction, for it mixes with the Po, after being carried through the Salassi into Cisalpine Gaul: and from the other spring, on a much lower level, issues the Po himself, both full and rapid. In his progress he becomes greater and greater: for now being in the plain, he receives increase from many rivers, and is widened: and, as he pours on, has a distracted and less defined stream. He falls into the Adriatic Sea, having become the greatest river of Europe after the Danube. The Medulli are situated the farthest above the confluence of the Isère with the Rhone.

"On the other side of the mountain range spoken of, sloping

\* See Mr. Ellis's engraving of this part of the Table. I shall attempt one also.

"towards Italy, dwell the Taurini, a Ligurian people, and other Ligurians: and of these is the land of Ideonnus, and that of Cottius. Beyond them and the Po are the Salassi; and above these in the mountain heights, the Centrones and the Catoriges, and the Veragri, and the Nantuatæ, and the Leman lake through which the Rhone is carried" &c.

This is all that concerns the Medulli, by the only writer who speaks concerning them: and the matter is peculiar. On the Iconii and Tricorii Strabo only says, that they are next to the Vocontii. On the Medulli, whatever may have been his notion on their propinquity or remoteness, much is definite and circumstantial. On reading the words which have been quoted, Mr. Ellis has conceived a Pass, which gives the traveller 100 stadia of ascent and 100 stadia of descent. These 200 stadia he identifies with an imaginary 25 miles which he invents for the Table of Peutinger, and calls it "a line of road over the Little Mont Cenis."

I really do not perceive in the words of Strabo a symptom of any travelling route whatever. No terms are used, such as those with which he instructs the traveller from the Rhone to Briançon and the Genève; no *ὁδός*; no points of starting or arriving; no name of place. He mentions the Po at last in a way that is very curious, and, taken with other circumstances, very instructive on his views. He seems to have looked upon the Ligurian Taurini as being on one side of that river, and the Salassi as being on the other: at any rate the statement of Veragri and Centrones above them shows that his view was directed towards Cisalpine Gaul. The matter which follows, whether about nations on the Rhone or the Rhine, is as destitute of any terms appropriate to a travelling route as was the matter which has gone before.

There is one passage which Mr. Ellis\* considers to be decisive, as indicating a travelling road, which is this:—

\* Cambridge Journal of Philology, iii. 26—29.

Μέδουλλοι, οἵπερ τὰς ὑψηλοτάτας ἔχουσι κορυφάς· τὸ γοῦν ὀρθιότατον αὐτῶν ὕψος σταδίων ἑκατὸν ἔχειν φασὶν τὴν ἀνάβασιν, κἀνθένδε πάλιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς τῆς Ἰταλίας κατὰβασιν. Mr. Ellis thinks that Strabo cannot have imagined so prodigious an elevation above the level of the sea. This may be: but he need not therefore have intended a measurement of distance on a travelled way. It is indeed an outrageous supposition that the loftiest peaks should have been estimated 100 stadia in height. But it is so alleged—ὀρθιότατον ὕψος: and nothing indicates a travelled way. Ὑψηλοτάτη κορυφή is the highest part of a mountain: but no practised route can be near it: a traveller, to pass over a mountain, never takes a straight line to the highest top: he neither seeks ὀρθιότατον ὕψος, nor ὑψηλοτάτας κορυφάς: these are the very things which he avoids. Though that reputation of height, as reported, was quite unworthy of belief, D'Anville translates the passage truly, when he says, "Strabon attribue à ces montagnes 100 stades de hauteur perpendiculaire." Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, in v. Medulli.

Mr Ellis insists also, Journal of Phil. iii. 38, on the words ἀνάβασιν and κατὰβασιν: and it is true that these two ideas are necessary to a Pass: but the words may be used to express the rise and fall of a mountain or range of mountains, without the implication of any one going up or going down, and without any thought of roads for enabling men to do so. The terms are applicable to reputed space, the distance which it would be to go up or to go down. Mr. Ellis brings forward, from Polybius, that Hannibal ἐνῆρχετο τῆς καταβάσεως, and afterwards, that he lost nearly as many men as he had κατὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν: he also adduces ἀρχὴν ἀναβάσεως in Strabo's route through Embrun and Briançon. But the examples are against him: in all those instances there is context which prevents doubt. In those from Polybius, the entire subject is

the march of an army: and in the route cited from Strabo, he is instructing a traveller; he describes a particular ὁδὸν from one place, διὰ another, μέχρι another: and each distance which composes the total has its expressed termini. No one doubts that the two words are well used in telling a fact of progress over a mountain: but they may also be used when no such fact is told; and we must look to the context to see whether it is told or not. At the end of the fourth book Strabo compares the Alps with the Greek mountains, and observes in what a short time any of the latter may be climbed: we there find the expression ἀναβῆναι δυνατὸν, and the word ὕψος: but there too his purpose is only to give an idea of height and the degree of height: a travelled pass is not implied. So height is the thing predicated of the κορυφαί of the Medulli: the ideas of up and down, ascent and descent, are employed to enforce the greatness of their height.

The marvellous altitude is predicated of the highest tops or peaks by Strabo. Ὀρθιότατον and ὑψηλοτάτον are not descriptive of the tardy rise of an accustomed route over or through a mountain; nor need the expressed degree of height tell the distance along a road. The Roche Michel, and the Rocher de la Ronche, would be worthy to be called κορυφαί: the plateau of the Mont Cenis is no κορυφή. Mr. Ellis, in verification of the direct altitudes of Strabo, finds the half-way point or summit at the south-west corner of the lake, and measures from it in either direction about 100 stadia. Bramante, being at the foot of Little Mont Cenis, becomes the base of his Medullian ὕψος: Susa the base of his Taurinian ὕψος. I apprehend that the Medulli had nothing to do with Bramante, and the Taurini nothing to do with Susa. Mr. Ellis's distortions of geography and errors in distances do not acquire accuracy, because I have no lake to take part in my argument. Nobody supposes that Strabo in person made an inspection of the sources of the three rivers

and of a lake in the neighbourhood. And his memory may have been in fault when, in reporting the information which he gathered, he brought a lake into the immediate vicinity of two springs, as it certainly was in fault, if he derived the two rivers out of the same spring.

Never was a fancy so bare of support from context, as this Pass of Mr. Ellis. Strabo enumerates peoples of Provence, Dauphiné, Savoy, Piedmont: part of Switzerland too is in the catalogue; which, after pausing at the lake of Geneva, is adjourned to the Rhine; nor does it stop there; and the one thing suggested as indicating a route for travellers is *a pass between Medulli and Taurini*; and that is, the Little Mont Cenis. If *ἐκατόν* was not a mistake for *δεκά*, and the absurd reputation of altitude had really reached the ears of Strabo, still he introduced it only to give effect to *ὑψηλοτάτας κορυφάς*. If he had himself visited Savoy, and achieved the ascent of Mont Blanc, he might have transmitted to us a reputation of that mountain's height with terms such as he employs on the Medullian range: but we should not reckon Mont Blanc in his list of Passes, nor assume a travelling road up the Mur de la Côte or down the Glacier de Brenva.

He, the one writer who gives account of the Medulli, states particulars calculated to identify generally their position; which seems to have been along that range of the *ὄρεινή*, which is the main outer chain of the Western Alps; and would embrace those parts above the source of the Isère, whence one might look westward upon Mont Iseran and the valleys which enclose it, and eastward to the Italian plain. Mr. Ellis (*Journ. of Philology*, iii. 17) complains of this "transportation of the Medulli to Arctic regions"—that I assign to them "an eccentric position," and that I "might have interpreted *ὑψηλοτάτας κορυφάς* more mercifully." I am content with interpreting justly: I pretend not to draw a ground plan of the Medullian territory: but I collect from

Strabo, that it must have included those heights of Alps, from which descend the supplies to the Stura and the Orco, themselves tributary to the Po, and which overlook the plains where the Taurini were near to the Salassi and the Cisalpine Gauls.

*The Dictionary of Geography, 1856, on the Medulli.*

Though no other critic besides Mr. Ellis has imputed to Strabo a Medullian Pass, he has received some countenance on the position of that people from a strong Cambridge authority, Mr. G. Long, who also locates them in the Maurienne. The following words appear from his pen in Dr. Smith's Dictionary of Geography.

"Strabo's description of the position of this people is clear. iv. p. 203. After the Vocontii are the Siconii (Iconii) and Tricorii, and then the Medualli, who occupy the highest summits (of the Alps); now they say that the highest part of their country has an ascent of one hundred stadia, and thence to the borders of Italy the descent is as much: and above, in certain hollows, there is a great lake and two springs not far from one another, and from one of these flows the Druentius (*Durance*), a torrent stream which flows down to the Rhodanus; and the Durias (*Doria*) runs in the opposite direction, for it joins the Padus (*Po*), flowing down through the country of the Salassi into Celtice south of the Alps. When Strabo says further (iv. p. 204) that the Medulli lie as near as may be (*μάλιστα*) above the confluence of the Isara and the Rhone, he is not speaking of distance, but of direction or position; for he adds, 'and the other side of the mountain country above described, that part that slopes towards Italy, is occupied by the Taurini, a Ligurian people, and other Ligures.' The conclusion is easy, that the Medulli were in the Maurienne,



"north and south of the town of St. Jean de Maurienne, and "enclosed between the Tarentaise and Dauphiné."

I confess it appears to me that this conclusion, instead of being easy, will be found inadmissible; especially as from the passage that Mr. Long would quote, he omits a very important part, namely, the Medullian origin of the Po. Strabo not only states that there are two springs not far from one another, and that the Durance and the Doria flow from one of them, but that the Po himself flows from the other. This is omitted from the translation: also what follows the part quoted on the Taurini;—"After them and the Po are the "Salassi, and, above them, Centrones, Veragri, Nantuates, "Leman Lake," &c.

In his translation, Mr. Long renders μετ' αὐτοὺς Μέδουλλοι, "then the Medulli:" and under the word "Tricorii," in the same work, he renders the words, "next to them the Medulli." Would it not be safer to say, "after them the Medulli?" for though they stand next in the enumeration, their proximity may have been, and I believe was, longo intervallo.

I would also observe, that the ὀρθιώτατον ὕψος of ὑψηλοτάται κυρυφαί is not very pointedly translated, "the highest part of their country." Strabo had evidently heard much that was remarkable on the district held by this people: and his information was probably derived from the Italian side of the Alps, not from the dwellers on the Arc or the Isère. The prominent incidents of the original passage, as we read it, are the towering κυρυφαί, the direct height of these κυρυφαί, and the three sources of rivers, the Druentia, the Doria, and the Po.

After describing the varied character of the Po, and his course to the Adriatic, Strabo reverts to the Medulli with these words—"ὑπέρκεινται δ' οἱ Μέδουλλοι μάλιστα τῆς συμβολῆς τοῦ Ἰσαροῦ πρὸς τὸν Ῥοδανόν." The critic renders μάλιστα, "as near as may be;" and observes that Strabo "is

not speaking of distance, but of direction or position." It seems to me that he is speaking of distance, as well as of direction and position: and that μάλιστα belongs to ὑπέρ; meaning, that the Medulli are farthest above and farthest beyond the confluence of the Rhone and the Isère. Strabo says this, as if he felt it to be a long stretch from the Iconii and Tricorii to the Medulli: and well he might, for he portrays the mountains of the Medulli at a monstrous elevation, overhanging the Taurini of Italy, saying, at the same time, "beyond these and the Po, are the Salassi, and, above them, "the Centrones, and Veragri, and Nantuates, and the Leman "Lake, and the source of the Rhone."

While this shows distance in the Medulli, direction is also intimated: but direction as well as distance is indicated from the συμβολή; and is to be understood as the direction up the Isère, not up the Arc. As to position, our apprehension of it must be from the incidents and the entire description; not forgetting the hollow places, whence issued two Italian rivers and one Celtic, nor the fall to Italy towards the Taurini,\* a people commonly supposed to have reached to the Orco, which probably divided them from the Salassi and Gauls of the plain. Seeing also the enumeration, which follows this sentence, of peoples on the Rhone and the Rhine, and that all these ideas spring out of his notice of the Medulli, we may at least hesitate to conclude that this people was "in the valley of the Arc, north and south of St. Jean de Maurienne."

In these passages of Strabo concerning rivers which have their sources in the Medullian mountains, some propositions are true, some erroneous—there is a difference of opinion as to which are true and which not. The subject will arise again presently, on considering the Po and the Doria of Strabo.

\* See further on the Taurini, in the comment on Livy.



## CHAPTER IV.

*Polybius knew no Taurinian hyperbasis. The Po of Polybius.*

LOOKING at the period when Polybius wrote, one sees no reason that he should have heard of a Pass through those middle Alps, which Livy and Strabo alluded to in later times, one with the term Taurinos saltus, the other by ὑπέρβασις διὰ Ταυρίνων: and the feebleness of the light which those later writers throw on the Italian descent from those mountains, makes it probable that still less light had shone upon Polybius, who was fully 150 years earlier.

Turin was founded by Augustus: and there are now three ready ways of going over the Alps from that place: one which, crossing the plain to Pinerolo, finds the valley of the Clusone, and goes over the Col de Sestrière before it brings you to Césanne, and the Mont Genève: \* one which goes up through Susa to Cesanne and the Mont Genève: and a third, which, being the same to Susa, strikes northward from thence over the Mont Cenis. The first was probably opened by Pompey; and was used by Caesar sixteen years afterwards: the second was established by Augustus, who made it his approach to the same summit, when he was laying the foundations of his new city Augusta Taurinorum: the third, according to Mr. Ellis, is first named as crossed by Pepin in 755. See the *Treatise*, p. 159.

Why must Polybius, who preceded Pompey by a century, have been acquainted with any pass through these Alps? He was an enterprising traveller: but this region was not inviting: in matters of art and antiquity it had not the attraction which

\* See Brockedon's Passes of the Alps, i. p. 15.

belonged to other parts of Italy, not the same interest from Greek connection. Strabo, v. 218, says of the Ligurians of the Appennine, that they lived in villages, and that their country possessed nothing worthy for him to relate. It is assumed always, that Polybius must have been at Turin: more probably there was no Turin for him to write about, or for Hannibal to have gone to. The object of Polybius was to investigate the Carthaginian course through the Alps: he may or may not have deviated to the scene of such collateral exploit. But if he did so, and as far as what became the site of Turin, he would not, by so doing, acquire a knowledge of any Alpine pass. The Taurini are believed to have reached under the Alps to the Orco, or the Doria: and wherever their best town might be in B.C. 218, there is no necessity that a vestige of it should long remain. All critics seem to assume a local identity of the Taurine town sacked by Hannibal with Turin: the Oxford Dissertation speaks of "the capture of Turin by Hannibal." Dr. Liddell states the dispute to be on what route Polybius intended *from Grenoble to Turin*. Why must the rough people, who then occupied the foot of the mountain range, have had their chief place at the confluence of rivers where Augustus chose to found that city two centuries afterwards? Is there any earlier trace of it? Strabo explains to us in detail the Augusta Salassorum: he gives no hint of Augusta Taurinorum: he had never heard of it, nor had any acquaintance with it. If we look for aid to Polybius himself, his instruction on the Taurini is only this; πρὸς τῇ παρωρείᾳ κατοικοῦντες—just in front of the mountain side. The town which was sacked by Hannibal may well have been north of Turin: and it is for those who talk of that town as existing in his time, to give a reason for it. Who can say that the unhappy place continued to be a town at all after the plunder and massacre of its inhabitants by the Carthaginian soldiery! It is indeed called βαρυτάτη πόλις of the nation who owned

it: but we may even doubt that the title of πόλις was deserved. Strabo notices the earlier historian, τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις. iii. 63.

Let us, however, assume that Polybius, in his inquiring journey, found himself in that part of the plain where the city of Turin now stands: would that add to his knowledge of passes? What would be the provocation for him, or any writer of his day, to record a Taurine pass? When we talk of a pass of Alps as known or unknown, we mean to recognize a great channel for armies or merchandise, not the existence of mountain tracks for native inhabitants. These must always be presumed in any part of the chain: but they would not be commemorated in a short historical catalogue. In the days of Polybius, a Taurine pass had no historical importance, no claim to Roman acquaintance: no Roman force had ever threatened it: nor need we accept it as the course of early invasions. Livy's fable of Bellocesus is exploded by Niebuhr, with its political improbabilities and chronological errors:—"a fabrication without the slightest historical ground."\* A man interpreting the narrative of Polybius must not presume his acquaintance with a Taurine pass. When he can prove that his narrative itself imports such a pass, then and not before, he may say that Polybius was aware of its existence.

It is possible that the great authority to which I have just referred might here be cited against me, as intimating an early Roman acquaintance with those Cottian Alps. Although we know that Niebuhr did not suppose Hannibal to have crossed the Mont Genève, there is a sentence in his latter lectures, edited by Dr. Schmitz, which seems to assume that the Romans had knowledge of that pass as early as the invasion of Hannibal:—"Hannibal now marched further up the Rhone, and Scipio returned to his ships, though he might have been of real service to his country, if he had taken his road

\* Transl. Hare and Thirlwall, third ed. ii. 516.

"towards Briançon and Susa: for he would thus have been enabled to attack the rear of the Carthaginians, while the Gauls might have stopped the vanguard by an abattis."\* These are strange propositions: but, while one is surprised that they should have been uttered, I cannot doubt the accuracy of the report: the world is under great obligation to Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, for the courageous act of publishing his most interesting and well-written volumes. He fairly points out the necessary causes of their imperfection, and admits that some variation from the original was inevitable: but the original himself is also to be excused, if, under failing health, and in the gigantic effort of wielding the details of all authors, and all their interpreters, in extempore lectures, minor faults, whether of fact or comment, might occasionally take place: as, in the same lecture, we read of Hannibal reaching the summit of the Alps in September. We must condemn as untenable the notion of Scipio struggling over the Genève for the chance of worrying the tail of Hannibal's march, on his entrance into Italy: it assumes the easy faculty of a transit which the Romans never attempted till near a century and a half after the time in question. Let us, in this particular matter, rather commend the sound and interesting remarks of Dr. Arnold on the policy of Scipio, in sending his army forward to Spain.†

#### *The Po of Polybius.*

A discussion which concerns the knowledge that Polybius and those of his day might have of an ascent of Alps from the region in which Turin was afterwards placed, necessarily draws us to notice what he has said of the great Italian river; and to inquire, whether the higher parts of that celebrated stream, as now recognised, were known to him as the Po. Towards the north-west parts of the plain of Italy, certain

\* Vol. i. Lect. 9, p. 169. † Hist. of Rome, iii. c. 43, p. 81.

rivers, some flowing from the north, some from the west, and some from the south, come together and form one great stream, the Po, which then runs eastward, and is discharged into the Adriatic gulph. The name Po is by preference assigned to one of the earlier contribuent streams, not perhaps the most important: and there was a time when this dignity had not been so awarded, nor recognised by the world. Pliny first speaks of the Po as rising in Monte Viso. Ptolemy does not follow him.

In the geographical instructions given by Polybius, he had to rely much on what his own experience taught him; especially on the Alps. The early Romans were little acquainted with the western and south-western parts of the plain of Italy, and he himself may not have had opportunity to survey it. He felt that the places to be named as points of contrast ought to be places known to those whom he was instructing: and he had a fancy for inviting his readers to imagine three-sided figures by suggesting sides and angles. Such is his figure of the Allobrogian island. In Dauphiné there were rivers for two sides, and mountain for the third. Italy has two sides, sea: the third, Alps. For the Padan plain, one side only is sea: and the terms by which he names the two others, are Alps and Appennine. He sometimes found it convenient to call the former the northern side, the latter the southern. Accordingly commentators interpreting Polybius with differing views, may each find means to justify themselves.

It is well to note what he says himself on the course of the Po. "The river Padus, famed by poets as Eridanus, has his fountains from the Alps, rather towards the apex of the figure above mentioned: he is carried down to the plains, making his course as to the south (*ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν*): arrived in the level country, he bends his stream and is carried through the plains towards the east, and discharges

"himself by two mouths into the Adriatic gulf. So bisecting the plain he leaves the larger portion of it towards the Alps and the Adriatic." ii. 16, 6. This does not describe the Po of the present day, which, before the bend to the eastward, has been running to the north.

It is said in Cramer's Ancient Italy, i. 45, that the Po does in fact run for a short way south, being the first direction from his cradle in Monte Viso. And another friend, H. L. Long, p. 103, deems the Maira to be the Po of Polybius, suggesting that we should read, not *ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν*, but *ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας*. There is an unavailing refinement in such contrivances: let us rather endeavour to understand what Polybius has written, than pretend to write something for him, or to deny his imperfections. We must take him to mean what he says, when his words have no ambiguity in themselves. Even if they were less clear, I know not why we need presume that names of things were the same to him as to those who came two or three hundred years after him. That portion of the modern Po which Polybius did not recognise by that name, is not the important fraction of the whole line of stream. To all the deeper Po he accords the name: he shows how this noble river divides the fertile plain of Italy in its course from west to east; by which we understand the mutual approach of Hannibal and Scipio on the north side, movements which he describes as on the side towards the Alps, one having the river on his right hand, the other on his left.

There is further identification of the region where he conceived the source. He says, ii. 15, that in former days, when the Gauls broke into Italy, and dispossessed the Tyrrhenians of the plains of the Po, the first parts they seized, *τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς τοῦ Πάδου κείμενα*, were occupied by the Lai and Libicii—the first plains near the sources of the Po—and that next to them were the Insubres, and further

down the Cenomani. If with Niebuhr we believe those invading hordes to have poured themselves down the valley of Aosta, the first plains that offered themselves were on the Doria. These we must apprehend as belonging to the early Po of Polybius. But there is enough without Niebuhr: Polybius and others have placed those tribes, while they lasted, next above the Insubres; and, if those first plains were upon the early Po, what was that Po but the Orca or the Doria? Those rivers had then been running *ὡς ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν*. When Polybius says, ii. 16, that the natives called the Po, Bodeneus: this too is consistent with the rest: the town Bodincomagus is named by Pliny, iii. 21, "ubi principua altitudo incipit;" probably not far from Chivasso.

This vindication of the Po of Polybius, may be considered by some as a confession of his errors. It is none: if the Orca or the Doria, neither of which he ever names, were to his mind the great river, this was not error, unless it was opposed to the received geography of his own time. Who shall say that the innumerable streams which compose the flood that pours into the Adriatic had then been classed by geographers and travellers as we class them now? The largest or most remote contribuent of a noble river does not always bear the great name itself: and, while Rome was without progress in Western Italy, her geographers had not pronounced at each confluence which was the worthier stream; many that might compete for being the predominant source, were not under Roman control: the one fact, that the memoirs of Hannibal's route could even in the time of Augustus be thrown into confusion, shows how feeble in the interval had been the connexion of Rome with the Alps. Strabo relates their creeping progress along the Ligurian coast, the avenue to Spain, the first line by which the Romans burst the mountain barrier of Italy: he says, iv. 203, "All that they did after a war of eighty years, was to compel the

"natives to leave them a space, a mile and a half in width, as "an open way." In those eighty years Polybius passed from the cradle to the grave: and two centuries more had nearly elapsed, when Pliny declared the Po to rise in Vesulus. This mountain was celebrated by Virgil: but not the Po as flowing from it: and, if it shall appear that the geographer Strabo, the contemporary of Virgil, never mentions the Po of Turin, but derived his source from more northern mountains, Polybius may be the more readily excused, that he did not record the early fountain as reputed in the present day.

## CHAPTER V.

*The Po and the Doria of Strabo: Lib. iv. p. 203.*

STRABO might have known much of the country that we speak of, which Polybius was not likely to know: Strabo lived after Pompey and Cæsar; Polybius was long before them. Yet Strabo's knowledge is not to be assumed from what it might have been: his information was partial and precarious: it depended mostly upon the writings of others which he met with; and we must apprehend his conceptions and the extent of them from his own writings. There is sometimes negative evidence, in his showing no knowledge where, if he had it, he was likely to employ it: as in not continuing the line of descent from Ocelum to the Cisalpine Gauls. At present, dealing with his apprehension of the Po, we will first notice his affirmative statement concerning the source of that river: for in one passage only does he ever assert the source.

In lib. iv. 203, Strabo, describing the position of the Medulli, as said before, tells of two springs not far apart, giving rise



one to the Doria and Druentia, the other to the Po. He states, that from one of these springs the Druentia flows one way to the Rhone, and the Doria the contrary way through the Salassi to the Po, and that from the other spring flows the Po himself. I believe that Strabo has in no other place spoken of the source of the Po: and I do not find that the words, by which he here places it in the mountains of the Medulli, are quoted by any modern writer: possibly because they have not studied to construe the position which Strabo assigns to the region of the Medulli themselves. I have ventured to notice the article "Medulli" in Dr. Smith's Dictionary by an author of some weight; expressing my surprise that in citing Strabo's passage on the sources of the rivers, he had omitted the Po. He sets out Strabo's *πηγαὶ δύο*, and tells you what flowed from one of them; but does not say what flowed from the other; which was *αὐτὸς ὁ Πάδος*.

Neither in D'Anville, nor in those who have followed him, is there an attempt to deal with the Medullian origin of the Po. The passage is often referred to in the excellent recent work I have mentioned: but those words are always left out. Under the titles, Doria, Druentia, Medulli, Alpes Cottiae, Padus, the writings of Strabo are referred to: but his source of the Po is never quoted. If it is supposed that the source of Pliny must have been the source of Strabo, and even of Polybius, I cannot acknowledge such necessity; nor do I acknowledge that, on the position of the Medulli, Strabo is rightly construed.

In the text of Strabo, as usually received, there is a statement which cannot be accepted; viz. that the same spring sends one river, the Druentia, to the Rhone, westward; and another, the Doria, to the Po, eastward. It is usual to construe this the minor Doria; which does not remove the difficulty, but increases it. Strabo gives a long account of the Doria of the Salassi, minute and accurate, such as he could

only write with full intention, and knowledge of that subject: yet we read at the same time, that the Medullian fountain which sends out the Druentia to join the Rhone, sends out the Doria to join the Po. We know this not to be true: and, though we cannot account for the error, we may doubt those who vindicate it as correct, and who profess to explain it.

They say that the Druentia, and the minor Doria of Pliny, do flow from the same fountain, not among the Medulli, but in the range of the Genève. This is an ingenious conjecture. But Strabo, I believe, knew no minor Doria: and, if he had, this would be no sufficient answer. Do those rivers spring from one fountain? You must greatly strain the facts, before you can venture on such an assertion. Neither springs from Mont Genève. It is true that the Druentia, flowing southward under those Alps, and of course receiving augmentation as he goes along, gets a little of it in passing the Mont Genève as he approaches Briançon. The Doria minor, running northward below the other side of the same ridge, may also receive contributions as he skirts the same range. But the former has run down the valley of Prez, coming from more northern mountains above Neuvache, and has been reinforced on the left bank by greater torrents than that from the Genève. So the minor Doria springs far south from the Col du Cramiol, and the Vallon de la Fiournière, whence it runs in a north-west direction till, having passed Césanne, it goes forward to Oulx, Susa, and Turin. These are the facts: and as their *πηγαὶ* are very many miles asunder, he must be a bold man who talks of their springing from one fountain, as a solution of the strange idea of Druentia in Strabo's tale of the Salassi.

All who have noticed the passage, have seemed to think that Strabo wrote under a particular mistake. D'Anville said first, "Il faut regarder une méprise dans laquelle il tombe à l'égard de la Doria Riparia, en disant qu'elle coule chez les Salassi,



"ce qui ne convient qu'à la Doria Baltea." Mr. G. Long says (in v. Druentia), "Strabo is mistaken about the Doria minor, "for it is the other, which flows through the country of the "Salassi. Two streams rise on Mont Genève: one is the "Durance, and the other is the Doria." Can it be assumed that he was employed on the minor Doria, and that his mistake was in importing matter which could only apply to the Salassian Doria? I do not believe that Strabo ever meant to speak of the minor Doria at all: and the question is, which is the Doria of which he gives us that long and interesting history; more interesting, as Livy's book is lost, which contained the same unhappy picture.

First a few words to show that Strabo probably knew of no second Doria. One would conceive that those who assume him to have known it, suppose that it was in his day a stream of some known importance. No one would suspect that it is not to be found in all his works, and is not alluded to by any ancient writer before Pliny. He, coming ninety years after Strabo, may have intended to recognise as a second Doria, the river of Susa, though he gives it no locality. Enumerating the rivers that fell into the Po on the left bank, he reports them in this order: Sturam, Orgum, Durias duas, Sessitem, Ticinum. If we come down ninety years further, we find Ptolemy mentioning only one Doria: and that is the Doria Baltea. Strabo mentions it a second time, in the fifth book. In the *Geog. Dict.* under "Duria," Mr. Bunbury says—"Strabo mentions only one river of the name." I go further, and say that he mentions it twice; and I believe that in both instances it is the Doria of the Salassi. The Doria of the Salassi, and the country through which it flows, is a subject on which Strabo has dwelt with some pains, and given an intelligible picture of it, except in regard of the Druentia: and it may be well to repeat the whole of it: and, though some have been quoted before, I will begin at the beginning.

Having said of the Vocontii that they reach to the Allobroges, his statement is read thus, p. 203:—"After the "Vocontii, are the Iconii and Tricorii; and after them the "Medulli, who hold the highest peaks: in fact, they say that "the most direct height of them is 100 stadia in ascent, and "the same again in descent to the bounds of Italy. Up in "the hollow places there stands a great lake, and two springs "not far apart from each other; from one of which the "Druentia, a river in deep channels, flows in one direction, "which dashes along into the Rhone; and the Doria in the "contrary direction, for it mixes with the Po after being "carried through the Salassi into Cisalpine Gaul: and from "the other spring, on a much lower level, issues the Po "himself, both full and rapid. In his progress he becomes "greater and greater; for now, being in the plain, he receives "increase from many rivers, and is widened; and, as 'he "pours on, has a distracted and less defined stream. He "falls into the Adriatic Sea, having become the greatest "river of Europe after the Danube.

"The Medulli are situated the farthest above the confluence "of the Isère with the Rhone. On the other side of the "mountain range here spoken of, that which slopes towards "Italy, dwell the Taurini, a Ligurian nation, and other "Ligurians: and of these is the land called the land of "Ideonnus, and that of Cottius. Beyond them and the Po "are the Salassi; and above these in the mountain heights "the Centrones, and the Caturiges, and the Veragri, and "the Nantuatæ, and the Lemane lake through which the "Rhone is carried, and the source of that river. And "not far from these are the sources of the Rhine, and "the mountain Adulas, from which both the Rhine flows "northward, and the Adua in the contrary direction, falling "into the Larian lake, which is in front of Comum." (After naming others, the Salassi are resumed)—

"The country of the Salassi lies in a great measure in a deep valley, mountains enclosing the region on both sides: but some portion reaches up even towards the heights which overhang that region. To those who pass over the mountains from Italy the way is along the valley I speak of: it is then separated into two: one is carried through the Pænine as it is called, not practicable for carriages over the tops of the Alps; the other, more westward, through the Centrones.

"The Salassian country possesses gold mines, which the Salassians formerly held when they were a powerful people; as also they were masters of the passes. The river Doria mostly promoted their mining, for the washing out of the gold ore: for which purpose parting off the water to make sluices towards various places, they left the main channel empty. This was useful to them for the pursuit of gold, but grievous to the husbandmen of the plains below them, who were robbed of their watering; this river being fitted for the irrigation of the district from the great fall of the stream.

"From this cause frequent wars arose between the two peoples interested. When the Romans got the mastery, the Salassians were driven both from their gold workings and the country: but, still holding the mountains, they exacted payment for the water from the contractors who farmed the mines; and were always at variance with them, owing to the greediness of these publicans. Thus it came to pass that Roman generals, who from time to time were commissioned to those parts, readily found excuse on which to make war.

"Down to very recent times the Salassi, sometimes warred upon by the Romans, sometimes let alone, still had a strength, and were very injurious to those who passed over their mountains, according to their habits of plunder. They

"made Decimus Brutus, in his flight from Modena, pay a drachma for every man he had with him. Messala, wintering near them, had to pay down value for his wood, both for firing, and for elm to make javelins and weapons of exercise. These men once plundered Cæsar's baggage: and they sent down fragments of precipices upon the legions, pretending to be employed in making roads and bridging rivers.

"Afterwards, however, Augustus utterly subdued them, and sold them all as prize property—being brought down to Eporedia, a colony of the Romans which they had planted there, meaning it to be a guard against the Salassi: but those who were posted there could do little to withstand them, until the nation was exterminated. There were reckoned of other persons 36,000, and of fighting men 8,000. Terentius Varro, the general who had overthrown them, sold them all by auction, and Augustus Cæsar sending 3,000 Romans founded the city Augusta on the spot where Varro had his camp. The whole neighbourhood is now peaceable to the very summits of the mountains." Strabo then proceeds to speak of the Helvetii, and Boii, &c.

Strabo was in the prime of life when the Salassian war took place, and a brave people was exterminated: and, seeing the ample and accurate information which he had on the history and geography of their river, and the valley through which it flows, where is the provocation to suspect that he meant to speak of the minor Doria, and called it Salassian by mistake? At least we are entitled to question this explanation which appears to have satisfied the learned, and to ask why, in their discussions and quotations of these passages, they have never bestowed an observation on *αὐτὸς ὁ Πιάδος*. The term surely deserves attention, and I think it will be found that the position of the Medulli claims further consideration.

It is to be observed, that Strabo, after carrying the Po from

the confluence of the Doria Baltea to the Adriatic, reverts to the Medulli. He seems further to fix that people's position, and the early course of the Po from their mountains, by showing it to run between the Taurini and the Salassi, whose direction, as if towards him as he speaks, is marked by their having above them the Veragri and others, and the lake of Geneva beyond. One cannot doubt that he means the Po to receive the Doria at his left bank: but it may perhaps be doubted from what direction Strabo supposed the Po himself to have come to the confluence. If he speaks, as I think is indisputable, of the Doria Baltea, the Po must have come from the north-west out of the Medullian heights: and it would be vain to expect a precise definition of the source. We must ramble from Chivasso towards the glaciers of the Isère right and left, to imagine where Strabo himself would conjecture it, if he had the opportunity of handling a modern map.

It is certainly very remarkable, that D'Anville and so many able men have been and still are thus silent on the Po. They say not from what mountains Strabo derived that great river. Their whole favour is bestowed on the identity of the sources of the Druentia and the Doria: instead of rectifying the former, they convert the latter into a thing which it is not: striving only to mend that which wants no mending. What Strabo says of the Doria is free from all ambiguity. What he says of the Po shows clearly his impressions: and perhaps not wrong impressions; for ignorance of the nomenclature of future times is not error. But Strabo's source of the Po is wholly excluded from the question, while the critics relieve the error on Druentia by substituting another Doria. By shifting his Doria from the valley of the Salassi to the valley of Susa, they do not improve the sense of the passage. The writer of the article "Padus" in the *Geographical Dictionary*, commonly very accurate, quotes no authority earlier than Pliny, when he states the Po to have its sources in

Mons Vesulus: he says afterwards—"The valley of the "Padus, as well as the river itself, are well described by "Polybius, the earliest author in whom the Roman name "Padus is found, as well as at a later period by Strabo and "Pliny." Of the three descriptions, two are not quoted: we know however that Polybius states the Po to run southward till he makes the great bend to the east, and that Strabo states him to rise from his own fountain in the heights of the Medulli.

At present, I believe that the usual explanation of one of the fountains flowing in two opposite directions, is not sound, but only ingenious. With a rival ingenuity, Mr. Whitaker took a point near Mont Blanc, as furnishing the double spring, to feed the Rhone on one side and the Po on the other. The first source of the Doria is, we know, in the Col de la Seigne: and Mr. Whitaker found, on the other side of the ridge, the stream of the Arve in the Val de Montjoie, and, carrying it to the Rhone at Geneva, demonstrates, as he says, from this very passage of Strabo, that the Arve was actually denominated Druentia by the Romans.\*

It may be, that a proprietor, cutting his barley near Napoleon's obelisk on the Genève, will in some map see cause to flatter himself that his farm originates the Doire and the Durance. Whatever may be that gentleman's excuse, Strabo is not his authority. If any think proper to bestow those fluvial titles on streams that trickle down from either side of the Genève range, this will not guide us to the interpretation of Strabo's text: it will not make the Durance to rise in the Medullian Alps: it will not cancel his elaborate account of the Salassian Doria; nor import into his works another Doria.

\* See Whitaker's "Course of Hannibal Ascertained," i. 150. N.B.—Before our inquiry is closed, the Druentia will incur fresh casualties at the hands of the Cenisians.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Po and Doria of Strabo—Lib. v. p. 217.*

I HAVE further to show, that in the one other passage, lib. v. 217, where Strabo speaks of a river Doria, he there also intends the Doria Baltea.

He is endeavouring to show by distances the way from Ariminum on the Adriatic towards the limit of the Cisalpine Province, where he had heard that it adjoined the domain of Cottius. The usual reading of these sentences is as follows:—  
 Ἀπὸ δὲ Πλακεντίας εἰς Ἀρίμινον στάδιοι χίλιοι τριακόσιοι.  
 ὑπὲρ δὲ Πλακεντίας, ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς,  
 Τίκινον ἐν τριακόντα ἑξ μιλίοις πόλιν καὶ ὁμώνυμος ὁ παρα-  
 ρρέων ποταμὸς συμβάλλων τῷ Παδῷ, καὶ Κλαστιδίον καὶ  
 Δέρθων καὶ Ἀκουιστατέλλα μικρὸν ἐν παροδῷ. ἡ δ' εὐθεία εἰς  
 Ὠκελον παρὰ τὸν Πάδον τὸν Δουρίαν ποταμὸν βαρὰ θρώδης,  
 ἡ πολλὴ πλείους καὶ ἄλλους ἔχουσα ποταμοὺς (ὧν καὶ τὸν  
 Δρουεντίαν) μιλίων ἑστὶ περὶ ἑξήκοντα. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη τὰ  
 Ἄλπεα ὄρη καὶ ἡ Κελτική. The text was so printed, I believe  
 till 1844, when Kramer admitted καὶ before τὸν Δουρίαν on  
 the suggestion of M. Du Theil.\*

The important blemish is that a word is wanting before τὸν Δουρίαν. I conceive the missing word to be ἐπὶ; and that the sentences must be taken to express the following ideas:—"From Ariminum to Placentia it is 1,300 stadia. "Above Placentia, as you travel to the confines of the "Cottian land, there is in 36 miles the town Ticinum, and "river of the same name, flowing past it, and falling into the

\* Casaubon is said to have been in favour of καί, but it is not in his text.

"Po. Clastidium, Derthona, and Aquæ Statiellæ are a little "on one side of your route. The straight onward route for "Ocelum is along the Po to the river Doria about sixty "miles; being full of hollows, and having for the most part "many other rivers (among them the Druentia). After that "are the Alpine mountains and Celtica." Strabo would have carried you to Ocelum if he could: but, as I understand the text, the description halts at the Doria, because he had exhausted his information. The progress, so far as described, is in three instalments: in order to reach the boundary of the province, there ought to be one or two more. The first is clearly expressed, to Placentia 1,300 stadia so the second, to Ticinum 36 miles: the third is equally clear, to the Doria 60 miles. Beyond this, instruction is wanting: having nothing more to tell you, he only says that, going forward, you will have the Alps and Celtica.

Some think that words are lost between ἐξήκοντα and ἐντεῦθεν: if so, they may have expressed the space from the Doria to Ocelum.\* But, if Strabo himself left the words as they stand, it consists with that which I have already shown reason to believe; namely, that his researches did not enable him to carry his particulars in the direction of Ocelum further than the mouth of the Doria Baltea: so there he drops his detail. It was before pointed out that, when he was showing the way from the Alps near Briançon eastward, he stopped short at Ocelum; as he does here at the Doria. Nowhere does he notice anything which belongs to the space that intervenes between those points: and the just inference is, that he had no knowledge nor information relating to it, from which he could fill up the blank. See *ante*, c. 3.

The French translator, M. Du Theil, tom. ii. 134, wished to improve the text, so as to account for the whole journey to

\* Viz.: Up the Po to the site of Turin, and by Pinerolo and Fenestrelles.



Ocelum: so he translates, not without apology, εἰς "Ωκελον," "jusqu'à Ocelum;" which is wrong. Moreover, before τὸν Δουρίαν, where I would supply ἐπὶ, as the missing word, he approves of καί; which involves the matter in fresh difficulties: for, though καί is said to be found in two Paris manuscripts, yet, when inserted between Πάδον and τὸν Δουρίαν, it produces the idea παρὰ τὸν Δουρίαν, and the route is made along the Po and along the minor Doria. "Le long du Po et Durias (Riparia)." Now a route up this river will never reach the terminus Ocelum; for that place belongs to another line of ascent, separated from this river by a continuous range of mountains. It is, as said in Dr. Smith's Dictionary, in the valley of Fenestrelles, not in that of the minor Doria. M. Du Theil himself, however, comforts us with saying that their route will go "jusqu'àsez près." Strabon, ii. 135. Moreover, this remedy of minor Doria produces a fresh disease in the sentence: sixty miles is utterly useless as a distance from Ticinum to Ocelum; and their way of mending the figures is by turning sixty into 160, for which there is no authority of any sort. When this change was thought of at Paris in 1809, M. Gosselin maintained the sixty miles of Polybius; that is, from Ticinum to the Doria Baltea, and to be applied only to that portion of the route along the Po. As to Δρουντίαν, it might have been let alone as inexplicable: but the translators were determined to cure this also: so this too is deemed to be the minor Doria. Not a happy solution! Δρουντίαν stands as one of the "many other rivers:" Doria is that with which the many others are contrasted.

The minor Doria is readily accepted by Mr. Ellis. *Journal of Philol.* vol. iii. 21. He finds it "clear from Strabo, that Ocelum lay upon the banks of a river Dora." He cites the passage with καί, not hinting that the word had ever been absent: he assumes that I accept καί with a course

along such a river: he challenges "Mr. Law's interpretation, "as he calls it, of παρὰ τὸν Δουρίαν," and sagely exclaims, "How any road from Placentia to Ocelum could have run, "either wholly or partially, along the banks of the Orco or "the Dora Baltea, is a matter utterly beyond my powers of "conception." Now Mr. Ellis well knew that I did not interpret παρὰ τὸν Δουρίαν in that way, or any way; but that I rejected the idea which the words contain, being the result of sticking in καί.

Mr. Ellis listens without objection to the 100 miles which the French translator adds to the 60 of Strabo: but is rather at a loss in applying them. He wishes the distance to end at his own Ocelum (Buttigliera), which is between Turin and Rivoli; and 160 is much too long for that: so he offers two new plans, one for 160 and one for 60; and invents for each a new terminus à quo, instead of the Ticinum of Strabo. He says, "If reckoned from Placentia, 60 must be a mistake for 160." Now we cannot reckon from Placentia: the previous instalment was from Placentia to Ticinum. Then he says, "If reckoned from near the modern Casale, 60 would be "nearly correct." But we cannot reckon from Casale: we are construing Strabo; and Casale is half-way between Ticinum and Turin: and by no construction can you make it a terminus of distance.

Mr. Ellis has this ready way of accounting for Druentia:—"The Δρουντία of Strabo would be Dora Baltea." Being one of those who cannot believe in Strabo's Doria of the Salassi, he takes this opportunity of making him call it something else. Thinking that Strabo in the fourth book named the Salassian Doria by mistake, he borrows for it now a name from the other side of the Alps, Druentia: and the English translator is not more discreet in calling it the "Doria Riparia," and speaking of "the ancient Druentia." This word is a casualty that we are not called upon to account for.



There is a convert to the errors of *καί* and *ἐκατόν*, who is entitled to much respect, the learned Gustavus Kramer. In his laborious studies, it has been a great object to provide a text which may not defy grammatical construction. Seeing that a word must be found to precede *τὸν Δουρίαν*, he has hastily accepted *καί* as an improvement; which being imported, *παρὰ τὸν Δουρίαν* is the idea which results: but that cannot mean the Doria Baltea, inasmuch as a traveller going along that river from the Po would be tending to Mont Blanc instead of Ocelum. But, if you wish the words of Strabo to carry you to Ocelum, or near it, his sixty miles must be more than doubled. So the learned editor of 1844, evidently suspecting the alteration of the French critic, prints it thus—[*ἐκατόν*] *ἑξήκοντα*; and says in a note, "*ἐκατόν* addidi ex 'Du Theilii conjecturâ, qui, collatis itinerariis, hoc esse in-  
"tervallum ostendit."\* Thus the two alterations of the text and the false geography which places Uxeau in the valley of the minor Doria, instead of the valley of Fenestrelles, are acknowledged by Kramer to rest on the conjecture of M. Du Theil. I see that the English translator of Strabo adopts both innovations, *καί* and *ἐκατόν*, without comment. Though he admits Ocelum to be Ocello, Uxeau, in the Val Pragelas, he is content, like M. Du Theil, with the hopeless chance of finding it "assez près" on the minor Doria.

In this question I feel myself called upon to regard the passage as defective. Strabo does not reach Ocelum. The notion that he does so rests on the words *ἡ δ' εὐθεία εἰς Ὀκελον*, which the French translator wrongly renders "jusqu' à Ocelum:" and he applies a distance to suit the purpose. But Strabo's Doria, not Ocelum, is the terminus of that instalment of distance. It is true that, in stating it, Strabo introduces the idea that the route is a route for Ocelum. And so it is: in the preceding distance, which gives only a stretch to the

\* Ocelum is in no itinerary.

Ticinus, he says the same thing in the words *ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς*. Those confines and Ocelum were to him convertible terms; as in p. 179, *Ὀκελον τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς*. Thus, in each prescription of distance westward, Placentia to Ticinum, and Ticinum to the Doria, he tells you that he is tending to the Roman confines: in one by the term Cottian boundary, in the other by the term Ocelum. But in neither instance does he bring you to the end of that journey: neither at Ticinum, nor at the Doria. Each is an instalment; and only an instalment. The French translation of the first expression, *ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Κοττίου γῆς*, "en tirant vers les confins de Cottius," would be a just translation of the equivalent term in the next allegation of distance: Strabo, having paused to name those places not in the route, resumes his track with *ἡ δ' εὐθεία εἰς Ὀκελον*: the proposition which begins with these words, brings you to the Doria Baltea, not further.

Part of Strabo's Italy was founded on his own experience: but for the greater part he depended on books: and on many subjects wanted the benefit of the newest information. The report of distances in this part of his work seems to indicate memoranda taken from various sources: so different are the modes of estimating them. After reporting that from Genoa to Derthona it is 400 stades, and the same from Derthona to Placentia, he says that it will be two days and nights from Placentia to Ravenna: between Ariminum and Placentia he gives the distance in stades; from Placentia to Ticinum in miles; from Ticinum to the Doria in miles: and thence to the terminus that he has in mind, the distance is not expressed at all. His particulars end at the mouth of the Doria Baltea: *ἐντεῦθεν* refers to that point, not to Ocelum: from the Doria he leaves the reader to deal with Celtica and the Alps as best he can.

These comments on the Po and Doria of Strabo have been made in the belief that they confirm my views on the Po of Polybius; so as to support the proposition that, when he wrote, the Cottian or Western Alps were unexplored. I show, therefore, that even Strabo, in a much later day, and with his better opportunities, was not primed in regard to the region of Italy under those Alps, with the more recent additions to Roman information. Polybius was not likely to hear of the Po rising in Vesulus: and Strabo did not. My opponent, Mr. Ellis, considers that even the earlier Polybius had made greater progress, and therefore that Strabo must have done so too. He meets my assertion, that Strabo's Doria was the Doria Baltea, and my suggestion that the Orca might be his Po, by saying (*Journal of Phil.* iii. 20)—“Strabo, who was acquainted with Polybius's writings, could hardly have held so absurd an opinion about the Po.”

It is true that, if better knowledge of those streams had been derivable from Polybius, Strabo had access to it. But Polybius had not that knowledge. Mr. Ellis has not said a word to show that he had: and, as far as we have the means of judging, he had not. Whether it was absurd in these two distinguished writers, between whom there was an interval of 150 years, not to have apprehended as the Po, the stream which, rising in Vesulus, now flows past Saluzzo and Turin, is a matter on which men may think as they please. I have ventured to point out, as fact, that they did not so apprehend it. I impute to them conceptions on the Po, which do not accord with our conceptions of it: and, though you say that they were in error, I contend that their conceptions are consistent with one another, and that their consistency strengthens me in my construction. The statement of one of these writers is that the Po runs southward till he makes the great bend to the east: the statement of the other is, that the Po and the Salassian Doria had their sources in the same mountains not

far from each other: and, as there is nothing in the writings of either, which indicates the Po to flow northward to the great bend near Chivasso, I feel warranted in the views which I impute to them. Whether or not it is your pleasure to charge those views with error, I have their own authority for saying that they entertained them, and I have a right to say that those views were not absurd.

Mr. Ellis is an historian and a geographer. Let him show at what period it began to be absurd, to attribute to the Po a source other than from Monte Viso. I cannot see that it would be absurd to do so now, if the world should fancy it. Can any man be named before Pliny, who asserted that source? What is the moral necessity that his predecessors had set him the example? Did his successors always follow the example? If not, they must in the eyes of Mr. Ellis be still more absurd. And yet there are names among them who enjoy his particular respect. The text of Ptolemy records the *συμβολή* of the two rivers; saying of the Po, *ἡ κατὰ τὴν Λάριον λίμνην κεφαλὴ*, and of the Doire, *ἡ κεφαλὴ ἡ κατὰ τὴν Ποινίαν λίμνην*. iii. 63. Appian, contemporary with Ptolemy, conducts Hannibal over the Alps “near to the sources of the Rhone and the Po, rivers which rise not far from each other.” The author of Peutinger's chart carries the Po from the Alps, in a course due west and east drawn far above the latitude of Susa and Turin.

## CHAPTER VII.

*Mr. Ellis on the early use of the Little Mont Cenis. His appeal to Ammianus Marcellinus.*

ONE who has perceived evidence of the Cenis pass in the works of Strabo, was likely to discern the same thing in other ancient documents: and it may be interesting to show how far the penetration of this laborious theorist has reached in developing the early notoriety of that route.

Mr. Ellis, p. 159, says that the Cenis "is mentioned by name for the first time where it is said to have been crossed by Pepin in the year 755;" which is about half-way between Hannibal's time and our own: 973 years after the Carthaginian invasion, 1099 before Mr. Ellis's treatise. But, though the name had not been used, he declares that the pass was "known from the most remote historic times." The pass of Pepin not proving much, an earlier period is offered to notice, one which is only 779 years after Hannibal: and Mr. Ellis shows that Secusia civitas was then under the Bishop of Maurienne, who was subject to the Metropolitan see of Vienne. Hence he assumes that there was a way of getting from Italy to Maurienne; and thinks that the Cenis must then have been in use for passing from the valley of Susa to the Arc. It may have been so: and the Col de la Roue may also have been in use for that purpose. But we are still far away from Hannibal.

After citing, in support of these interesting facts, books not in every-day use to the student of Hannibal's march, Fredegar, Baronius, and Gregory of Tours, Mr. Ellis creeps into higher antiquity, and produces a few startling propositions. They are stated in these words—p. 160.

"1. The pass of the Mont Cenis is alluded to by Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the fourth century.

"2. The road over the Little Mont Cenis is laid down in the Peutingerian Table, and was therefore a Roman way.

"3. The Mont Cenis was crossed by Julius Cæsar, when on his way to intercept the Helvetii in Transalpine Gaul."

These three facts, though they would be of small importance if they were true, yet as the ripened fruit of the meditations of a severe thinker on the Hannibal question, they must not be overlooked.

*Appeal to Ammianus Marcellinus.*

This writer, who flourished in the middle of the fourth century, having mentioned the Cottian Alps as bounding Gaul to the east, and having stated that Cottius, being conciliated by Augustus, made new and more convenient roads "medias inter alias Alpes vetustas," writes thus, as quoted by Mr. Ellis in his *Treatise*, p. 161:—

"In his Alpibus Cottiis, quarum initium à Segusione est oppido, præcelsum erigitur jugum, nulli fere sine discrimine penetrabile. Est enim è Galliis venientibus pronâ humilitate devexum, pendentium saxorum altrinsecus visû terribile, præsertim verno tempore: cum liquente gelu, nivibusque solutis flatu calidiore ventorum, per diruptas utrinque angustias, et lacunas pruinarum congerie latebrosas, descendentes cunctantibus plantis homines et jumenta procidunt et carpenta: idque remedium ad arcendum exitium reperiunt est solum, quod pleraque vehicula vastis funibus illigata, pone cohibente virorum vel boum nisu valido, vix gressu reptante paulo tutius devolvuntur. Et hæ, ut diximus, anni verno contingunt. Hieme vero humus cristrata frigidibus, et tanquam levigata, ideoque labilis, incessum præcipitantem impellit, et patulæ valles per spatiâ plana glacie perfidæ vorant nonnunquam transeuntes. Ob quæ locorum

"callidi, eminentes ligneos stilos per cautiora loca defigunt, ut eorum series viatorem ducat innoxium: qui si nivibus operti latuerint, montanis defluentibus rivis eversi, agrestibus præviis difficile pervaduntur.

"A summitate autem hujus Italici clivi planities adusque stationem nomine Martis, per septem extenditur millia: et hinc alia celsitudo erectior, ægrèque superabilis, ad Matronæ porrigitur verticem, cujus vocabulum casus fœminæ nobilis dedit. Unde declive quidem iter, sed expeditius adusque Castellum Virgantium patet." Lib. vi. c. 10.

Here the author seems to speak of Cottian Alps beginning from Susa and leading to Briançon. He describes at some length the steepness and dangers offered by a "præcelsum jugum" to those who descend it coming from Gaul. Having described those horrors, he shortly notices the road which from the top of this "jugum" is carried over the crest of Alps to Briançon. He says that from the summit there is a level, "planities," of about seven miles as far as the station "Ad Martis;" and after that, a steeper ascent, hardly to be surmounted, up to the summit of Matrona; and then the descent to Brigantio. The four places named are very well known places: and it might puzzle any man to guess, how the "præcelsum jugum" can be supposed to represent the Mont Cenis or Little Mont Cenis.

Mr. Ellis admits, *Treatise* 161, that "Ad Martis" is Oulx; that Matrone is the Mont Genève; and that Virgantium is Briançon: and he verifies, within a small fraction of distance, all that the author says of the "planities," making it last for six miles to Oulx instead of seven: he tells us, that, from Susa to the beginning of the "planities," the river is in a defile; that the defile is formed on the north (*i.e.* on your right hand in ascending) by a mountain mass. This is Mr. Ellis's own evidence: nevertheless, he declares that the Mont Cenis is the pass of which Ammianus spoke.

I cannot pretend to understand Mr. Ellis's argument, if there is one: the confusion of ideas seems to be all his own: so he charges it upon the text which he interprets, magnifying his own merit as interpreter. He considers that Ammianus did not comprehend the accounts from which he compiled his description, and put together confusedly the phenomena of the "præcelsum jugum," avalanches, &c. At the same time he urges, that the truth and accuracy of his details prove the trustworthiness of the authorities which he had consulted. Thus, while Mr. Ellis abuses the history that he is quoting, yet, with a clairvoyance peculiar to himself, he reads through it the earlier books which the author had so ill-digested.

After approving the position given by Ammianus to the "planities," and saying that the "summitas clivi" is therefore at the end of the defile, about two miles above Exilles, Mr. Ellis argues thus, p. 162, in favour of the Cenis:—"Yet this 'summitas' is clearly not the summit of the 'præcelsum jugum,' even if Ammianus supposed it to be so. For it is merely a point in the valley of the Dora, and not the crest of a pass at all." This he calls his "argument on position:" but we do not know that any one has alleged what he contradicts. Ammianus does not call it the crest of a pass: on the contrary, he says that, after the intervention of a "planities," there is a further and steeper ascent before you can reach the heights of the Genève.

Having laid down that "summitas" is clearly not the summit of the "præcelsum jugum," Mr. Ellis undertakes to find the meaning of "hujus Italici clivi." He instructs us that "clivus" is a slope, and that "Italicus" is the reverse of "Gallicus:" but he forgets the third word "hujus." He might see, that "hujus clivi" imports a slope which has been mentioned before, and that it can be nothing but the "præcelsum jugum." Also, when he comes to "alia celsitudo erectior," he will find the comparison to be with the "jugum:" no other declivity has been mentioned.



Mr. Ellis prescribes, without aid from the author, that, in order to comprehend the "præcelsum jugum," we must search for a line of communication between the valley of the Arc and the valley of the minor Doria. Begging this as a requisite, he names a few tracks, as capable of affording the transit: he creates shadows, to have the merit of dispersing them. Referring to his defile between Susa and the "planities," he says: "Over this mountain mass three passes exist, regarding the Great and Little Mont Cenis as one. These passes are, the Mont Cenis, the Col de Clairée, and the Col d'Ambin. Yet the two last, of which the names are scarcely known, are merely difficult mountain tracks: "*no carpentum*\* could ever have crossed either of these cols."—*Treatise*, p. 163.

Thus Mr. Ellis, in his own way, sets up as competitors things which he imagines to be more absurd than the Cenis, and he would prove the Cenis by negating them. But in truth they are not more absurd than the Cenis. Mr. Ellis turns the scale against them by their inaptitude for a "carpentum:" intimating that such a luxury might have been enjoyed in the descent to Novalèse. But we remember his own description of this preferable road. It is in this descent that he makes Hannibal to lose ten thousand men in six miles without meeting a living enemy, p. 126. He exhibited it in p. 120, as "only one foot wide, the traveller being transported in a *chaise à porteurs*, they leaping from rock to rock, while "he and his chair hung half in air over the precipice." Surely he should have explained how his Cenisian pass, so unfavourably portrayed in the eighteenth century, was adapted to a *barouche* in the time of Ammianus.

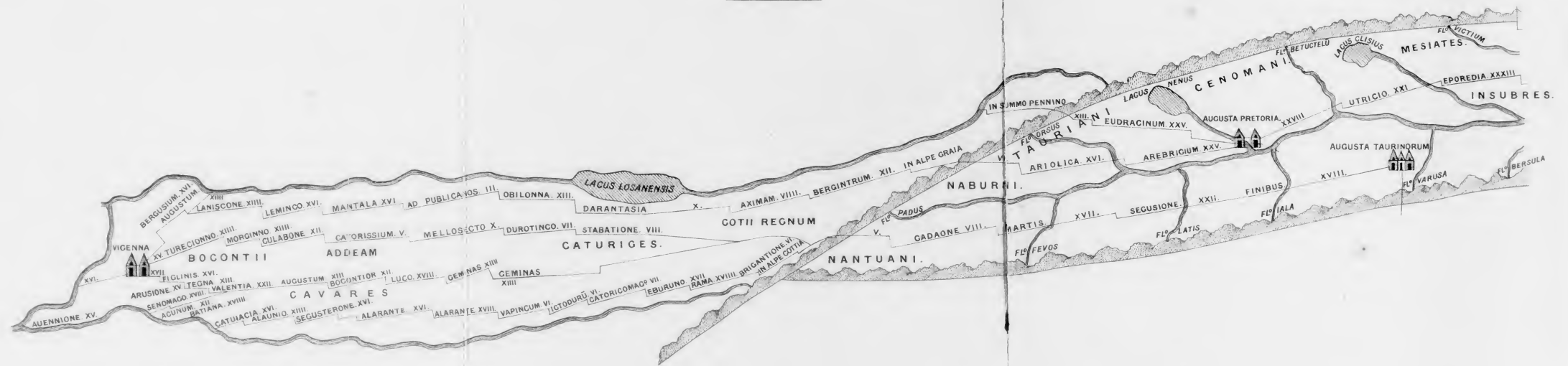
Mr. Ellis closes his proof of the identity of the Cenis with the "jugum" of Ammianus by quotations from two French critics, who give the former a fearfully bad character from La

\* See the passage of Ammianus.



PART OF  
TABULA PEUTINGERIANA

EDIT SCHEYB 1753.



To accompany "The Alps of Hannibal" See Vol. I. Page 99.

Grande Croix downwards: and tendering his own evidence on the requisites, "prona humilitas, pendentia saxa, nives solutæ" and "calidior flatus," complacently pronounces, "The Mont Cenis was, in fact, the pass between Gaul and Italy, of which Ammianus speaks."

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Mr. Ellis on the Little Mont Cenis. His appeal to the Peutingerian Table.*

THOUGH Mr. Ellis looks upon the Cenis track as the most ancient of practised Alpine Passes, and having flourished before the time of Hannibal, he does not suggest it as among the Ways first registered: it does not appear in the Itinerary of Antoninus, nor in the Jerusalem Itinerary. The places entered as stations in these documents are too capable of proof to be transferred into the road over the Little Mont Cenis. Mr. Ellis takes his stand on that queer old map ascribed to the latter part of the fourth century after Christ, called sometimes "Carte de Peutinger," sometimes "Table Théodosienne," of which I have given a short account in my first volume.

If a man should believe Portsmouth to be in Yorkshire and Beverley to be in Hampshire, he would be warranted in stating that belief to others: but one should be surprised if he were to tell us that it was so laid down in the map of England; so we are surprised with this proposition: "The road over the Little Mont Cenis is laid down in the Peutingerian Table." To appreciate the merits of the proposition, it is expedient that the Table should be referred to: for it is a thing quite *sui generis*: I have already given some account of the document itself; and a copy of the small portion of it

necessary for the occasion is offered by Mr. Ellis with his *Treatise*. Let us then endeavour fairly to examine the process, by which the zeal of a laborious theorist would turn this document to account.

In the Chart of Peutinger there is marked distinctly a chain of mountains, representing in a continuous course the main barrier of the Alps. Three tracks are drawn over them, marked respectively by the words "in summo Pennino;" "in Alpe Graiâ;" "in Alpe Cottiâ:" showing that the framer of the Chart was acquainted with the Passes of the Great St. Bernard, the Little St. Bernard, and the Mont Genève. None is more definitely pointed out than the last: a track is drawn in a line from Turin,\* through the same Stations which are given in the Itineraries, to and over the mountain chain: we there see written, "Brigantione," and "in Alpe Cottiâ." On the French side the Chart has this peculiarity: the two Itineraries had given a route from Briançon to Arles on the Rhone; and in one of them there is a branch route from Gap, going through Luc and Die to Valence on the Rhone. The Chart has the same track to Arles without the branch from Gap: but, on crossing the chain of mountains to Briançon, it sends forward two more tracks: one, through places marked Geminæ and Gerainæ to Luc (not touching Embrun or Gap) and so on to Valence: the other through Culabone to the Rhone at Vienne. This line is proposed as the subject of inquiry.

Mr. Ellis prepares his readers for receiving the argument which he is about to administer by a broad assertion, and a very bold one, such as may secure to him the privilege of speaking of things by perverse instead of simple description. At p. 167 of his *Treatise*, the subject is introduced thus:—"In the Peutingerian Table, four Roman roads across the Alps will be found, three proceeding from Turin, and one

\* Turin does not appear at all in Mr. Ellis's copy.

"from Ivrea." The truth is, that there is one road proceeding from Turin, not three: and, though the author adds that "the three are coincident for a certain distance," this does not relieve the fallacy of "three Roman roads proceeding from Turin." There is in the chart one road from Turin to the chain of Alps at Mont Genève, and beyond it there are three in France, proceeding to the Rhone. The fallacy is carried on through many pages, by calling the three tracks which are in France, the Turin and Arles road, the Turin and Valence road, the Turin and Vienne road. No man, looking at the chart without inclination to mislead himself or others, can fail to see that the Roman road proceeding from Turin to Briançon is one.

The only object which I see to be answered by stating three roads to exist from Turin, which exist only in France, is confusion. Intelligible terms are important to a proposition which claims to be true. It is easy and simple to speak of a track by its termini, the place where it begins, and the place where it ends. Such is the line of 85 miles which we see in the chart of Peutinger from Briançon to Vienne: and, though the distances which compose it may each be questioned, you are understood when you so describe it. But Mr. Ellis produces, in p. 169 of the *Treatise*, this proposition:—"The Peutingerian Table gives 85 Roman miles as the distance "from Vienne to the point where the Turin and Vienne road "falls into the Turin and Valence road." If there had been a Turin and Valence road, and a Turin and Vienne road, distinct from one another, there might be a point where one might fall into the other or cross the other: but, as there are not such roads, there is no such point; and you cannot measure to it.

When I criticised these things in 1855, Mr. Ellis defended himself in the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*; and still hoped to persuade us that the track which he had named the

*Turin and Vienne road* is drawn over the Little Mont Cenis. As to that which is drawn to Luc, and which is intermediate between the line to Arles and the line to Vienne, I have said of it in my *Criticism*, p. 88—"I do not at all believe that there was such a road to be recorded." Nevertheless, it appeared to me, that D'Anville, who wrote in 1760, eighty years before Forbes's excursion to Mont Pelvoux, must have interpreted the line as a line through the Val Godemar, inasmuch it could not possibly represent anything else. I have since seen D'Anville's map of 1739, which satisfies me that this had been his mistake. But I had before read Forbes, and seen Bourcet's map, and was convinced that such a line of road for the Carthaginian force, could never have existed. Mr. Ellis misunderstands or misrepresents me throughout this subject in pp. 10 and 11 of the *Camb. Journal of Phil.*: and in p. 12 speculates, in a note, on the Jerusalem Itinerary having been miscopied in making the Table, whereby Davianum might become Gerainæ, and Cambonum Geminæ; "names (as he says) not entirely without resemblance."

Without stopping to speculate on the value of such resemblances, I will say that the impossible track to Luc does not deserve that new distances and new termini should be invented for its relief. We need not care how the artist came so to delineate it: it is condemned, and merits no further consideration. Let us examine the other line: of which Mr. Ellis says—"The road over the Little Mont Cenis is laid down in the Peutingerian Table."

Many readers may probably never have had their attention called to this curious document before, and Mr. Ellis has very considerably had engraved for them what he thinks the necessary portion of it. I do the same from the last edition of 1753. This comical old map does not affect accuracy in its convergent or divergent lines, or in the position of places as fitting the distances. It is the roughest

memorandum of geography, made on a principle of compression, by which its tracks are nearly parallel, even when they should be at right angles. The artist was obliged to give twists or curves in each line of road, both for keeping it distinct from other lines, and that he may have room to write the names of stations and numbers of miles. The object of presenting in one narrow strip of parchment nearly all the roads of the known world, is supposed to have been that it should be portable when rolled on a stick.

One hint will be useful to guide the reader; he must, from Turin, carry his eye to the summit of the Alps which divide Italy from France; and, if he shall there be induced to hesitate about inclining more westward or eastward, let him apprehend that he is coming very near to Briançon, and that Susa is already left 25 miles behind. He must be very restive if he can back so far, and then turn complacently over the Cenis.

Let us now inspect the Table itself, with a view to see Mr. Ellis work out his problem of a Peutingerian Mont Cenis. The track in question, part of what he names the Turin and Vienne road, as apparent to the eye, has a beginning, an end, and an expressed length. The beginning is near a mountain pass, at which are the words, "Brigantione in Alpe Cottiâ." The end is Vigenna on the Rhone. The length given is 85 miles, being the sum of the expressed distances from place to place, seven places being marked between those termini. No other 85 miles is spoken of by Mr. Ellis: and, when he undertakes to identify the intervening places, he deals with all those named between Brigantione and Vigenna, and no others. The question embraces three ingredients: *terminus à quo*; *terminus ad quem*; distance from one to the other.

Mr. Ellis, not liking the visible *terminus à quo*, Briançon, which appears as the beginning of his 85 Peutingerian miles,

names three more as rivals to it; and arbitrarily throws open the right of representing that initial terminus, to the competition of all Alps, French and Italian, which in the days of Cottius had been subject to the influence of that chieftain: a scope, which in one direction embraces his capital Susa, and in the other comprises two points which, under the sham of impartiality, are set up in order to be knocked down. We are informed, *Treatise*, p. 169, that, "though the Cottian territory terminated at Embrun, the name of Cottian Alps, "applied to mountains, might be extended to Gap, and even "beyond." Accordingly he invites for representing this terminus or starting point, places as far as Susa eastward, and to Gap or beyond westward. He says, p. 169: "There "are four roads, each of which may have a claim to be considered as the Turin and Vienne road." The points approved by Mr. Ellis as possible to be the starting place or *terminus à quo*, are Susa, Briançon, Gap, and Aspres, west of Gap: others being excluded by the ingredient of 85 miles, which, Mr. Ellis says, "is the distance from Vienne given by the Peutingerian Table."

Seeing this, one expects that Mr. Ellis will decide according to merits, by comparing the distances from these rival points to the *terminus ad quem*, Vienne. But presently, after a discussion on the Turin roads and their divergences, he finds a difficulty on the distance, and says: "By the nearest of the "four roads mentioned, the distance from Vienne to Aspres "is more than 120 miles." Hereupon one expects that the impossible candidates will be rejected. But Mr. Ellis has a different resource: he throws over the *terminus ad quem*, as well as the *terminus à quo*. He makes a further reformation by cancelling the stipulation on "85 miles to Vienne given by the Table." This is no longer a condition of the race. Whether they shall ever reach that place seems to be optional. Each is to close his career, wherever a run of 85 miles will

bring him into a certain other track by which he may eventually come to Vienne, in a roundabout way, by the Mont du Chat, and St. Genix. This was not one of Mr. Ellis's three roads from Turin. He called it before the Ivrea and Vienne road: it proceeds from Alpis Graia, through Chambery, and over the Chartreuse range. If any one of the four admitted candidates can, by running 85 miles, cut into this track, at any point of it however distant from Vienne, his line is to be recognised as the line of the chart, called by Mr. Ellis the Turin and Vienne road. Such are the improved conditions, under which Mr. Ellis himself, having, by his own permission, started at Susa, arrives victorious at Maltaverne: and so determined is he to make sure of 85 miles, that he has actually done 115: not to mention the supplemental distance that will be before him, if he should exercise the option of visiting the *terminus ad quem*.

As it may be doubted whether Mr. Ellis can have made so curious an amendment to his conditions as I impute to him, I will quote his own words, to show that this method of satisfying a required distance was his own. He says in p. 170: "The Turin and Vienne road, as it cannot reach Vienne, after "a course of 85 miles, from the point where it leaves the "Turin and Valence road, should thus, it may be expected, "fall, at the termination of that length of way, into a road on "the Table leading to Vienne. But this road into which it "falls, must be the Ivrea and Vienne road, for there is no "other. The question, therefore, which has now to be determined, is this: which of the four roads, the route of the "Croix Haute, the route of the valley of the Drac, the route "of the Lautaret, or the route of the Mont Cenis, falls, at a "distance of about 85 miles from the point where it leaves "the Turin and Valence road, into the Ivrea and Vienne "road?"

No one can pretend to answer this question, but he who



asks it, for no one else can understand it. The Table shows no means of passing from any one of Mr. Ellis's three Turin roads into his Ivrea road: and, if I look for the means of getting from one side of the Isère to the other, I find that the only place at which there was a passage when the Table was made, is excluded from the Table by Mr. Ellis himself: for he has removed Grenoble to the river Arc. So that he never gets so far as that place at all; nor consequently to Vienne, which is beyond it. If Mr. Ellis had left the two termini undisturbed, and the 85 miles by the Table as he found them, one might not only have gone right to Grenoble, but right ahead to Vienne, not bending right or left. As it is, he himself pulls up when he likes, and has not even the curiosity to inquire how much farther it would be to Vienne. By his description of the solemnity, it is a steeplechase without a steeple. The competitors are never in sight of one another. To one the race was in Piémont and Savoy: to the others in France.

See then how the affair comes off, as the phrase is; and how, in this novel sort of sweepstakes, Mr. Ellis's Little Cenis acquits himself, and lays claim to the prize. Restive at first, and having retreated from the Genève to Susa, he starts and gets to Stabatione, as he calls La Ferrière, in eight miles: clears the Cenis; pushes down the Arc, and is just beginning the Isère: then, finding 85 miles, as he calls the Peutingerian distance from Susa, to be exhausted, he pulls up. This mistake happens at Maltaverne, a place not in the 85 miles, but in the present Cenis road; though for the occasion he calls it Mantala, which is on the other side of the Isère in the Graian Alp route. At Maltaverne he sticks: he has solved his problem to his own satisfaction, and declares Little Cenis to be the winner. As to the rightful competitor, he was certainly entitled to follow a direct course given by the chart itself to Vienne over the Lautaret; though it is omitted from Mr. Ellis's "map of Roman roads deduced from the Peutin-

gerian Table." The jockey, however, when he has made good progress, and sees Vienne not far ahead, finds himself prohibited from reaching it, under Mr. Ellis's new regulations, which encourage him to come the wrong way, and not to come to Vienne at all.

If this case were brought before a certain tribunal of common sense, which administers justice only 14 miles from the scene of Mr. Ellis's literary labours, he would be doomed to hear: 1. that his horse was not qualified to start; 2. that he bolted and never recovered his ground; 3. that he broke down when many miles short of the winning post. But Mr. Ellis appeals to etymology. There he reckons upon a verdict.

If there be a grave object in the discussion to which the *Treatise* has here invited us, it must be to ascertain the line of country through which the track to Vienne was meant to be drawn in the Peutingerian table: for this purpose we examine it, and consider the probabilities of each name, as it stands in it. I will presently offer to the reader the places seen in this track of the Table, consecutively in one column, in the order as they stand in the document to be interpreted, with the distances as stated between them: and I will in another column give the modern sites as commonly acquiesced in for the last hundred years, and in another those now proposed by Mr. Ellis.

Mr. Ellis, *Treatise* p. 172, gives a form for the instruction of his readers; but it can only instruct those who have already subscribed to his hypothesis whatever it is. It carries them from Susa to Mantala. I would rather invite the reader to think for himself and read for himself. But I will transcribe Mr. Ellis's Table, which he offers as showing the modern places which in his view correspond with those named in Peutinger's. His third column is of little use: it could only show that the intervals between places suggested had a reasonable correspondence with the intervals between

places in the Table. The question is on the *identity* of places; and correspondence of distance is but one sort of evidence in aid of it. I will add reasons for thinking that this form may not answer the proper purpose, which is the ascertaining of Truth.

*Mr. Ellis's Table—Treatise, p. 172.*

Ancient Stations.	Modern Places.	Actual distances in Roman miles.	Peutingerian distances in Roman miles.
Segusio.	Susa.		
Stabatio.	La Ferrière.	8 $\frac{3}{4}$	8
Durotincum.	Granges de Dervieux.	7 $\frac{2}{3}$	7
Mellosedum.	Bramans.	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	10
Catorissium.	Villarodin.	5	5
Culabo.	Orelle.	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	12
Morginum.	St. Jean de Maurienne.	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	14
Turecionnum.	La Chapelle.	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	14
Mantala.	Maltaverne.	16 $\frac{1}{4}$	15
		89 $\frac{2}{3}$	85

This is not a statement of places as in the Table. Stabatio is not the first station from Susa: it is the fourth. Three stations are omitted between Segusio and Stabatio: namely, Martis, Gadaone, and Brigantione. The distance from Segusio to Stabatio is not 8 miles nor 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; but 38. Also the last of the Ancient Stations is Vigenna; Mantala belongs to another route in the Peutingerian Table, where it is not Maltaverne. In short, this is but a copy of Mr. Ellis's improvements.

I will now give the places and distances as they are really marked in the original document: and, as Mr. Ellis begins from Susa, I will also begin from Susa; though it is nearly 30 miles earlier than the line which is in question. I will

enter the ancient stations accurately with the distances, as expressed in the Chart: giving in another column the modern places, which D'Anville deemed to correspond with them; and in another, those which Mr. Ellis deems to correspond. For the former I refer to D'Anville's dictionary called "Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule:" for the latter to Mr. Ellis's *Treatise*, pp. 172—176.

*Tabula Peutingeriana. Carte de Peutinger.*

Track from Susa to Briançon, and on to Vienne; as marked by Stations and distances in that ancient document. Together with corresponding modern sites, as explained by D'Anville a hundred years ago; and as now explained by Mr. Ellis.

Stations in the Chart, with distances marked in Roman miles.	Modern Sites according to D'Anville.	Modern sites according to Mr. Ellis.
From Segusio to Martis . . . xvii Gadaone . . . viii Brigantione . . v 30	From Susa to Oulx. Césanne. Briançon.	From Susa  (missing three sta- tions)
From Brigantione to Stabatione . . viii Durotinco . . vii Mellosecto . . x Catorissium . . v Culabone . . xii Morginno . . xiv Turecionno . . xiv Vigenna . . xv 85	Monestier. Villard d'Arènes. Mizouin. Bourg d'Oysans. Grenoble. Moirans. Ornacien. Vienne.	to La Ferrière. Granges de Dervieux. Bramans. Villarodin. Orelle. St. Jean de Maurienne. La Chapelle. Maltaverne.

*Reasons given by the two antiquaries for their views on the modern sites.*

*Martis*, 17 m.

D'Anville treats this as the modern Oulx : Ad Martis in the Itineraries. First station from Susa.

Mr. Ellis says nothing on the site.

*Gadaone*, 8 m.

D'Anville, who observes the line of the Itineraries, through Turin to the Alps, makes Gadaone to be Césanne at the foot of the M. Genève. In the Jerusalem Itinerary, it is Gesdaone.

Mr. Ellis says nothing on the site.

*Brigantione*, 5 m.

D'Anville calls this Briançon, which is beyond the chain of mountains passed after ascending from Césanne.

Mr. Ellis says nothing on this site.

*Stabatione*, 8 m.

D'Anville, believing that the only road forward from the Genève is that which descends upon Briançon, and that the only road which there diverges from the line down the Durance is that to Grenoble, began to reckon the 85 miles given by the Chart to Vienne, with the 8 entered from Brigantione to Stabatione, which place he therefore apprehends as Monestier.

Mr. Ellis calls this place La Ferrière, which is 8 m. from Susa.

*Durotinco*, 7 m.

D'Anville thought Villard d'Arènes to be the probable representative of this place. From Monestier you reach it by passing over the Col du Lautaret. The

distance being about 12 miles, he suggests that the vii. ought to be xii.

Mr. Ellis supposes that Durotinum was Granges de Dervieux, a place which he names as being on the plateau of the Little Mont Cenis. He tells us, that Durotinum is almost pure Celtic : *dur* being water, *tin* a source, and *cum* a valley : so he is satisfied with having the first of these represented by *Der*, while *vieux* denotes antiquity. *Treatise*, p. 172.

*Mellosecto*, 10 m.

This place in the earlier edition by Bertius was written Mellosedo. D'Anville conjectured the site to be near Mizouin on the Romanche, the distance being somewhere about 10 miles.

Mr. Ellis' site is Bramante or Bramans on the Arc, a place to which you descend from the Little Mont Cenis. He explains the Celtic origin of Mellosedo, and converts it into the Latin Bramans thus : *Maol*, bare—*Lon*, a meadow—*Sead*, seat. *Maol* and *Lon* are represented by the Latin *Pratum* ; and *Sead* by *mansio*. Accordingly Prati Mansio, alias Bra-mans, has supplanted Mellosedum, as "an equivalent term, identical in meaning." *Tr.* p. 174.

*Catorissium*, 5 m.

D'Anville suggested for this station Bourg d'Oysans, supposed to have been the principal town of the Uesni.

Mr. Ellis proposes a village on the Arc called Villarodin, which he conceives belonged to the Caturiges, whom he locates on this occasion in the Upper Maurienne. To account for the word being in the genitive plural, as he says it is, he alludes to "Ad

deam Vocontiorum;" and suggests that the name of the station may have been in full Dea Catorissium, *Teagh* being Celtic for a house.

*Culabone*, 12 m.

D'Anville, like the rest of the world, considered this name to represent Grenoble, Gratianopolis; whose earlier name was Cularo, here spelt Culabo. He says—"Cularo conserve son nom primitif dans la Table Théodosienne; où il faut lire Cularone au lieu de Culabone." Pilot (*Histoire de Grenoble*) says,—“Le nom de Graisivaudan, mot formé de Gratiano vallis, fut d'abord donné à la vallée où est situé Grenoble. On l'a depuis étendu à tout le pays formant le comté ou gouvernement de cette ville.” D'Anville saw that 12 miles was inadequate, as the distance from Catorissium; and supposed a station to be omitted. His conjecture is confirmed by the writer called the geographer of Ravenna, who, giving an additional station, writes Cantourisa-Fines-Curarone. I need not again refer to the correspondence of Plancus and Cicero. Pilot states the ancient Cularo to have risen to celebrity under the Emperor Maximian; and cites a Roman inscription over one of the ancient gates in honour of Diocletian and Maximian, in which are the words *Muris Cularonensibus*.

Mr. Ellis makes Orelle, a village on the Arc above S. Michel, to represent the Culabo of Peutinger's Table: and, though he well knew what D'Anville had written on Culabo being the same as Cularo, and had read Pilot's history, he did not in his *Treatise*, see p. 175, allude to the circumstance, that it had ever been thought to be Grenoble: while

perhaps no one before himself had suspected it of being anything else. When he is challenged upon it, his whole defence, besides etymology, is that Grenoble had been Cularo, not Culabo: and he says (*Camb. Journal*, v. iii. 15), “The identity of Culabo and Grenoble is obviously all but impossible.” This seems to mean that there can be no inaccuracy of distance, nor variety of spelling: he might have observed that it is found in manuscripts as Civaro, Cularo, Calaro, and Curaro, all of which were mentioned by D'Anville.

Mr. Ellis's argument for his own Culabo, Orelle, was more lively. Pilot, meaning to speak of the ancient Grenoble, not thinking of Orelle, says—"Cularum signifie proprement lieu reculé, extrémité." Mr. Ellis was pleased with the idea "reculé," as consisting with Orelle, "ora, extremity or border:" and imagined Ora to signify the last village of the Caturiges on the Arc: and illustrates the idea with "the Gaelic Culaobh, the back part of anything: the Piedmontese Culaton, estremità, parte deretana: the Italian Orlo: the Spanish Orilla: the Col de la Cula, a pass at the extremity of the valley of Barcelonnette:" to which is added, in his Defence, "the Low Latin Culata, rei alicujus pars extrema." *Journ.* iii. 15.

The principle on which Mr. Ellis cherishes such exchange of names is enunciated, p. 174, when he is turning Mellosedum into Bramans. "When the Celtic language was dying out in the Alps, and a Latin or Romance dialect was taking its place, the old name fell into disuse, and was replaced by an equivalent term of Latin origin." Hence Mr. Ellis conjectures, that there was once on the Arc a Celtic

village Culabo, which name fell into disuse, and was replaced by the Latin Orelle (ora): that upon the former dying out about 1,400 years ago, the latter came into use as an equivalent, to represent "parte deretana." Now, on Mr. Ellis's part, there is neither any proof of the early existence of Orelle, nor of what the name had been, which died out when Orelle began. Moreover, whether Cularo or Culabo was to be replaced by Latin, the change would not, on Mr. Ellis's principle, be required. Culus was Latin already. The last syllable, *ro* or *bo*, would be neutral in the question. In the case of Grenoble, on the contrary, we have evidence of facts: evidence of the old name and evidence of the name which superseded it.

Before Mr. Ellis defended himself in the *Journal of Phil.* iii. p. 15, he seems to have looked again at D'Anville's Cularo; where he would learn that, at the Council of Aquileia, A.D. 381, there was present a Bishop of Gratianopolis; which place therefore had very lately changed its name from Cularo. Hereupon Mr. Ellis makes this sagacious comment—"If, as Mr. Law seems to suppose, the Peutingerian Table dates from the time of Theodosius, Grenoble ought to appear rather under the name "of Gratianopolis than under that of Cularo." Now I am used to speak of that document as Carte de Peutinger. Learned men have judged by internal evidence that it is of the period of Theodosius: D'Anville always calls it "Table Théodosienne." But it would be futile to contend that the old name of the place was never used for any purpose after the Bishop had assumed the new name, which would attach to him on his consecration. Whether the

parchment we speak of was prepared at Rome or Constantinople, and whether the artist was a school-master or a quartermaster, such a thing would be for a long time more likely to bear the old name Cularo than the new name Gratianopolis. I thought I had travelled through Conflans, till I found myself in a diligence with the rector of Albertville. Novelty did not circulate in general application 1,500 years ago more rapidly than they do now.

*Morginno*, 14 m.

D'Anville points out Moirans, which is 14 miles from Grenoble, and by the Chart in a direct line to Vienne. Mr. Ellis names St. Jean de Maurienne: and, if Cularbone could be Orelle, this might be Moirans: not if Cularbone is Grenoble.

*Turecionno*, 14 m.

D'Anville finds the modern Ornacien as best representing the place which intervenes between Moirans and Vienne; but doubts about the accuracy of distances, 14 and 15.

Mr. Ellis has no more etymological resources; but finds a place on the Arc called La Chapelle, 14 miles below St. Jean de Maurienne, and marks it Tureciumum.

*Vigenna*, 15 m.

D'Anville sought Vienne as the terminus, and found it, as Dr. Smith's *Dictionary* finds it now. See Morginum and Turecionnum.

Mr. Ellis has now left the valley of the Arc; and, as the next station that pleases him after La Chapelle is Maltaverne, he stops at Maltaverne, and goes no further. But to suit his last prescription, he calls it Mantala: because Mantala belongs to a different



line of march. It is on the other side of the Isère, between Montmelian and Chambery, in our route of Alpis Graia: (Mr. Ellis's Ivrea route.) It is there, not only in the Peutingerian Table, but in the Antonine Itinerary. Mr. Ellis breaks down in all his points. He provoked the whole inquiry, to explain 85 miles of what he called "the Turin and Vienne road." He keeps Turin out of his map. He avoids Vienne as the terminus; and takes pains to do so.

We have here seen two conflicting expositions of a Way curiously delineated nearly 1,500 years ago. D'Anville begins at the prescribed beginning, and ends at the prescribed end: he points out some figures as erroneous, and stations as probably omitted: so that 85 miles laid down as the total distance is probably below the truth. As most of the names expressed are not met with elsewhere, he conjectures the sites, where materials are wanting for identifying them. And his view has, I believe, hitherto had the concurrence of the literary world. Mr. Ellis admits this, saying that the track in the Chart "has hitherto been considered to have passed over the Col du Lautaret between Briançon and Grenoble," p. 168; and he probably stands alone in professing to doubt it. He begins with inventing three roads from Turin to the Rhone; an invention which only serves the purpose of verbal confusion: he lays down three data for argument, termini, and distance: and withdraws them one after the other: pretends to search for a town on the Rhone, that he may talk of it as accessible from the Cenis: but having chosen the wrong road, and named all wrong places, exhausts the distance he was pledged to, and breaks down without reaching the town at all. This casualty happens at Maltaverne: and he cannot get a

yard further. Etymology, his capricious friend, takes pains to get stations for him: but even etymology shrinks from the termini. If any there be who are blind to the honest good sense which guides one of these antiquarians, let them admire the grave eccentricity and comic etymology of the other: let them admire, that a man should indulge himself with a vision of the places on the Arc in Peutinger's Table. But, if they are falling into the delusion themselves, let Briançon, Grenoble, and Vienne suffice, either separately or jointly, to wake them out of it. It is said most mistakenly in Mr. Ellis's defence (*Journal*, vol. iii. p. 15), that "the argument "for D'Anville's route rests almost entirely on the supposed "identity of Grenoble with Culabo." That identity is indeed enough of itself. But the justice of D'Anville's stations, and the impossibility of Mr. Ellis's stations, are the necessary result of the one accepting Briançon and Vienne as the termini of those 85 miles, and the other defying his own senses with Susa and Maltaverne; in the vain hope of supporting a proposition, which has no rival in print—"The "road over the Little Mont Cenis is laid down in the "Peutingerian Table."

Two commentators, besides Mr. Ellis, have in the last few years come forth in favour of the Cenis: but neither of them has mistaken that mountain for the Pass of Ammianus, or recognised the apparition of the Petit Cenis in the document which perpetuates the name of Peutinger. They have enough to answer for without grasping such fancies as these. The ingenious Larauza, and the learned Ukert, proceed up the Arc, innocent of the derivations of Bramans and Dervieux.

## CHAPTER IX.

*Mr. Ellis on the Mont Cenis. His appeal to Cæsar's march from the Inner to the Outer Province.*

MR. ELLIS now carries back his proof of the antiquity of the Cenis to within 160 years of Hannibal's invasion. He declares that "the Mont Cenis was crossed by Julius Cæsar when on his way to intercept the Helvetii in Transalpine Gaul." He cites the following well-known words:—

"Ipse in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit, duasque ibi legiones conscribit; et tres quæ circum Aquileiam hiemabant ex hibernis educit, et qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpas erat, cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit. Ibi Centrones et Graioceli et Caturiges, locis superioribus occupatis, itinere exercitum prohibere conantur. Compluribus his præliis pulsus, ab Ocelo, quod est citerioris provinciæ extremum, in fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit; inde in Allobrogum fines, ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit. Hi sunt extrâ provinciam trans Rhodanum primi."

Where then did Cæsar cross the Alps in this seven days' march from the inner province to the outer province? He names the two termini; Ocelum whence it began, and Vocontiorum fines into which it arrived. Also he names three peoples as opposing his advance on the higher parts of the pass. Much has been said already, both on Ocelum and the Vocontii: and, if it has been said rightly, the pass can be no other than the Mont Genève. But I will notice each name separately.

*Ocelum and Scingomagus.*

The question of Cæsar's track depends mainly upon identifying the beginning of it. Mr. Ellis expressly admits in his defence, 1856 (*Journ. of Phil.* vol. iii. pp. 18, 19), that, if Ocelum were shown to be Uxeau, Cæsar cannot have crossed the Mont Cenis. Mr. Ellis may by this time be aware of the opinion of Mr. Bunbury, given thus in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary*:—"In Strabo's time Ocelum was the frontier town of the kingdom of Cottius, and it was from thence that a much frequented road led over the pass of the Mont Genève by Scingomagus (Césanne), Brigantium (Briançon), and Ebrodunum (Embrun), to the territory of the Vocontii. D'Anville has clearly shown that Ocelum was at Uxeau, a village in the valley of Fenestrelles, and not, as supposed by previous writers, at Oulx, in the valley of the Dora." But, as Mr. Ellis is not bound by the decision of D'Anville, or of Mr. Bunbury, I must combat the adverse arguments.

It will not be disputed that Ocelum citerioris provinciæ extremum is the same place as "Ὠκελον τὸ πέρας τῆς Κοττίου γῆς in the fourth book of Strabo, 179; which was the last place in the route, so far as he details it, from the Rhone over the Mont Genève into Italy; a place which Cæsar only had named before him. The other place which Strabo names between the pass and Ocelum, Scingomagus, is not found elsewhere, save in Pliny. D'Anville first corrected the error of supposing that the two names represented places, which afterwards appeared under other names in the Itineraries, belonging to the Imperial line constructed through Oulx and Susa. He identified Ocelum as the place now called Ucello, or Uxeau, near Fenestrelles. It is called Occello by the geographer of Ravenna, and Uxellum in documents of 1064. He also objected that Oulx, or Exilles, which others contended for, were not τὸ πέρας, but in the heart of the Cottian

territories. And he found evidence of Scingomagus between Césanne and Ucello.

The route through Susa to Césanne and the Genève pass, was improved for Roman purposes after Augustus had conciliated Cottius. This is the road of the Itineraries, which is continued to Briançon, and the Rhone. Before that time Roman generals had obvious reasons for preferring a line through Ocelum to Césanne and the pass. In the days of Pompey and Cæsar, when the anti-Roman confederacy was strong in the mountains, and Susa was the head-quarters of the enemy; when there was no beginning of the friendship which led to an improved ascent to the Genève, under the superintendence of Cottius himself; a Roman general, desiring to arrive speedily into the outer province, which he could not reach without crossing the enemy's country, would at all events avoid the hostile capital, and the line which connected it with the pass.

The probabilities then are much against Mr. Ellis's notions, that the Ocelum of Cæsar and Strabo was placed between Turin and Susa; and that Susa itself was the Scingomagus of Strabo; for it assumes that these places took new names before they were entered in an Itinerary. If Cæsar had carried his five legions through that hostile capital, it would have given matter for his narrative: he would not have passed through it unmolested. My belief is that Pompey, using the Genève pass sixteen years before, had established Ocelum as a Roman frontier post. Mr. Ellis\* thinks "that Pompey crossed the Genève, approaching it by the ordinary route through Susa." I believe that not to have been an ordinary route to the Romans till long afterwards. When Cæsar set out from Ocelum on his expedition, bodies of the Cottian confederates came to interrupt his progress from their head-

\* Journ. of Philol. iii. 20.

quarters, through Oulx, as well as from the district of the Durance.

D'Anville contended, and, as I apprehend, successfully, against M. de Valois, Cluvier, and others, that Uxeau was the Ocelum of Cæsar,\* and opposed those who, equally with himself, conceived Cæsar's pass to be the Genève, but who supposed his line to it to have been that of the Itineraries: in that line they conceived Ocelum to be represented by Exilles or Oulx, places which are above Susa in the line recorded in those registers. I conceive that no road from the Genève to Susa was made for Roman use so early; and that it certainly did not exist so soon as Hannibal's time. For the time of Strabo there is no evidence of any descending route but by Scingomagus and Ocelum, which may probably have been in use at a period before the Romans were acquainted with it. Mr. Ellis has no occasion for it above Susa; at which place he pronounces Hannibal to have come down from the Cenis, and Cæsar to have turned up to the Cenis. He makes that place to be the Scingomagus of Strabo, and Ocelum to have been 27 miles lower down the valley, now Avigliana, or Buttigliera. He has noticed my comment as if he did not comprehend it, and affects to concede, for the sake of argument, that Cæsar quite avoided the Cottian territory. He could not have avoided it: Ocelum bordered on the enemy's country, which stretched up from thence and down the Durance. What I urged was, that he would avoid Susa, the enemy's head-quarters, by going the other way. I find no reply: nor is there an attempt to twist the words of Strabo, who directs us from the Genève to Ocelum, into a signification of the Cenis.

Mr. Ellis uses this argument for the identity of Susa and Scingomagus: that they are found with the same reputation of distance from another place, Embrun. There are in the

\* Notice de l'ancienne Gaule, in v. Ocelum.

Itineraries three routes ; which give severally the distance of 69, 70, and 71 miles, from Ebrodunum to Segusio ; and Strabo is construed to give 72 miles, that is 99 *minus* 27, from Ebrodunum to Scingomagus. This is no ground. If the figures were precisely the same in all, it would not suggest identity, unless the measurements were taken on one line of route. You cannot assume this : it is the very point in question,—was there always one and the same route of descent from the Genève? or was there an older line of descent, superseded by a later one? I must limit myself to saying, that there is nothing in Mr. Ellis's assertions or insinuations, which makes me doubt that Strabo's route, which is only detailed as far as Ocelum, belonged to a different line from that which is given in the Itineraries.

Another view, which has influenced some critics, is this—Strabo calls Scingomagus the beginning of Italy ; and the Itinerary makes Segusio the beginning of Italy. Again, Strabo makes Ocelum the boundary of the Province ; and the Itinerary seems to make Ad Fines the boundary of the Province. These similarities have suggested, that the two stations represent the two places of Strabo. A mere fallacy ! The four propositions may all be true. But what then ? If there were the two lines of descent, each would cross the Italian boundary at its own place, each would cross the Cottian boundary at its own place. In Strabo's route the points of crossing were Scingomagus and Ocelum : in the Imperial route they might be Segusio and Ad Fines. This line superseded the other in importance, and of course Strabo's two places do not appear in it. I fully believe the Roman line from Césanne,\* through Oulx and Susa to Turin, to be the

\* Césanne, in the valley below the Genève, is the place where the imperial road to Susa diverged from the old road to Ocelum. It appears in the Jerusalem Itinerary as Gesdaone, between Ad Martis and Brigantione. In one edition of Peutinger's Chart it is Gadaone.

new line made after the submission of Cottius, and to be recorded in the Itineraries. This, we may believe, was after the time of Strabo, who never mentions any one place which belongs to that line. There are both lines at the present moment. In Mr. Brockedon's *Passes of the Alps*, the ascent to the Genève which he selects for description, is that from Pinerolo and Fenestrelle.

It is always to be presumed, without evidence to the contrary, that places bearing different names were different places : but presumption grows into proof, when we find that they were existing at the same time by different names. Pliny, who speaks of Susa as Segusio, states a distance from Rome to the western bounds of Italy, denoting the terminus by "Alpes usque et Scingomagus vicum ;" which I consider to confirm the reputation of an old boundary point, the Scingomagus of Strabo, and to prohibit the identification of it with Susa. I showed that the same writer, Pliny, knowing both, calls them by different names. Mr. Ellis attempts no proof in answer on this point itself : he evades it, and makes an useless expenditure of erudition in doing so. *Journ. of Philol.* iii. 21.

He informs us that Pliny referred to Artemidorus, who was nearly 150 years before him, and he thinks it uncandid in me not to have mentioned the fact. As the work of Artemidorus is lost, he brings forward one Agathemerus, who came three centuries later and reported his matter. And I am charged with misconstruing the words of Agathemerus. Now I had never heard of such a man in my life ; and when I learn from Mr. Ellis what he said, I find that it agrees with my own notions.

Mr. Ellis thus proposes, in *Journ. of Philol.* iii. 21, to set us right on the position of Scingomagus—"The words of "Artemidorus, as preserved by Agathemerus (lib. i. c. 4) are :

"ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀλπεὺς ἕως Σκιγγομάγου κόμης, ὑπὸ  
VOL. II. G



"ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν οὐσῆς, στάδια δρὺβ'. According to Mr. Law, "this κόμη, ὑπὸ ταῖς Ἀλπεσιν οὐσα, stood almost on the summit "of the Col de Sestrières." This is a hasty misrepresentation. I did not construe those words at all—I had never heard of them—I was representing (*Crit.* p. 107) D'Anville's ideas on the two routes, of ascent: and the word "above" which my opponent renders "on the summit" means higher up in the country towards the range of Alps.—I spoke of Oulx and Exilles as *above* Susa—Ucello *above* Fenestrelle; Scinguin *above* the Col de Sestrières; meaning higher up the country, more towards Césanne—"Under the Alps" means under the chain of which the Genève is part—the term is fairly applicable to the position of Césanne, which is at the foot of the Genève.

D'Anville's article upon Scingomagus is as follows:—"Strabon fixe la position de ce lieu entre Brigantio et Ocelum. "Pline place ce lieu, qu'il appelle Vicum, au pied des Alpes, "et comme étant situé à l'extrémité de l'Italie en partant de "Rome. J'ai été dans l'opinion, que Scingomagus pouvoit "être l'une des portions de Sézanne, que la Doria partage en "deux, en même tems que l'autre convient au lieu nommé "Gesdao; Gladao dans la Table Théodosienne. Ces deux "quartiers de Sézanne m'ont été indiqués comme bien "distincts et séparés, par une carte topographique et manu- "scrite du pays. Mais actuellement, et sans m'écarter "beaucoup de cette position, je découvre dans une autre "représentation du local, et encore plus circonstanciée de la "vallée de Sézanne, des vestiges de Scingomagus dans un "lieu nommé Chamlat de Signin, à l'entrée du Col de "Cestrières, qui de la vallée de Sézanne conduit dans celle "de Pra-gelas. La route directe, et la seule même que la "nature ait ouverte, pour se rendre de Briançon à Uxeau et "Fenestrelles, après avoir passé le Mont Genève, est par le "col mentionné ci-dessus, et c'est précisément au pied de ce

"col que nous retrouvons Scingomagus, marqué par Strabon "entre Brigantio et Ocelum.—Il falloit faire attention, que "Pline connoît Segusio par le nom qui lui est propre, et "distinctement de Scingomagus." Whether Scingomagus is better traced as close to Césanne, or a little more towards the Col de Sestrières, its identity with Susa is equally disproved.

Mr. Ellis, evading, and diverting attention from the only point between us, goes into numerous measurements of the space between Rome and other places, not attempting to meet the reasons which show Scingomagus and Susa to be different places. He exercises his talents upon what he calls "the useless absurdity of Mr. Law's theory of strides;" I had no such theory: I used the word stride, because Pliny, having begun with stepping from the Ganges to the Euphrates, is still stepping largely when he puts his foot on Scingomagus: his next stride is "per Galliam ad Pyrenæos montes Illiberim:" and the next "ad Oceanum et Hispaniæ oram." He hits a western extremity of Italy by one stride, a western end of Narbonese Gaul by another, and goes clean over Spain with a third. The strides are magnificent: and Mr. Ellis's depreciation of them does not tend to identify the Scingomagus of Strabo with Susa, nor to prevent its identity with the Scingomagus of Pliny.

If any one has imagined a theory here, it must be Mr. Ellis himself; who, for some reason not apparent, scrutinises that list of large intervals, which he is pleased to call an itinerary; and argues upon the distances between Rome and the Atlantic. See the long notes p. 22, *Journ. of Phil.* iii. These estimates are utterly irrelevant, and with as little benefit has the inquiry been adorned with the names of Artemidorus and Agathemerus. All serves to divert attention from that which is the only point raised; whether Scingomagus and Susa were two places or one. It is Pliny, who names both, Segusio and Scingomagus, recognising them as distinct



places. He certainly lived late enough, to know the improvements under Augustus, through which the ascent by Ocelum was avoided: he would know the new route from Turin through Susa to the Genève, and would see that Ocelum had no existence in it. This it is, which, whether Scingomagus was part of Césanne, or somewhat removed from it, contradicts Mr. Ellis's proposition, p. 188, "that it is quite evident that Segusio and Scingomagus were the same place."

*Centrones.*

This people (from the Graian Alp) with the Caturiges and Garoceli are named as opposing Cæsar's march, "*locis superioribus occupatis*," and as beaten by him "*compluribus præliis*." Whatever districts the bodies of men had come from, by whom his advance over the pass was resisted, one would think that his progress, "*in fines Vocontiorum, inde in Allobrogum fines*," is consistent only with his having descended by Briançon, upon the line of the Durance, or more direct to Bourg d'Oysans. If he had come down the Isère, whether from the Little St. Bernard or the Cenis, he would not have entered the Vocontian territory in order to arrive among the Allobroges.

Mr. Ellis takes a different view. He says: "Cæsar is his own historian, so that the character of his evidence is perfect. Yet he only alludes to two passes, the Mont Cenis, and the Great St. Bernard. He does not appear ever to have crossed the Mont Genève. The Little Mont Cenis was *thus*, it is probable, the most ancient pass of the two which led through the country of the Taurini"!! "Of the three tribes who opposed Cæsar's passage," Mr. Ellis says, "two lived in the Maurienne, and one in the Tarentaise. Cæsar must thus have crossed the Alps, either by the Mont Cenis, or the Little St. Bernard."—"The Centrones lived in the Tarentaise: the Caturiges in the Upper Maurienne: the Garoceli in the Lower Maurienne," pp. 177-8.

Now Cæsar does not say that he marched through the country of these three nations: but that bodies of them fought against him, having taken post on the higher parts of the pass. Mr. Ellis heeds the distinction to a certain extent. He cannot carry the Cenis route through the Tarentaise; so he excuses the lands of the Centrones from being the scene of these conflicts; but not the lands of the other two nations. He has to find a special excuse for the Centrones leaving their homes, and making part of the force engaged: so he conceives that Cæsar, on his way into Italy, must have given some cause of offence to that people. "This," he says, "may account for their joining in the attack upon him on his return." As this political fact rests upon no authority besides Mr. Ellis, I have nothing to remove me from the belief, that the troops of any nation which belonged to the Alpine confederacy organized against the tyrant republic, were liable to be on service away from their homes in aid of the general cause. We know that such combinations were made against Rome. In the account of the Allobrogian insurrection given by Dion Cassius, and which was not long before the time we speak of, Catagnatus, the general who invaded the Province beyond the Rhone, is said to have under him troops from various nations along the Isère.

It is by no means necessary, for satisfying Cæsar's text, to suppose that he marched through the countries of the three nations whom he so names. I agree with Mr. Ellis that he did not march through the Centrones. I think it very possible that he did march through the Garoceli, and highly probable that he did through the Caturiges. At the same time a contingent from each may have opposed him at the pass.

*Caturiges.*

This people is usually recognised near the Durance: the station Caturiges appears between Ebrodunum and Vapincum

in the Itineraries; also in Peutinger's chart we find Catorimagus. This historical notice of them, as opposing Cæsar, is consistent with their position near the Durance, though we may be unable to determine their length or breadth. Mr. Ellis does not dispute that there were Caturiges in those parts, and speaks of them as not far from the Vocontii: but he does not recognise them as the opponents of Cæsar. As he sends Cæsar over the Cenis, he has to find Caturiges for him on the Arc.

Accordingly the Caturiges of Mr. Ellis are in the Maurienne, and he desires to have them in the upper part of that valley. Now he intimated to us before, that that was occupied by the Medulli: for he exhibited Bramante as their station on the road over his Medullian pass, being at the foot of their 100 stades of ascent (*ante*, c. iii). However, for the argument on Cæsar, the Medulli are expected to be in the Lower Maurienne, the Upper being wanted for the Caturiges. Indeed in p. 132 he declares, "The Medulli were the inhabitants of the Lower Maurienne."

Mr. Ellis is used to appeal to two catalogues of names: the list of Cottian states inscribed on the Arch of Susa, and the list of "gentes Alpinae devictæ," inscribed on the Tropæum Alpium\* mentioned by Pliny. The geographical merit of such catalogues seems to be this: you find a people mentioned between two other peoples; and, when you have made a good guess on the position of the two outside ones, you infer that of the intermediate one. These catalogues are found as follows; quoted by Mr. Ellis.

The Arch has these names inscribed: Segovii, Segusini, Belaci, Caturiges, Medulli, Tebavii, Adanates, and a few more. See *Treatise*, p. 167.

The Trophy has forty-three names inscribed; among which

\* The remains of this work are to be seen at Turbia, above Monaco.

are found, in this order, Salassi, Acitavones, Medulli, Uceni, Caturiges, Brigiani. See *Treatise*, p. 131.

Thus the Medulli appear on the Arch between Caturiges and Tebavii: in the Trophy they are between Acitavones and Uceni. The latter position is given to them by Mr. Ellis, when he places them in the Lower Maurienne, p. 132. But will the same mode of inference do for the Caturiges?

What says the Trophy list here? We read Uceni, Caturiges, Brigiani. This sequence brings the Caturiges towards the Durance in accordance with received opinion. The Trophy would fail for the Caturiges. The Arch is more favourable to Mr. Ellis: there he finds Belaci, Caturiges, Medulli. So, the Medulli having taken the Lower Maurienne, the Caturiges take the Upper: and it only remains to find a place near them for the Belaci. This is soon done: just go up straight from Susa on the Genève road: and, when you come to Oulx, bear away for Bardonnèche: you will come to a village, which in Chaix's map is called Beaulard, and in Bourcet's map Boulard. This fact proves the identity of the Belaci of the Arch, showing them not very remote from Mr. Ellis's Caturiges in the Maurienne. He says, "The Belaci are placed in the 'valley of Bardonnèche, where the village of Beaulard is 'supposed to preserve their name.'" *Treatise*, p. 167.

I see that Mr. Ellis seeks to strengthen his case for putting the Caturiges out of the way of Cæsar, by the evidence of Strabo. It happens that the word Catoriges appears where nobody can understand it, and for which it seems not to have been intended. It occurs, when Strabo, having mentioned the Salassi, says: "Beyond them in the mountain heights 'are the Centrones and the Catoriges and the Veragri and 'the Nantuatae and the Leman lake, &c.'" Lib. iv. 204.

One should not have expected, that this position of the Caturiges, on the mountains above the Salassi, and between the Centrones and Veragri, would be acceptable to Mr. Ellis,

as in confirmation of their position in the Maurienne, either Upper or Lower. He appears, however, with singular facility to be as well satisfied with finding them between Centrones and Veragri, as he was with finding them between Medulli and Belaci: and as if he considered it to prove the same thing. He asserts it thus—"The Caturiges, or Catoriges, who bordered on the Salassi, must have inhabited the Upper Maurienne."

Then follows the proof,—“The three other tribes bordering on the Salassi, the Veragri, the Nantuates, and the Centrones, occupied the Lower Vallais and Eastern Savoy as far (inclusive) as the Tarentaise. The Caturiges would *therefore* be sought either in the Upper Vallais, or else in the Upper Maurienne, or the valley of Susa. But they could not have dwelt in the Upper Vallais, for they are never mentioned among the people inhabiting that district, and were, besides, one of the Cottian tribes: and the only parts of the Cottian territory which touched the country of the Salassi were the Upper Maurienne and the valley of Susa. But the valley of Susa was inhabited by the Segusini: the Caturiges *therefore* should be sought in the Upper Maurienne.” *Treatise*, p. 166.

Thus, without offering an interpretation of the words of the author, Mr. Ellis combats suggestions of his own: and, for proving where the Caturiges were, shows where they were not. He might at least quote his author accurately. Strabo does not say that the Caturiges, Veragri, Nantuates, and Centrones bordered on the Salassi: ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαλασσῶν means “above the Salassi,” and “beyond the Salassi;” not, “bordering on them.” If it had that meaning, the lake of Geneva would border on them as well as the Veragri; for ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαλασσῶν is predicated of that also. When applied to the occupiers of the Little and the Great St. Bernard, ὑπὲρ Σαλασσῶν means “above”—when the words are applied

to the Nantuates and the lake, ὑπὲρ can only have the force of “beyond”—meaning beyond the Salassi and the Northern Alps.

Whatever pretension the word Catoriges in this passage may have to be genuine, which I should doubt altogether, it is somewhat surprising that one, who desires to have that people recognised in the Maurienne, should rejoice in this introduction of them so near to the Great St. Bernard. With all the elasticity of his geography, Mr. Ellis, who is searching for tribes to oppose Caesar, cannot wish the Caturiges to go to the Salassi: so he makes the Salassi come to them; and we read in the next sentence, “The limit of the Salassi on the South seems to have been the Stura or the Dora Susina:” and further, p. 167, “The only parts of the Cottian territory which touched the country of the Salassi were the Upper Maurienne and the valley of Susa.” These Salassian contiguities were not alluded to, when Mr. Ellis denoted the extremities of his Little Mont Cenis or Medullian pass as Bramans and Susa.\*

#### Garoceli.

Those who think that the proper district of this people must have been traversed in Caesar's line of march, ought to determine the line of march first, and find them a position afterwards: for it is only in this one sentence of Caesar that they are ever described in ancient history. We must reason from his authority: and the only auxiliary idea that suggests itself is, that there may be a connexion between Garoceli and Ocelum. Mr. Ellis of course would have them also in the Maurienne, that they may be within call to defend the Cenis against Caesar. But his Maurienne is full already with Caturiges and Medulli: there is no room left for Garoceli or any more. How then does he provide for them? He

\* See *ante* this Part, c. iii.

incorporates them with one of those occupants: not of course with the Caturiges, for Cæsar was opposed both by Garoceli and Caturiges; he identifies them with the Medulli, whom Cæsar does not name.

The Arch and the Trophy have already been brought into play, for giving a position to those who are in their lists. The same memorials are now referred to by Mr. Ellis for placing a people which is not in the lists: in the *Journal of Phil.* No. vii. 17, he performs his identification thus: "It is not difficult to see why the Garoceli should be identified with the Medulli. We have, in Pliny and on the Arch of Susa, very complete lists of the Alpine tribes. In these lists the name of the Garoceli never appears. They would therefore probably be identical with another tribe, which we find must also be placed in the Garocellian country, the Lower Maurienne; *i. e.* they must be identical with the Medulli." This argument as expressed is not potent, for want of meaning in the word "therefore:" it amounts to this—"Garoceli must be Medulli, because Medulli must be Garoceli."

But Mr. Ellis reminds us to look to his first work for assistance: and in p. 178 of the *Treatise*, we find the identity thus enforced:—"The Garoceli appear to be identical with the Medulli, the city of St. Jean de Maurienne being mentioned in old documents as Sanctus Johannes Garocellius; a fact which seems to fix the Garoceli in the Lower Maurienne, the country of the Medulli." Now the authority to which Mr. Ellis refers, and which he quotes at length, does not treat the Lower Maurienne as the country of the Medulli, but denies it to be so. The words, as given by Mr. Ellis, are these:—"Incolas (Mauriennæ) quamvis nonnulli putent eos esse, quos Plinius ac Strabo Medullos appellaverunt, nos tamen in eâ sententiâ sumus, ut esse credamus Cæsar's Lib. i. Belli Gallici Garocellos: eoque magis huic sententiæ adhæremus,

"quo in antiquis tabulis ac monumentis, S. Joannis Garocelli vocabulo appellari legimus civitatis primariæ de qua agitur Ecclesiam Cathedralē." Blaev. *Theatrum Sabaudie*.

Thus the authority to which Mr. Ellis appeals in favour of the Medulli, informs us that, though some thought them to be the occupants of the Maurienne, he, with others, thought it to be inhabited by the Garoceli, and that the latter was the better opinion. This shows a competition between two different things, and does not forward their identity. The *Oxford Dissertation*, p. 21, referred to Sanctus Johannes long ago, quoting *Theatr. Sabaud.* vol. ii. p. 19: but there the suggestion was that John of Maurienne had been spoken of as Garocellius—not a word upon the Medulli. Perhaps Garocellius had nothing national in its signification. Johannes Garocellius might be Bishop of Maurienne, as John of Gaunt was Duke of Lancaster, without the name attaching to the district which was under his jurisdiction.

Mr. Ellis took his chance with the Garoceli, by placing them in partnership with the Medulli in the Lower Maurienne. That fails: and the Medulli themselves seem to hold a questionable title to that territory, trusting only to the contiguities of the Arch; and among other discouragements to it is this: that Mr. Ellis himself countenanced their holding the Upper, by having described them as occupiers from Bramante to the Cenis lake, when, with equal infelicity, he was exhibiting the Taurini as holding the base of the descent at Susa.

As there is no satisfactory evidence on the position of the Garoceli, the most reasonable clue to them seems to be in the word Ocelum, which contributes so largely to form their name. But they are not needed to complete the proof that Cæsar's pass was the Genève. It is unimportant from whence the battalions came, by whom he was resisted at the pass.



*In Vocontiorum fines pervenit.*

It only remains to be seen how Mr. Ellis, after his explanation of the previous incidents which belong to Cæsar's narrative of the seven days' march, introduces him into the Vocontii. His construction is that Cæsar never entered among them at all. He brings him towards the mouth of the Drac; and, without crossing that river into their territory, sends him over the Isère into the Allobroges. Now, Mr. Ellis has admitted that, if I should prove my point on the site of Ocelum, my conclusion against the Mont Cenis would be just. *Journ. of Phil.* iii. 19. Does he abide by that concession?

We do not agree in the construing of the words; which are these—"In fines Vocontiorum ulterioris provinciæ die septimo pervenit: inde in Allobrogum fines: ab Allobrogibus in Segusianos exercitum ducit." Being used to construe "in" into, when followed by an accusative, I understand "in fines" to mean "into the bounds:" and as Cæsar was a forward-going man, I apprehend that, having got into Vocontian land, he would go through till he got out again, which was into the Allobroges. Mr. Ellis does not recognise these notions: he says, *Journ. of Phil.* iii. 25: "The transit through the Vocontii is merely an assertion of Mr. Law's: the body of their country is not mentioned, but merely its 'fines': the expression means no more than 'frontier': 'inde' is equivalent to 'ab iisdem finibus.'" On this pretence, Mr. Ellis shirks the word "in" altogether. He would bring Cæsar opposite to Grenoble, by cutting across the mountains from St. Jean de Maurienne; would just take a look at the Vocontii across the Drac, and, without speaking to them, pass the Isère into the Allobroges. This fancy is not satisfactory: for, if the words "in fines Vocontiorum" do not carry Cæsar into the Vocontii, the words "in fines Allobrogum" will not carry him into the Allobroges.

As Mr. Ellis can manage Cæsar's geography so as to dispense with the Vocontii in this line of march, he very naturally charges me with blundering about them. He says in his defence—"Mr. Law must consider the right bank of the Drac, where the road to Grenoble runs, to have been in the possession of that people. . . . Mr. Law contravenes the supposition that the south bank of the Isère must have been Vocontian. . . . He has adopted the banishment of the Ucenii from the Pays d'Oysans." *Journ. of Phil.* iii. 25, 26, 14. These statements have no foundation. I hold that, at a certain part, the Isère separated the Vocontii from the Allobroges; and that the Drac, which in old times ran into the Isère above Grenoble, separated the Vocontii from the Ucenii; and that these, being the Iconii of Strabo, were above the Vocontii on the Isère, and owned Bourg d'Oysans on the Romanche. I no more pretend to know their precise dimensions than I do those of the Tricorii, whom I would suppose to be more south, in deference to Livy.

Our difference then is substantially this: Mr. Ellis thinks that the seven days' march was from Buttiglieria on the minor Doria (*his* Ocelum), over the Little Cenis, and down the Arc to St. Jean de Maurienne, whence it cut across the mountains to the Col de la Coche, and across the Isère into the Allobroges, not crossing the Drac into the Vocontii: and that, as he went by "proximum iter," this short cut proves his celerity. Against this, I would further say that, if ever the five legions had got into the line of a descending river, Cæsar would not have been tempted to quit this advantage by encountering new Alps; and, in whichever line the march was made, "complura prœlia" might diminish the celerity of it. My belief is unshaken, that Cæsar, proceeding from Ocelum near Fenestrelles, and crossing the Genève, made his way to the territory of the Vocontii, which was part of the "ulterior provincia:" that he crossed the Isère from them into the Allobroges at Grenoble,



which appears soon afterwards as the place of crossing by the letters of Plancus to Cicero.

Such are the comments which I have thought right to make on the three matters of discussion which Mr. Ellis has brought forward, as auxiliary to his main point of contention, that Hannibal crossed the Little Mont Cenis. He conceives that this had been the accustomed pass in still earlier times; and relies on Roman practice for more recent times, to the writings of Julius Cæsar, to Ammianus Marcellinus, and to the chart or Table of Peutinger.

*Dates of Alpine Passes.*

At the close of his Treatise, Mr. Ellis gives a short epitome of the continuous use of the Cenis track as the favourite line between Gaul and Italy. It appears in p. 180, as a note; and in the exposition which is made of Roman roads in the lower valley of the Isère, there are statements to which I would call attention, in the purpose of giving a right seniority to events. Among other things it is said: "When the route over the Chartreuse mountains was opened, the road of the Mont Cenis was, as appears from the Peutingerian Table, connected with that road, and the way by Grenoble and the Graisivaudan no longer formed the line of approach to Vienne."

I believe that when the route over the Chartreuse mountains was opened, there existed no Cenis road to be connected with it. As to such a fact appearing from the Peutingerian Table, I believe that that document had no existence till A.D. 393; whereas the Passage of the Mont du Chat, the only Roman road I ever heard of carried through those mountains, appears in the Antonine Itinerary, which was fully two hundred years earlier. As to finding the Cenis pass laid down in any ancient Roman documents, you might as well seek it in a map of Hindostan.

The term "no longer," in the latter part of the sentence quoted, implies that *before* that route through the mountains was opened, the way by Grenoble and the Graisivaudan *had* given the line of approach to Vienne. If any one supposes this, it is a great mistake. The two Itineraries, published by Wesseling, give no road along the Graisivaudan; and the only document which draws a route through Grenoble is the later one of A.D. 393, called the Table: that is carried straight on from Grenoble to Vienne. Mr. Ellis has avoided to show or mention this line, by making Orelle on the Arc to personate Grenoble, and not bringing out Vienne at all; and this line is omitted from his own map, though he calls it a "Map of Roman roads, deduced from the Itineraries and the Table." The only correct sentence in his history of roads, in p. 180, is this: "No route up the Graisivaudan is given in the Itineraries, or traced in the Peutingerian Table." What is called the Grésivaudan is the valley above Grenoble.

The history of Roman Itinera through the Alps, if correctly attainable, would be an interesting branch of the history of civilization. As in all disputed progress of human art and usage, one looks for cause and consequence. It appears probable to me, that the Penine and Graian passes were in use at an earlier day than the Matrona, the Genève; and the use of the Cenis, not being traced to Roman times, seems to have been long posterior to that of the other three. Some may presume that, as Susa was so accessible from Turin, and as a great Iter in the direction to which the Cenis leads, must have been desirable after the conquests of Cæsar, not only the Little St. Bernard and the Genève would continue to be the accustomed passes for Roman use, but the Cenis also would become so.

The evidence is against even that. There is no route over the Cenis in the first extant Itinerary, nor in the second (that of Jerusalem), which was in a much later day. And in the

far later document called from Peutinger, there is evidence that, when a road was made to Grenoble, it was made, not over the Cenis, but by a new branch from Briançon, after crossing the Genève.

Accordingly, when Mr. Ellis mutilates that document for substituting one pass of Alps for another, he does not work without an object; and yet his success in that object would not much have furthered his views on Hannibal, whose expedition preceded the parchments of Peutinger by six hundred years. He must be content with the earliest date (A.D. 755), which he has found for the reputation of Mons Cenisius, which he tells us (p. 160) is in the Continuation of the Chronicle of Fredegar.

We believe that a Roman way was never made over the Cenis, from the utter want of evidence of its existence. Some memorial would have perpetuated its fame. Susa alone, from its position, might have occasioned some mention of such a track in ancient history. If Cæsar's seven days' march had been from Buttigliera, through St. Jean de Maurienne, either to Aiguebelle or to the Col de la Coche, some index to the exploit would survive in history more pregnant with conclusions than the spontaneous conjectures of Mr. Ellis.

The cause why the Romans should abstain from appointing the Cenis as a way for armies, when the Cottian obstruction to their jurisdiction was removed, and why, on their acquisition of Susa, a new approach to the Genève was preferred as the object of public care, we may well conceive to have been in the impracticable character of the former. It is of no avail to refer to the admirable state of the fine route which carries men over the Cenis at the present day. This is a creation within our own memories—the establishment of a line, not its improvement. The ascent from Susa, by Jaillon, St. Martin, Molaret, and Bard, established under Napoleon, is not adducible against our argument. The incompetency of

the Cenis, of which we speak, is to be accounted for by the character of the earlier ascent by the La Novalèse and La Ferrière, which was only superseded at the beginning of the present century; and I apprehend that that route has always presented a more serious and appalling defiance than any which the art of man has subdued for contriving the great ways over the Alps; and, while we speak of those difficulties, the obstacle continues to the present moment. That route only acquired a state which promised serious amelioration, under Emmanuel III. during the last century. Nevertheless, it was abandoned as hopeless by him who in the present century constructed a new ascent in a different part of the mass of mountains which tower behind the ancient Segusio. The Cenis, notwithstanding its partial use from the time of Charlemagne, cannot have been worthy to rank as a Roman way till the time of Napoleon.

For confirming the inference that is to be drawn from the silence of history, I think we may believe that, under the emperors, the natural difficulties of the known ascent from Susa were so great as to discourage the construction of a great Roman Way. Knowing how fearful those difficulties continued to be to the end of our eighteenth century, we must imagine what they must have been in the first century. Mr. Ellis forgets this aspect of the subject in applying his comment on facts. Speaking of the amount of imputed difficulty in ancient times, he says: "This cannot be concluded of a pass which, however difficult, must rank, relatively to Alpine passes generally, among the easiest known, —a pass which may be shown to have been always a thoroughfare through the Alps; and which is now, what it seems to have been for some centuries, the great highway from France to Italy." *Treatise*, p. 149.

It is a great mistake thus to speak of the Cenis which is now together with the Cenis of past centuries. The eulogy,

as pronounced relatively to passes generally, is quite undeserved; and, when applied to remote times, unfounded. Mr. Ellis omits to point out the change from worst to best, which distinguishes the Cenis of our own times. In all that is said by him on the Cenis, the modern ascent from Susa is not alluded to. The road of Napoleon the First over the Cenis affords no sort of argument in favour of a Cenis of Hannibal, more than the road of Napoleon the Third under the Cenis will afford it hereafter.

The Great Highway of centuries which Mr. Ellis celebrates did not exist for De Saussure in 1786. It did not exist for Albanis Beaumont in 1793. Let all praise be given to it in the nineteenth century. But let not that which was in use before and which carried you another way, profit by the reflection of its merits. Mr. Ellis himself has helped us to know what were the demerits of the Cenis which flourished when he was born. Let the portrait be studied; and then let us picture to ourselves, what they must have been for centuries before. Mr. Ellis has himself, as he thinks, contemplated Hannibal's descent: and, in support of his ninth condition, invites us to follow his steps. He uses these words (*Treatise*, p. 119):—

“A remarkable passage in a geographical work of the last century,\* seems to indicate clearly the situation of this place, when Hannibal's path had been destroyed by a landslide. The passage runs thus—From the Inn, called La Grande Croix, on account of the wooden cross, which stands by its side, and which forms the boundary between Savoy and Piedmont, the descent begins. On descending, there is found a place enclosed by the mountains, called La Plaine de S. Nicola: this plain being passed, there is a descent which, at one time, the stones and rocks rendered impracticable to such a degree, that those who were accustomed to

\* Busching's Geography of Italy. Venice, 1780. vol. i. p. 78.

“transport travellers in chairs, were obliged to descend by leaping from rock to rock, as it were down so many steps. Upon this inevitable descent towards La Novalèse, there were three or four places, where the path, flanked by very lofty precipices, was exceedingly narrow, and the waters had broken away the ground to such an extent, that the chair, with the person carried in it, hung half in air, over the precipice.

“But under the reign of Emmanuel III. (1730—1773), a new road was made, upon which there is no longer any danger; nevertheless there is a distance of about sixteen miles where the traveller is obliged to be carried in a chair.’ Mr. Ellis adds—“This part of the old road is again referred to in the same work. It is said, in the description of La Ferrière, that the path leading down to La Novalèse was sometimes contracted by the precipices to a width of no more than one foot.”

No advocate of a Hannibalian Cenis has proposed for scrutiny any descent but that by La Ferrière. In exhibiting this uninviting road 2,000 years after the march of Hannibal, Mr. Ellis is labouring to prove that it was bad enough to suit the story of Polybius. I apply his proofs to a different purpose; to show that it was too bad to suit it. I have no materials on which to pronounce how far the passage was getting worse between Hannibal and our fifth century; or between the fifth century and the eighteenth. Mr. Ellis's own efforts of description, general and particular, disprove it as the scene recorded by Polybius: and the condemnation of the route as incurable by Napoleon, concurs with all other evidence, negative and affirmative, to show, that Hannibal and his Italian friends were never near it.

Of the detached questions which have lately arisen to us, the most interesting is the question, which was the pass of Cæsar, and I just receive (June, 1866) an important confirma-

tion of the views which I have been advocating, when my pen is hardly yet dry from the task of expressing them. In the second volume of "The History of Julius Cæsar," it is said (p. 67) that, when he went for reinforcements to oppose the Helvetii, he carried the legions *from Aquileia to Ocelum (Usseau) in 28 days, and thence to Grenoble in 7 days.* If I had a shade of doubt on his crossing the Genèvre, this would relieve it.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART IX.

#### INTERPRETATION OF LIVY.

##### CHAPTER I.

*Introduction. Passage of the Rhone. March to the Island. Livy's hypothesis on the Pass. Usually interpreted as the Genèvre, latterly as the Cenis. Discordance of the Cenisians on the Island and the Allobroges. Larauza. Ukert. Ellis.*

##### INTRODUCTION.

THE writings of Livy on the history of his country are more familiar to many than those of earlier date: and I need not preface the examination of his testimony with urging his claim to our respect. To know the rank which he holds among the sages of history, let any man observe the mature reflections of his greatest admirer and best eulogist. Niebuhr closes a commemoration of Livy with these remarks: "He enriches the literature of his countrymen with a colossal masterwork, with which the Greeks have nothing of the kind to compare: nor can any modern people place a similar work by its side. Of all the losses that have befallen us in Roman literature, the greatest is that which has left his history imperfect." Transl. by Hare and Thirlwall, i. 4.

An inquiry into the route which Livy imputed to Hannibal ought to be shorter than the inquiry into the route of Polybius; for many reasons. Much that has been said already is applicable to both narratives, being explanatory of facts on which there is no disagreement between them. The duration of the march, and the season in which it was performed, are the same in both. In explaining Livy, we have no measurements to deal with: he does not mark the progress by distances: the only distance asserted in his narrative, is that of Hanno's movement up the Rhone: and this is the same as in Polybius. Livy himself has limited the scope of inquiry into his meaning, by declaring that Hannibal did not come over either the Great or the Little St. Bernard.

Our apprehension of the Pass, which Livy intended to maintain, will depend upon our rightly interpreting the few words which tell the progress of the army from the junction of the Rhone and Isère to the Alps: and almost exclusively on this: for in the details of progress through the Alps, there is hardly an indication of geography. The only further aid for understanding his track is in some comments made after the narrative of progress, and arising out of a discussion of the amount of force which survived on arriving into the plain of Italy. Livy there reasons controversially upon the way by which Hannibal had come there, noticing the opinions commonly held on the subject, which were adverse to his own.

These things considered, one would not expect to find great difficulty in comprehending the route which Livy intended to describe. But, as those who profess to be guided by him, have themselves found the utmost difficulty, as is apparent by the dissensions among themselves, their speculations require to be sifted.

When we shall be satisfied as to what his opinion was, we shall have to consider whether it is essentially different from that of Polybius: and, if it prove to be so, the grounds on

which he differed from him must be weighed, before we can decide for ourselves, on which narrative we should rest our belief.

*The Passage of the Rhone.*

Livy, while he had his own hypothesis on the Pass of Alps, had nothing new to suggest concerning the Passage of the Rhone, and did not intend to contradict preceding writers. The country on the lower Rhone with the towns belonging to it had, in his time, become familiar as an integral part of the Roman dominions: and it might be expected that his account of the Passage would contain some notices of locality. As it contains none, we may infer that there was nothing new which he desired to bring forward.

The place where the river was crossed by Hannibal was indeed not likely to be a subject of dispute. The site of his encampment on the Rhone had been viewed by Roman eyes, and become known to the Roman government without uncertainty. Nothing more of him was seen until he and Scipio met in the plain of the Po. Those termini were not to be mistaken. But of the track which he pursued from one to the other there was no official evidence: it remained liable to the speculations which Livy's history lays before us: and this is the more intelligible, when we remember the long continuing impotence of Rome against the Alps. The Carthaginian occupation of the mountains was no momentary matter. Livy shows that for a long period Hannibal maintained his communications with Spain through the Alps. In his account of the ill-fated expedition of Asdrubal, he says this—"Caeterum Hasdrubali et suâ et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque expeditiora fuere: non enim recepérunt modò Arverni eum, deincepsque, aliæ Gallicæ atque Alpine gentes, sed etiam secutæ sunt ad bellum: et quum per munita pleraque transitu fratris, quæ antea invia fuerant,



"ducebat, tum etiam duodecim annorum assuetudine perviis  
"Alpibus factis, inter mitiora jam hominum transibat in-  
"genia."

It might be thought that such events would be so stamped on the scenes where they occurred, that those scenes would become recognised and unquestioned. But, when Hannibal was recalled from Italy, this channel of communication did not pass into the control of his enemy: the Romans were still excluded from the Alps. Macedon, Carthage, Greece, Spain, were brought to own the supremacy of the domineering republic, while the Alps remained untrodden by the Roman soldier. Histories of the march were published both in the Greek and Latin languages; of which one only, as far as we know, had defined by name the pass of the Carthaginians. It was long before there was official access to the country which they had traversed. The Gaulish and Ligurian nations of Italy still struggled for independence; and postponed to a late day the familiarity of Rome with the Alps. Hence an opening to doubt, and a temptation to the confounding of fiction with truth: and thus was the route of Hannibal, two centuries after the invasion, treated by the great historian of Rome, as a matter of argument and speculation.

From such cause of obscurity the Passage of the Rhone was free. A Roman consul saw the place three days after the enemy had marched onwards to the Isère: and up to this point there is not found in Livy's narrative of the track anything in contradiction of Polybius. He carries the march from the Pyrenees through Elne and Roussillon to the country of the Volcæ, whose capital was Nîmes. Before the passage is forced, Hanno is sent 25 miles up the river, and crosses it: and all the circumstances of the passage told by Livy are in accordance with the earlier history. Hannibal marches up the river on the day following that of the engagement of cavalry, and reaches the Island in four days: Scipio arrives

at the deserted entrenchments on the third day after the departure of the enemy. These conformities would not have been found, if the two historians had imagined different points for the passage of the Rhone. Further, as Livy had no cause, like his predecessor, to avoid the nomination of places, one would think that, if any well known town had been signalled by the passage of the Carthaginian armament, and question had been made on so interesting an incident, he would not have left it unnoticed. It may then be fairly inferred from his silence, that he had nothing to advance in opposition to prior writers: and I am entitled to say that, if I have shown the place of crossing intended by one historian, I have shown the place recognised by the other.

*Four days' march to the Island.*

All interpreters of Livy, save the accola of the Eygues, allow that he intended to describe the four days' march as up the Rhone from the passage of that river as far as a district called the Island. There is a difference of opinion on the site which Livy gives to it; also on the position of a people called Allobroges; but all understand that Hannibal found that people in a state of discord; that he interfered in favour of the elder brother; aided him in regaining the supremacy; and received substantial benefits in return. These are incidents on which every interpreter must pause, before he traces the further route into Italy.

When the progress is resumed, there is great difference of opinion on the direction which Livy meant to assign to it, among those who profess to rely on his story. And this is to be remembered; that he states Hannibal's movement to the Isère, after crossing the Rhone, to have been induced only by the desire to avoid present conflict with the Roman army.\*

\* D'Anville (Tricorii) speaks as if both historians imputed this to Hannibal: it is Livy only.

He would therefore consider that, on the motive to that deviation being removed by Scipio returning to his ships, Hannibal became free to pursue the route which he had first designed. We will inquire now, not into the merits of Livy's opinion, but which route did he intend to describe?

*What was Livy's hypothesis on the Pass.*

Every disputant who denies the Graian Alps, whether his pass be the Simplon, the Great St. Bernard, the Cenis, the Genève, or the Viso, and whatever circuit he may make to reach it, seems to conceive his own hypothesis to be in accordance with the text of Livy as well as with that of Polybius. Accordingly in the early part of Livy's march they question the points which we deemed most important in Polybius: they deny the river to be the Rhone, and deprive our island of its inhabitants, the Allobroges. The Isère is found convenient for reaching the Cenis: neither river is convenient for reaching the Genève. I believe that none of our adversaries, following one history, profess to disregard the other. We, who deny the concurrence of the two, believe Livy to be mistaken: but we must inquire into his meaning, to justify our distrust of his conclusions. The adverse theories which claim from us the most attentive consideration, are those which favour the Mont Genève and those which favour the Mont Cenis. Other hypotheses may be noticed, but not as requiring a detailed effort of opposition.

The writers of highest name, who favour the Mont Genève, have been, D'Anville, who interprets Livy, but does not interpret Polybius, presuming that they must agree; and Letronne, who interprets both, and struggles to reconcile them. They are both right upon Livy's pass: but each commits great errors as to Livy's mode of arriving at it. D'Anville would carry Hannibal up the Val Godemar, from the head of which there is no escape at all for an army. He

was in partial, but excusable ignorance of that part of a country to which he devoted so much attention. Letronne contradicts the text of Livy in his endeavour to reconcile it with that of Polybius. We will hereafter examine the particular blemishes of these distinguished men, who judge rightly on the pass which Livy intended, and on nothing else.

The rival hypothesis of the Cenis I conceive to have no pretension to be in accordance with either history. The recent writers who have most strongly urged it, are M. Larauza, Dr. Ukert, and Mr. Ellis. Larauza published his clever book, *Histoire Critique*, in 1826. Dr. Ukert, in support of the same route, wrote in 1832: and Mr. Ellis, with some variety of line, in 1854. Ukert, though somewhat differing from Larauza on the Island and the Allobroges, follows him through the mountains almost without interfering; as if doubtfully approving the matter in which he seems to acquiesce. Indeed in the whole march through the Alps to the plain he is the obsequious attendant of the French critic, transcribing his Itinerary, but not confirming his interpretations with reasonings of his own.

*The Insula and Allobroges of Larauza.*

M. Larauza admits, that Livy intended the Island to be north of Isère: but insists on the fact that the Allobroges were south of Isère. On their position he says this—"Où a-t-on vu dans ces historiens qu'à cette époque les Allobroges habitassent l'île? Bien loin de le laisser entendre, ne disent-ils pas tout le contraire? Nulle part Polybe ne donne le nom d'Allobroges aux habitants de l'île. Tite-Live est encore plus formel: il reconnaît positivement, comme on l'a déjà pu voir, que les Allobroges habitaient près de l'île." P. 35.

The words of the history are these—"Quartis castris ad

"Insulam pervenit: ibi Arar Rhodanusque amnes, diversi ex  
 "Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluunt in  
 "unum: mediis campis Insulæ nomen inditum: incolunt prope  
 "Allobroges, gens jam inde nullâ Gallicâ gente opibus aut famâ  
 "inferior." I object to the construction, though a common one,  
 that "incolunt prope" means "dwell near the Island." "In-  
 colunt" signifies "dwell in:" and we are to understand  
 "campos" or "insulam" as following that word—We pre-  
 sently read "incolentium ea loca Gallorum;" where the  
 accusative is expressed. If the required idea had been  
 "dwell" only, and not "dwell in;" "colunt prope" would  
 have sufficed, as in chapter xxvi. where Livy says of the Volcæ,  
 "colunt circâ utramque ripam Rhodani." As "incolunt" means  
 "dwell in the Island," "prope" cannot mean "near the Island."  
 The nearness which it imports is nearness to the point at  
 which the story of Hannibal's progress has arrived, the point  
 which in the preceding sentence is intended by "ibi," and  
 which was reached by the four days' march.

Now no commentator has ever suggested a name other than  
 Allobroges for those who dwelt in the island: Livy does not  
 hint that Hannibal was among that people before he reached  
 the Isère: and, when the army is put in motion again south  
 of Isère, they are left behind, and we never hear of them  
 again. If Livy's Allobroges were not beyond the Isère, where  
 were they?

M. Larauza bestows the denomination Allobroges "aux  
 "diverses tribus Gauloises occupant du tems d'Annibal tout  
 "le pays qui s'étend depuis le Rhône au dessous de l'Isère,  
 "jusqu'à l'entrée des Alpes et au delà." He first spreads  
 them along the Rhone from the Durance to the Isère; and  
 then along the south of Isère towards the Alps. He imagines  
 that those who were just in the angle made by the rivers were  
 specially Allobroges; in fact, Allobroges and nothing else.  
 Thus, in his view, the march up the Rhone to the Island had

brought Hannibal into Allobroges without crossing the Isère:  
 and the Tricastini succeed them, being along the Isère.  
 Larauza says:—"Nous placerons avec Tite-Live dans ce  
 "même pays, d'abord les Tricastini, à la suite de la nation  
 "à laquelle il applique exclusivement le nom d'Allobroges,  
 "et qui se trouvait habiter alors le pays occupé par les  
 "Cavares du tems de Strabon, et par les Segalauni du tems  
 "de Ptolomée." P. 84.

This notion, that the Allobroges had anciently been where  
 Strabo places the Cavari, is utterly without foundation. Strabo  
 speaks of Cavari and Allobroges as quite distinct: and he was  
 precisely contemporary with Livy. He used the term Cavari  
 as comprehending many peoples, who had names of their own,  
 and bordered on the Rhone from the Durance to the Isère.  
 He says, p. 185, that from the Durance to the mouth of the  
 Isère belonged to the Cavari: in the next page he says that  
 along those parts of the Rhone's bank the name Cavari pre-  
 vails, so that all the barbarian nations are so called, though, in  
 fact, no longer barbarians, but having for the most part as-  
 sumed the character of Romans, with the language and habits  
 of life, and some of their civil rights. One must believe that  
 Tricastini and Segalauni were among the Cavari of Strabo.  
 Having placed the Cavari upon the Rhone from the Durance  
 to the Isère, he exhibits the Allobroges on the Rhone from  
 the Isère to Lyons, stating the distances both by land and  
 by water. He does not say that the term Allobroges em-  
 braces more peoples than one: he states that Vienne was  
 formerly their metropolis when it was only a village; but  
 had now become a fine city. If it were true that Allobroges  
 were the predecessors of Cavari south of Isère, Hannibal must  
 have been in their country for six days before he reached the  
 Island: and yet Livy does not mention that people till after  
 Hannibal has reached the Island; nor does he mention them  
 again after he has made his way out of the Island.

Notwithstanding his attempt to show by ancient authority that in Hannibal's time the position of the Allobroges was in fact south of the Isère, M. Larauza is obliged to confess that their civil war told by Livy was in the Island. As the words "sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum" are too plain to be perverted, he admits that those Allobroges were spoken of as the combatants. But on the fact itself he differs from Livy, and contends that the notion of Allobrogian discord was a mere blunder on the part of the historian; whose ignorance he readily explains, by observing that he did not understand the Celtic language so well as the *savans* of modern times. "Ne connaissant la signification de la plupart de ces mots Celtes" (Tricastins, Voconces et Tricoriens), et n'ayant pas vu que "le nom d'Allobroges était une dénomination générale comprenant les diverses peuplades qui habitaient ce pays, il aura conclu que les Allobroges se trouvaient seulement vers les bords du Rhône, et que les Tricastins, les Voconces, et les Tricoriens étaient des peuples distincts des premiers, et placés après eux; tandis qu'au contraire il aurait pu voir qu'en allant des Allobroges chez les Tricastins, Annibal se trouvait toujours chez les Allobroges, et que c'étaient encore des Allobroges qu'il devait rencontrer à son passage dans les Alpes."

M. Larauza heads a chapter thus:—"Comment Tite-Live aura été induit à placer près de l'Île la nation que Polybe place dans l'Île." In tenderness to the memory of Livy, he invents for him an excuse, and a queer excuse it is: namely, that the ejected elder brother, who claimed the sovereignty of the nameless nation that dwelt in the Island, had been driven out of it at the time when Hannibal came up the Rhone, and was thereby a trespasser on the opposite bank of the Isère among the Allobroges: that Livy mistook the involuntary position of this chief for the position of his nation, and so called them Allobroges. "Le roi dépossédé lors de

"l'arrivée d'Annibal, pouvait se trouver en deçà du fleuve: voyant donc là le chef légitime de cette nation, l'historien aura pu supposer qu'elle habitait cette partie de la Gaule, et comme d'autre part il trouvait dans Polybe que l'armée Carthaginoise, à partir du Rhône, eut à traverser le territoire des Allobroges, il en aura conclu que ce fut cette nation, placée au-deçà de l'Île, qui fit intervenir Annibal dans sa querelle, quoique Polybe dise le contraire." P. 86.

*The Insula and Allobroges of Ukert.*

Dr. Ukert's notions upon the Allobroges have claimed our attention before in discussing the *ἀναβολή* of Polybius. We now inquire what are his notions upon the Allobroges as treated by Livy, and in their relation to Livy's Island: and those notions are by no means clear. Unhappily not able to study Dr. Ukert myself, I refer to the learned reviewer, who, in the *Philological Museum* of 1833, stated the opinions of the Professor in English, as he considered them to be.

Dr. Thirlwall, expounding Ukert's views, says—"With respect to the position of the Island, Ukert admits it to be the tract which is bounded by the Rhone, the Isère, and the intervening mountains, but on almost every other point he is at variance with the partisans of General Melville. He does not allow that any alteration is required in the text either of Polybius or Livy, where they describe the Island." P. 680.

In p. 681 he continues his exposition:—"The Allobriges, or Allobroges, appear to have been driven northward from their original seats, in which they were known to Apollodorus as a most powerful nation (Steph. Byz. Ἀλλόβρυγες), and in the time of Livy to have been confined to the country north of the Isère. This state of things he has transferred to the time of Hannibal. *His* Allobroges inhabit the *Island* of the Barbarians of Polybius, which is south of his own



"*Island: incolunt prope Allobroges.* Livy's *Island*, formed "by the Rhone and the Saône (Arar), is described in a manner "which will not apply to that of Polybius, even if the name "Arar is altered to Isara. It is not a tract resembling the "Delta of the Nile, but only a considerable district (*agri aliquantum*). But the kingdom about which the contest "decided by Hannibal has arisen, is that of the Allobroges: "they become Hannibal's friends and allies. It is not, however, said that he marches through their territory: after he "has composed their dissensions, he turns to the left through "the Tricastini, and meets with no obstacle till he reaches the "Druentia: a description which, except with regard to the "Druentia, agrees with that of Polybius, on the supposition "that Hannibal did not cross the Isère, and that Polybius "took this river for the Rhone."

Further, in p. 682, it seems to be Dr. Ukert's opinion that "in the direction of the march, Livy coincides with Polybius, "when he makes Hannibal bend his course to the left towards "the Tricastini, and then skirt the borders of the Vocontii "toward the Tricorii. It is the same road as Bellovesus and "his Gauls had formerly taken. (Liv. v. 34.) The expression "*ad lævam* must be understood with reference to the previous words, *cum jam Alpes peteret*, when Hannibal had "turned his front toward the Alps, the Tricastini and the "Isère lay on his left. We have therefore only to measure "the 800 stadia along the Isère; they will bring us to Montmeillan, and here we enter the mountains. But, if this is "the road by which Livy also leads us, how do we come to "the Durance? It is the mention of this river which has "subjected Livy to the charge of ignorance and carelessness "from those who believed that he led Hannibal across the "Mont Genève, and yet adopted a description from Polybius, "which is only applicable to a different part of the Alps."

Ukert thinks (says the Reviewer), that this imputation is unfounded, and that Livy's Druentia is not the Durance.

Ukert himself escapes the Durance by going over the Cenis. But he does not succeed in making Livy do so. Livy leads Hannibal to the Durance in order to take him over the Genève. I am more disposed to relieve him of the suspicion under which he labours, of making the city of Lyons the island of the Allobroges. When it is asked, "If Rhone and Arar are two sides, what is the third side?" there is no rational answer.

I apprehend it to be true, that in most extant manuscripts the rivers named are the Saône and the Rhone. The words are these:—"Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit: ibi Arar "Rhodanusque diversi ex Alpibus decurrentes, agri aliquantum "amplexi, confluent in unum." One manuscript, in Trinity College, Cambridge, has, not "ibi Arar," but "bisarar," which is reasonably thought to be a mistake for "ibi Isara:" and this aids the common notion that Isara must have been the original reading.

It seems to me unimportant, whether Isara has the support of one or two manuscripts, or of none. Let us even believe that Livy's own pen wrote Arar, the Saône: his mind intended the Isère. The definition in which the word occurs is nonsense, if you accept the Saône; sound and just, if you understand the Isère: in the former case there is no chain of Alps ranging between the two rivers; in the latter, that feature is distinctly evident. The fact related by Livy could not occur at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône; and could only occur at the confluence of the Rhone and Isère. He says that Hannibal came to the island in four days' march from the place of crossing the Rhone. Four days could not have brought the army to Lyons, even from Roquemaure; it is a distance of 135 miles: and the Tarascon passage makes the case more perverse; for from that, as the place of crossing,



the distance is 165 miles. This wonderful feat we are by some asked to suppose that Livy intended to relate. Why should he be charged with such credulity? Or why should he impose upon others, by so exaggerating the marching powers of the Carthaginians? If Livy took no heed of distances, it would still be difficult to suggest a purpose, military or political, for which Hannibal should consume time and strength in pushing up with continuous haste, away from the Alps, into that corner of the Island at Lyons. If the object were to watch Scipio, it was wiser to maintain himself for a time on the Isère.

If the manuscripts had exhibited both rivers under strange or equivocal names, the context of facts would compel us to accept them as the Rhone and the Isère; the first duty of construction being to make sense in our author. It is a disease to care only for words, and not for ideas which words are to represent. Dr. Ukert said, when discussing the Scaras of Polybius, "We dare not alter a name." And yet he himself was at the same time daring the greatest alteration, turning Rhone into Scaras, and Scaras into Rhone. Why are we not to dare? Are Greek and Latin manuscripts necessarily exempt from error? They are not: and, like other human efforts, they claim correction. If all argument shows that Livy had in mind the Isère, it matters not which name his pen described: and if the blunder was not his own, but has arisen in the carelessness or wilfulness of transcribers, it is still less worthy to disturb us.

Whatever Livy's own geography might be, I think that he adopted the name *Insula* from Polybius: and meant to apply it to the same thing. Dr. Ukert thinks that the description of it denotes too small a surface of territory. This observation would be an answer to Mr. Whitaker, who is satisfied with the hills behind Lyons; and to Menetrier and Breval, who substitute an old canal for a chain of Alps: but Livy's

boundaries are rivers "*diversi ex Alpibus decurrentes.*" "*Aliquantum*" is certainly a loose term, indicating a very indefinite quantity. But "*ager*" imports an extensive district, according to the use of the word by Livy: as "*ager Vocontiorum,*" "*ager Insubrium,*" "*ager Gallicus:*" so Cæsar, "*ager Helveticus.*" "*Aliquantum agri*" indicates with the context a considerable extent of country: for a range of Alps was spread between the courses of two great rivers as the completing line of the insular region. Dr. Ukert, when particularly insisting that Livy was warranted in representing it a smaller space than was said by Polybius, adds—"ibi Arar Rhodanusque, agri aliquantum amplexi, confluent in unum;" omitting the words which bespeak distance, "*diversi ex Alpibus decurrentes.*" ii. 591. But elsewhere he fully quotes the passage.

*The Insula and Allobroges of Mr. Ellis.*

In the *Treatise*, p. 133, we read this—"Livy calls the inhabitants of the island Allobroges. They were such in his time, but not in that of Hannibal; as is perfectly clear from the narrative of Polybius. Livy indeed says at first, with respect to the island, that the Allobroges live near it. He should have said that they lived near it in the time of Hannibal. It was subsequent to that period that the island was comprised in the territory of the Allobroges, their name being probably applied in the course of time to all the tribes they absorbed in succession." In these words there are three ideas, and a fair amount of error.

As to the first idea, "perfectly clear from Polybius," I had ventured, in my *Criticism*, to think that the contrary was clear; on which Mr. Ellis imputed (*Journal of Phil.* ii. 316) that I substituted the expression "Allobroges" for "men of the island," and that I so made the passages of the history *absolute nonsense*. "Men of the Island" is the phrase of Mr. Ellis, not of Polybius: I could not substitute anything for a term which

is not in the history: it is not even in Mr. Ellis's translation of the history. I hope, moreover, that, although Mr. Ellis extols his own rash comment as a *reductio ad absurdum*, it has appeared in these pages that the Allobroges were in fact the inhabitants of the island. See *ante*, Part IV. ch. ii.

The second idea, on "incolunt prope," is borrowed from Larauza, and has lately been under observation.

In the third idea, on the Allobroges having got within the island in Livy's time, it is an error borrowed from Ukert. But Mr. Ellis tries to improve upon it. The Professor thought that that people had been reduced and driven northward: Mr. Ellis discovers that they had swallowed up the other tribes. I believe there is no truth either in one notion or the other.

## CHAPTER II.

*March from the Isère. The turn to the left, a fact variously dealt with, by D'Anville, Whitaker, Letronne, Larauza, Ukert, the Cambridge anonymous, Vaudoncourt, St. Simon, St. Cyr Nugues, the Oxford Dissertation, Ellis. The text wants no mending for telling the author's meaning.*

LIVY, having related that Hannibal was appealed to to settle some disputes on the government of the Allobroges, and that he did so, and received substantial benefits in return, sets the expedition in movement again with these words: "Sedatis certaminibus Allobrogum, quum jam Alpes peteret, non rectâ regione iter instituit, sed ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit: inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tetendit in Tricorios, haud usquam impeditâ viâ priusquam ad Druentiam flumen pervenit." In these few words a march is described with five indicia of the course pursued—ad lævam,

Tricastini, Vocontii, Tricorii, Druentia. After crossing this river, the march is carried to the Alps: "Hannibal ab 'Druentiâ campestri maximè itinere cum bonâ pace ad 'Alpes incolentium ea loca Gallorum pervenit."

The first idea in this progress, which requires to be understood, is a turn to the left towards the Tricastini; and there have been numerous contrivances for interpreting or correcting the words of the historian. These shall be noticed, with my own view of the meaning of the passage.

### *The turn to the left.*

D'Anville does not help us here; for he misquotes the author. He says under the word Tricastini: "On trouve le nom des Tricastini dans la marche d'Annibal, qui ayant passé le Rhône plus bas que dans la position de ce peuple, prit sur la gauche; 'ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit.'" Again, under the word Tricorii, he says: "On lit dans Tite-Live, 'qu'ayant passé le Rhône, Annibal prit sa route sur la gauche par le pays des Tricastini.'" He forgot that the turn to the left was made, not on crossing the Rhone, but in the resumed march, after settling the disputes of the Allobroges. This was an unhappy beginning of an erroneous line of march published by this distinguished geographer in 1739. D'Anville traced this march under another false impression, namely, that both historians had told Hannibal's deviation to the Isère as made for the purpose of avoiding present conflict. (See *Notice de la Gaule*, in v. *Tricorii*.) Polybius never hints at such a thing.

Mr. Whitaker (vol. i. p. 126) understood from Livy's narrative that, when Hannibal's march up the Rhone has brought him to Lyons, he turned to the left; and he is much displeased that the historian just mistook his right hand for his left, through "an indistinctness of geographical vision which perplexes his historical views." He says: "A turning to

"the left should have been intimated when Hannibal marched up the Rhone, after crossing it; then the observation would have been precisely just—now it is unjust and impertinent."

M. Letronne believed that Hannibal was intended to turn to the left, after marching up the Isère to the Drac; not, however, that he turned to his own left, but to the left of the historian, as he sat in his study at Rome, with his face bent towards the Alps: "La ligne directe eût été de traverser le Drac—mais il ne prit point la ligne directe; il tourna sur sa gauche (par rapport à l'historien): ainsi il traversa ni l'Isère ni le Drac; il remonta ce torrent, que sa largeur dut lui faire prendre pour la même rivière que l'Isère."—*Journal des Savans*, Janvier, 1819, p. 32. Now, if it was Livy's practice so to speak of right and left, we must apprehend him by it. But nothing less than that practice can vindicate the suspicion of anything so unreasonable. We have the fancy of M. Letronne, but no practice of Livy. M. Larauza says justly, that if Livy had meant "*lævam*" to be his own left hand, and not that of Hannibal, he would have so expressed local relation in other instances—that is, in relation to himself; so that "*adversâ ripâ*," which in c. xxxi. means the opposite bank of the Rhone, should be construed "opposite to the author," namely, on the right bank. So, in c. xxvi, "*citerior*," and "*ulterior ripa Rhodani*," should be understood in relation to Rome: but these terms are used in relation to Hannibal before he has crossed the Rhone.

M. Larauza has his own plan: he supposes Hannibal in position south of Isère, with his back to the angle of the rivers, and his face to the east; and he sends him up the Isère (p. 69) with this explanation: "Annibal, se dirigeant vers les Alpes, ne prend pas le droit chemin, c'est-à-dire celui qui était plus court pour aller des Gaules en Italie, et qui passait par Valence, Die, Gap, etc., mais il se détourne

"sur sa gauche." Thus M. Larauza contrives a position from whence Hannibal might retrace the Rhone by his right, or ascend the Isère by his left; and points out that he adopted the latter course. He verifies "*non rectâ regione*," by saying that the other course, by Valence and Die, is the shorter line; but he is mistaken in this matter of fact. If from the mouth of the Isère you measure his Cenis route, and the other by Valence and Die, the point at which the two will meet is Susa; and the shorter distance to that point is by the Cenis track. Moreover, that is not the question: Livy did not by "*rectâ regione*" mean a shorter line from the place of turning; such was not the contrast which he had in mind.

Dr. Ukert, who follows M. Larauza up the Isère and the Arc to the Cenis, also takes a position with a view of turning to the left; but not in the same place. His plan is, to halt the army beyond the Drome after the four days' march from Tarascon; and he says, p. 594: "Let us picture to ourselves, as has been shown, Hannibal's army between the Drome and the Isère, facing the Alps and ready to decamp: he has two roads before him, one on the right hand going up the Drome into the mountains, the other on the left following the Isère: he chose the latter." Now why should we, without instruction from the author, picture to ourselves the Carthaginian army halting after crossing the Drome, and then turning their back to the Rhone and their face to the Alps? The march did not end with the Drome: "*Hannibal ad Insulam pervenit*." Let him do this: and what becomes of the exploit of the critic? He it is, not Hannibal, who, having before him the straightforward line "*ad insulam*," changes his front, faces to the right for a moment, and then, under the name of turning to the left, resumes the very line in which he was marching before.

The author who wrote in 1830 as a member of the University of Cambridge, also interprets Livy. His geography is only to be conveyed in his own words, p. 93: "Hannibal

"is now supposed to be in the Island, the contest over, his army fronting the great chain of the Alps, and commencing their march: how then can he bend to the left 'in Tricastinos'?" The passage of Strabo is then quoted, who says nothing of Tricastini, but speaks of Cavares in p. 185 (referred to above): and the critic's inference is this: "The Tricastini *therefore*, according to the present passage of Livy, might be placed between the Romanche and Grenoble, and the difficulty *would* then be done away." Having thus shifted the Tricastini to the Romanche, he becomes more obscure by this explanation: "Hannibal, then, from the spot where he had decided the contest between the brothers, turns to the left, and marching through Moirans, crosses the Isère at Grenoble, into the northern limits of the Vocontii. He then enters the country of the Tricorii, his course along the Drac being quite unimpeded till his arrival at the Durance."

The military critics are as discordant as the rest on the manoeuvre in question. General Vaudoncourt pronounces that there must be fault in the manuscripts; that "ad lævam" is a mistake for "ad dextram:" an opinion which he enforces thus: "Cela est si clair, que je me dispenserai de m'étendre davantage là-dessus." Tom. i. p. 56.

M. Le Marquis de St. Simon (*La Guerre des Alpes, ou Campagne de 1744*) makes Hannibal to retrace his steps from Vienne down the Rhone as far as St. Paul-trois-châteaux before he strikes off for the Alps. He seems to perform the "ad lævam" in this way:—he had crossed the Isère and taken a sweep by St. Marcellin, which brought him from east to west upon the Rhone at Vienne: so that his face being to that river, "ad lævam" necessarily takes him down the river. I am not aware that this critic states his conception of "rectâ regione:" it ought to have been disclosed; for "ad lævam" is contrasted with "rectâ regione," as an "iter ad Alpes." As the

facts are arranged for making "ad lævam" to take Hannibal down the Rhone, it might be thought that "rectâ regione" would have carried him into the Atlantic.

General St. Cyr Nugues satisfies the "ad lævam" of Livy on a different principle. Hannibal's army on the march to the Isère had a centre, a right wing, and a left wing. He retreated from Scipio: but an army is supposed to retreat with face to the enemy: so that the natural right hand is the military left hand. Thus Hannibal, marching to the Island, had always the Rhone on his right: consequently, when he took the road to the Alps, he turned to his left. The general is at least consistent with himself: "recta regio" finds its place in the rear—"L'armée laisse derrière elle le chemin de Grenoble, 'rectum iter.'"

Wickham and Cramer, in their chapter on Livy, p. 132, fail to discern a meaning in the turn to the left, as a means of arriving at the Mont Genève from the north of the Isère. They say: "It will surely not be by returning to the Tricastini; that is, nearly to the very point from which they had set out from the very passage of the Rhone. Nor is it possible to conceive how the Tricastini, the people of St. Paul-trois-châteaux, could have been to the left of the Carthaginian army as it moved from the Isère. There is sufficient reason, therefore, for supposing the passage to be corrupt; and, if a conjecture might be allowed, in a difficulty which seems scarcely to admit of a more reasonable explanation, we should be inclined to suppose that these words 'ad lævam in Tricastinos flexit' were in their wrong place, and ought to have formed part of the passage quoted from the beginning of the same chapter. This passage might then stand thus—'Postero die profectus adversâ ripâ Rhodani, ad lævam in Tricastinos flectit et mediterranea Gallie petit.' This will at least enable us to obviate what is so repugnant to reason and common sense."



In this suggestion for improving a sentence, five words are lifted into it from another sentence. The change damages both: a hole is made in one, and not being mended, the mutilation is uncomfortable. "Ad lævam flectit" would be much missed after "sed:" and "inde" loses its sense, when the reference to Tricastinos is lost. And what is the advantage to the sentence which receives the words? Livy does not say, as my friends suppose, that Hannibal turned to St. Paul-trois-châteaux, but into the Tricastini: and this he would do, if, after marching a little way down the Rhone, he had turned to the left at Valence, and proceeded by Aoste, which is the Augusta Tricastinorum of Pliny. It is thus by no means impossible to conceive how the Tricastini could be on the left in marching down the Rhone: it is far more difficult to conceive them on the left in marching up the Rhone. The proposed change, of applying "profectus ad lævam flectit" to the march up the river, is unhappy in itself: the words import that Hannibal, being in march, turned to the left: so that, if he had been marching up the Rhone, a turn to the left would have carried him into the Rhone.

Mr. Ellis readily assents to the same transposition of words: it particularly suits his theory, that the Tricastini should have been visited before the transactions in the Island. He sanctions the improvement; not as the emendation of a corrupt text, but as the correction of a blundering historian: he has been instructing us, that "Livy is careless, extravagant, glaringly incorrect, loving the marvellous, aiming to produce effect rather than secure accuracy and truth." Seeing an obstacle in "ad lævam," he says p. 130, "On examining his account, it will be necessary partly to undo what he has done."—And pp. 134-5, "A single correction grounded on the conclusion previously drawn from Livy's character, seems to remove the difficulty." The correction is that of the Oxford Dissertation, though provoked by a different cause:

and Mr. Ellis, having first visited the Tricastini, is at liberty, after pacifying the Allobroges, to go at once into the Vocontii, construing inde "from the confluence of the two rivers."

I differ from all these writers. It appears to me that there is no difficulty to be solved; that Livy's words are quite intelligible; that they are consistent with his theory and need no alteration. If, like many of these interpreters, you set the face of the Carthaginian army according to your fancy, as you would fix a direction post, you can make the left hand incline to any point of the compass. But the position ought to be taken on the authority of the writer who is to be construed: it should accord with the context of the history. Livy said before, that Hannibal's movement to the Isère was not as his way to the Alps, but to get out of the way of the enemy: that motive ceasing to operate, he is on his way to the Alps. He begins by retracing his steps, and as he is doing so, the first turn to the left is at Valence. Hence a Roman road known to Livy turns to the Tricastini, and, if you pursue it, you will come by Die, Luc, Gap, and Embrun, to the Mont Genève.

This is the turn which Livy conceives Hannibal to have made, and the words "quum jam Alpes peteret" (when he was now in march for the Alps), plainly show, that he considered Hannibal to have made some progress when he did turn. "Peto" imports action, not speculation; "quaero," not "cupio," as, in a prior passage, "mediterranea petit." At the same time another idea is introduced in contrast, "non rectâ regione, sed ad lævam." Accordingly it has been inquired, what route would have been "rectâ regione?" It might be enough to say that he did not go straight on, but turned to the left. Or it may be said that Livy in "recta regio" adverts to the regular route from the Lower Rhone up the Durance to the Genève as Hannibal's original object, having in mind the bearing of such a course in his own day to that well-



known pass. His story is, that Hannibal deviated from that course, and afterwards sought it again; that he began a retrograde march, but presently turned from the line by which he had sought the Isère, and made a cross cut which took him into a more advanced part of the line originally intended.

I apprehend that many have failed to estimate the expressions, "*peto*," "*non rectior via*," "*recta regio*." In the march to the Isère we read, "*Mediterranea petit*," and "*non rectior ad Alpes via*;" in the resumed march we read, "*quum jam Alpes peteret*," and "*non rectâ regione*." The historian supposes Hannibal now to direct his march to the line of the Durance, but by a route which was most convenient to him after retiring from the Isère.

It may possibly be objected that, if Livy assented to the passage of the Rhone above Avignon, he could not consider Hannibal to have come to it in the line which, in his own time, became the great Roman Way from Nîmes, for that Way crossed the Rhone at Arles, and the Durance at Cavaillon. But Livy's mind, impressed with the general bearing of the Spanish track to the Cottian Alps, need not have considered how much or how little of the new military way had been anticipated by Hannibal, whose enterprise was nearly 150 years before the Genève was first forced by a Roman army under Pompey: indeed, we cannot tell that Pompey's route from the Genève to the Rhone tallied throughout with the "*iter in Hispanias*" of the Itinerary. Even if Livy had had a perfect knowledge of rivers and roads as existing in his own time, which his great admirers do not claim for him, he would not have studied a coincidence with their minutiae in the plans of Hannibal.

The brief way in which he indicates the whole route pursued from the Pyrenees to the Alps, and the brief way in which he relates the progress from the Isère to the Durance, show that he spoke from general impressions, not from par-

ticular research on the tracks established in Provence and Dauphiné. He need not have cared to notice whether a crossing of the Rhone above Avignon would be favourable or not for a progress to the Cottian Alp, nor is it easy to pronounce with confidence how that would have been in the time of Hannibal. Bridges there were none at any part of the stream; the place of crossing was chosen for its own natural merits; indeed, Livy does not notice the resolution to deviate towards the Isère, till he has brought the armament safe over the Rhone, and it is plain to me that the first thing which that historian did, in his search for the track, was to acquire an impression on the pass. More will be said on this hereafter.

A few words may be said now in support of the proposition, that Livy viewed the Genève Pass, or Cottian Alp, as that which Hannibal had designed to reach, and that he imagined a reason why the accomplishment of that design should be for a time suspended. He writes consistently with such an impression; there are statements in his narrative which show Hannibal not to have intended the more southern route by the Maritime Alps; and there are statements which show him not to have intended a more northern route by the Isère. The one medium which is not absurd is the Genève. After telling the engagement of cavalry, Livy speaks of Hannibal as undecided whether he should at once persevere in his march for Italy, "*utrum cœptum in Italiam intenderet iter*," or come into conflict with Scipio. "*Cœptum iter*" implies that he was intending a particular route. This could not be to the Maritime Alp, for when he is said to hesitate between persisting in his course and risking an engagement, we must understand him to hesitate between two different things; but if that intended course was to the Maritime Alp, the two things were not different: a march to the enemy and a march to the Maritime were the same; whether for one or the other, he

must have moved southward from his camp on the Rhone. Equally clear is it that "coeptum iter" cannot denote a march to the Isère, for Livy expressly says, that this was forced upon Hannibal by circumstances, in the policy of avoiding an engagement. The result is, that unless Livy supposed Hannibal to have come without any plan at all, he deemed his premeditated course to be the intermediate one; that which would carry him to the pass of Alps afterwards known as Cottian, the "rectior via" for one coming from Spain.

## CHAPTER III.

*The march continued. Tricastini. Vocontii. Tricorii. D'Anville and Letronne are both right in thinking that Livy, in naming these peoples, intended an ascent by Briançon to the Genève. But each commits great mistake on the mode of reaching that town.*

WE must now consider the four geographical indicia by which Livy marks the progress after turning to the left. The object still is, to determine the track which that historian intended. It was not over the Cenis, but over the Genève, marching by Die, Luc, Gap, Embrun, and Briançon. Of those who have written in favour of the Genève, the two most eminent men have adopted the most erroneous ways of reaching it; and those ways must be separately canvassed.

*Tricastini.*

We do not read of the Tricastini as taking part in the events of history: they are named only in notices of geography; by Livy, Pliny, and Ptolemy. Their territory was clearly south of Isère, and below that of the Segalauni. In a story told by Livy, v. 34, about the inroad of a host of

Gauls into Italy under one Bellovesus, in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, he says that they arrived among the Tricastini, and, while they were perplexed with the aspect of the Alps, were called away to help the Phoceans, who had landed at Marseille. These Gauls under Bellovesus having assisted the strangers to gain a footing there, "ipsi per Taurinos saltusque invios Alpes transcenderunt."

If this story has been exploded as fabulous, it may still be taken as an aid to geography. The way of these Gauls to Marseille would take them down the Rhone: and thence to the Mont Genève their way would be up the Durance: and so they would at last come to the Taurini. From this short tale, one would expect the Tricastini to be farther down the Rhone than the mouth of the Isère: and this fact becomes plainer by the passage of the 21st book now before us; in which Hannibal is said to turn into the Tricastini, when on his way to the Druentia, after settling the disputes of the Allobroges.

Pliny in his chapter on the province of Narbo, iii. 5, names Augusta Tricastinorum among the Latin towns. When Augustus acquired the supremacy, Augusta became the name of many towns. Some appear to us called simply Augusta, as Aoste on the Guiers in the north of Dauphiné: some with a national or other mark added, as Augusta Prætoria, or Augusta Taurinorum, where the latter idea survives in Torino. Two places claim to represent Augusta Tricastinorum, both being in the region ascribed to that people: Aoste on the Drome, which is in the Itineraries as Augustum and Mansio Augusta; and St. Paul-trois-châteaux, which is known near the Rhone and the Lez. One who is going down the Rhone would, by bending his steps to the left for either of these places, turn into the Tricastini. But I think that the former is to be accepted as the Augusta Tricastinorum in this inquiry, because it lies in the route which accords with the progress

that Livy was describing, from the Tricastini to the Vocontii, and eventually to the Druentia. In both Itineraries this line of road is drawn from Valence through Aoste to Die, Dea Vocontiorum: it is, in fact, the Roman road to Luc, Gap, Embrun, and Briançon.

There is another place, the Næomagus of Ptolemy, by whose latitude Larauza would give the position of the Tricastini; saying, p. 76: "Cette latitude nous montrant ce peuple sur les bords de l'Isère." This "civitas" of the Tricastini is pleasing to him, not because he can suggest its identity with any place that he ever heard of, but because Ptolemy appends to it a longitude and latitude, which he deems suitable to a progress to the Mont Cenis, and which D'Anville calls "une position fort étrange."

Larauza calls attention to Ptolemy, who, after placing the Allobryges on the eastern "side of the Rhone, having Vienna "as their civitas, places under them more to the west the "Segalauni, whose civitas is Valentia: and more to the east "the Tricastini, whose city is Næomagus." Now, for appreciating the value of Ptolemy's enumeration, we should continue the quotation, and this immediately follows: "Then, "below the Segalauni, the Cavari; and below them, the "Salices:—But below the Tricasteni are the Mimeni, below "whom are the Vocontii and their city Vasio." Now it is not easy to suppose the Tricasteni east of the Segalauni along the Isère, especially with the Mimeni south of them, and the Vocontii south of the Mimeni.

On referring to the map of Celtogalatia Narbonensia belonging to this same folio edition of Ptolemy by Bertius (*Europæ tabula tertia*), I do not find all the innovations portrayed which the text might lead us to expect. The great nation of Vocontii is not banished from its position: it still extends from the Durance to the Isère, as we collect from Cicero, Cæsar, and Strabo. The Mimeni, however, surprise us by

displaying themselves north of Isère: and the Tricasteni, with their town Neomagus, appear to flourish at the western part of the lake of Geneva. I think we may safely construe Livy as introducing Hannibal into the Tricastini in the early part of a march from the Isère down the Rhone.

#### *Vocontii.*

The Vocontii were a powerful people, who made head against the Romans on their first invasion of Gaul beyond the Alps. We know from the best writers that their most northern part touched the Isère opposite to Grenoble. On the east, they seemed to have been confined for some way by the Drac, whose stream in early times sought the Isère above Grenoble, dividing them from the Uceni. On the west, they probably joined the Segalauni: Die was Dea Vocontiorum. As to their southern and south-western frontier, whether the 99 miles of their ground, through which Strabo carries the travelling road towards Embrun, be correct or not, one cannot doubt that they owned a very extended frontier along the Durance, and must have been in contiguity with other peoples besides those mentioned.

#### *Tricorii.*

I conceive the Drac to have flowed along the borders of the Tricorii before it came to touch the Uceni (Iconii). The general position of Iconii and Tricorii seems marked by Livy's contemporary Strabo. After speaking of Cavari, as a denomination of many peoples, who border the Rhone from the Durance to the Isère, he says (p. 185)—"Above the Cavari lie the Vocontii; and the Tricorii and Iconii." Again, in p. 203—"After the Vocontii are the Siconii and Tricorii."

Thus the Cavari of Strabo lay along the Rhone, having behind or above them the Vocontii: and behind or above the Vocontii lay the Tricorii and Iconii: the Tricorii, as I appre-

hend, more south towards the Durance; the Iconii more north towards the Isère. The Iconii are commonly identified with the Uceni of Pliny. Some advocates of the Cenis, who altogether disown the Durance of Livy, are driven to place his Tricorii, as well as the Tricastini and Vocontii, along the Isère. D'Anville, though he would not acknowledge them to be so far south as to include Vapincum (Gap), still places their country wholly south of the Iconii or Uceni, though on the right bank of the Drac. In his map of Gallia Antiqua, the Uceni are to the north, with Bourg d'Oysans belonging to them: and south of them are the Tricorii, but not reaching to Gap or Embrun. He writes (under Iconii)—“Les Tricorii, selon la marche d'Annibal, doivent avoir occupé les bords du Drac vers le haut de son cours.”

In interpreting Livy, the position of the Tricorii becomes important, because he brings the march through them to the Druentia, and soon after into the Alps. We know that while those who conceive the march to be tending to the Cenis, imagine all three nations along the Isère, those who believe him to have crossed the Genève, approach this pass from the Durance. I may now say of the two most eminent authors among those who favour the Genève, D'Anville and Letronne, that they are right in their decision of the pass of Livy; in their methods of arriving at it they differ greatly from one another, and are both grievously in error. D'Anville made an unhappy guess for interpreting the text. Letronne contradicts the text.

*D'Anville.*

The map of D'Anville, for illustrating the march of Hannibal, which I never saw till after Christmas, 1863, was published in April, 1739. The line of march begins south of St. Paul-trois-châteaux; is carried up the Rhone to the junction of the rivers; and, without crossing the Isère, is drawn some way up the left bank: it then cuts away to the position

of Corps; and soon strikes away from the Drac in a direct line to Briançon, as if by the Val Godemar: then over the Genève to Césanne, and over the Sestrières to the Po above Turin. From Turin it keeps the left bank of the Po till near the Ticinus, then crosses the Po and comes to some point on the Trebia: then to Placentia: thence to Parma and Mutina, and crosses the Arno above Florence.

The peculiarities which belong to the visible tracing of this line might have been in parts varied in the author's description of places that occur in his subsequent writings: he might have discovered errors in that track during the twenty-one years which had elapsed when he published his Dictionary called *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule* in 1760: but we find no contradiction or inconsistency; the peculiarities are confirmed as the fruit of his deliberations. Now the track evidently shuns the angle formed by the Isère with the Drac, and therefore did not tend to the vale of Grésivaudan: and, when we see it to reach Briançon by a direct track from the nearest point of the Drac to that place, we are sure that he imagined a route up the Val Godemar, without any misgiving on the perviousness of such a line. Under the word *Geminæ*, he recognises the route from Luc to the Genève, which is drawn in the Theodosian Table (as he always calls the *Carte de Peutinger*), by noticing the two places which occur in it. “Je crois retrouver le nom de *Geminæ* dans celui de Mens, et “*Gerainæ*\* dans le nom de Jarain, que conserve un petit lieu du Val Godemar, sur la direction de la route qui rend “vers Briançon.” He repeats this under the word *Gerainæ*; adding, “Il est situé à la gauche du cours d'une rivière “nommée Severesse, qui tombe dans le Drac vis-à-vis de “Lesdiguières. En avançant au-delà, pour arriver au Mont

\* In the later edition of *Tabula Peutingeriana* (Vindobonæ, 1753), which D'Anville may not have seen in 1760, both places seem to be printed *Geminas*.



"Genève, la disposition du local exige que l'on se rende "par le Val Louise à Briançon." Thus, though the Val Godemar is blockaded by the highest mountains between Mont Blanc and the Mediterranean, prohibiting an advance to Briançon, yet it is quite evident that D'Anville, being unacquainted with the group of Mont Pelvoux, did conceive that line as the course of the Carthaginian march. He professes to desire the shortest line from the mouth of the Isère to the Genève; and argues that Hannibal did not come so far south as Gap, inasmuch as he would in that case have touched the Caturiges, whom Livy does not mention. What then? Many things are not mentioned by Livy. Strabo has given in much more detail the traveller's route up the Durance, in which that people could not be avoided; but he does not mention them.

When D'Anville in his later work recognises the route from the Drac up the Severaisse, as leading to Briançon and the Genève, not saying a word to show it impracticable, he is abiding by his map: and he had found this impossible track, from Luc to the Cottian Alps, in the Theodosian Table which he names; accordingly he treats the names of the places in it as he would search for stations in an Itinerary, endeavouring to find modern places which correspond with them. I believed this to be the case before ever I saw D'Anville's own map, from the entries in his *Ancienne Gaule*, which show that he did not reject the line direct from Luc to the Genève as an impossible thing; but when it appeared that he had himself delineated the same route from Corps, it was plain that his mind had been deluded by an error which took place 1300 years before.

I refer the reader to the articles in D'Anville's *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*—Tricastini—Tricorii—Geminæ—Gerainæ—Lucus—Vapincum, &c.

His map of 1739 is in a book at the British Museum,

which was bought at the sale of M. Letronne's books after his death, about 1847. The book contains *Atlas de Géographie Ancienne pour servir à l'intelligence des Œuvres de M. Rollin*. Paris, 1818. Among which is D'Anville's *Carte pour l'expédition d'Annibal*—and there is also, bound up with it, an early copy of this same map, having the date *Avril 1739*. M. Letronne's answers to De Luc came out in January and December 1819, which might be soon after he acquired the atlas.

*Letronne.*

M. Letronne, a man of great distinction, has also maintained the Genève as the pass of Hannibal. Unlike D'Anville, he struggled to ascribe to both histories the merit of giving the true track; and persuaded himself that there was consistency between them without altering a word of either. He must have been intimate with all that D'Anville had written; and must have seen the great difference between himself and his distinguished predecessor: but as they travelled to the same point, though by different ways, he never mentions him. D'Anville is not noticed either in January 1819, or in December 1819. Letronne could not be silent on Polybius: he wrote under special excitement. He had to contend with one who had just challenged public attention with the new light of the Graian Alp; and he was driven to the effort of making Polybius his witness, and could make no allusion to D'Anville, who rested on Livy.

On Letronne fell the task of answering De Luc, whose proofs were in Polybius: he had to make every sacrifice to conciliation; and his facility in doing it is marvellous. We saw before, how he shifted the river from Rhone to Isère by his translation of a Greek verb *πορεύομαι*; and how he then made Hannibal transfer himself from Isère to Drac without knowing it. So now, dealing with Livy, he avoids "recta



regio" by not going forward up the vale of Grésivaudan; and satisfies "ad lævam" by using the left hand of Livy instead of that of Hannibal.

M. Letronne says (p. 32), that the words of Livy "présentent deux difficultés, contre lesquels ont échoués tous les critiques"—La première consiste dans les mots, *ad lævam*—la seconde "difficulté tient en mot in *Tricastinos*: au tems de Tite-Live, "et même de l'expédition d'Annibal, les Tricastini pouvaient s'être étendus davantage vers le nord, et dominer les Segalauni." Then he adduces an earlier history of Livy, lib. v. c. 34, and assumes that he meant to conduct Bellovesus and Hannibal by the same route, as each is said to touch the Tricastini in Gaul and the Taurini in Italy. This tends to show that Livy meant both their movements to have been made over the Mont Genève: but it does not help M. Letronne to the position of the Tricastini. M. Letronne works out his ideas thus:—"On reconnoit beaucoup de consistence dans les idées de cet historien, relativement à la position des Tricastini: et l'on ne peut ainsi douter que leur territoire, au moins dans son opinion, ne s'étendit jusque sur les bords de ces deux rivières (l'Isère et le Drac). Voilà l'explication naturelle de ce passage de Tite-Live, qui est la principale cause de la diversité des opinions sur la route d'Annibal!" M. Letronne's identity of the two tracks pursued at some centuries' interval is not promoted by his quotation of what concerns Bellovesus, for he happens to omit the extra "viam" to Marseille.

M. Letronne quite breaks down before he gets to Druentia flumen. Though he rightly construes it to be the Durance, the truth of that one proposition does not vindicate his exposition of Livy's route. Livy's notion was that Hannibal, after bending to the left, passed through the three Gaulish nations, and reached the Druentia without interruption of the march, "nusquam impeditâ viâ;" and that, after crossing

that river, he still proceeded onward quietly through Gauls for some distance more or less, before he reached the Alps: he was then set at defiance by those whom Livy calls, not Galli, but Montani.

M. Letronne comes to his Alps and fights the first battle at St. Bonnet, which is far short of the Durance. At St. Bonnet he expressly exhausts his distance, and encounters his Alps; "à l'entrée du Département des Hautes Alpes: alors l'armée commença à gravir les Alpes—là commence la montée des Alpes." M. Letronne submits the Carthaginian progress to a great interruption by a severe mountain conflict and a serious loss of men, horses, and cattle, long before they approach the Durance. As an interpreter of Livy, he was pledged to bring Hannibal to the Druentia "nusquam impeditâ viâ," and then to give him a "campestre iter" to the Alps. Livy marches from the passage of the Druentia to the first Alps: M. Letronne marches from the first Alps to the Druentia.

#### CHAPTER IV.

*Druentia flumen. The Durance—Rival pretensions of the Arve, the Dranse, and the Drac.*

THIS is the last object named by Livy in narrating the march to the Alps, with only the addition of "iter campestre" before the Carthaginian force arrives at those mountains. It was to be expected that there would be some difference of opinion among his interpreters on the territorial boundaries of nations; but one would hardly have expected, that the river which is said to have been reached after visiting the three specified peoples would be called in question; and that the Druentia of Livy would not be accepted as the Druentia of Strabo and Pliny, that is, as the Durance. This river is

always called Druentia: and no other river of Gaul is ever called Druentia.

They who believe the Genèvre to be the pass of Hannibal, cannot be sceptical on the identity of the Druentia: but they may misconstrue Livy in the way of getting to it. D'Anville imagined a way that is not possible. Letronne also, though he shows a way to the Durance, contradicts the geography of Livy's march. Other theories for interpreting Livy have had a Druentia invented for them. To Mr. Whitaker it was the Arve: to Mr. Tytler it was the Dranse: to M. Larauza it was the Drac; which is adopted by the other Cenisians, Dr. Ukert and Mr. Ellis. Let us consider the merits of these.

*The Arve, the Druentia of Mr. Whitaker.*

Those who hear of the Druentia of this writer, will expect to be told how he got to it. Having brought Hannibal to Lyons, Mr. Whitaker, in p. 137, thus describes the march to Geneva:—"He went through the country of the Tricastini, from the grand angle of the Rhone at Lyons to the deep indent of it at St. Genis. He ranged along the limits of Vocontian dominions, from this indent to the Sier. He passed also through the region of the Tricorii, up to the town and lake of Geneva. He met with only one difficulty: this arose from a river, which Livy calls the Druentia; which the critical world has therefore, with a simplicity of faith that is founded only on a delusive symphony of names, believed to be the Durance of Avignon, Embrun and Briançon; and which will appear demonstrably, from what I shall allege, to be merely the Arve of Geneva."

The three peoples of Livy are described by Mr. Whitaker in the following manner (pp. 129 to 133):—

"The Tricastini owned the lands from the Guier at St. Genis and Pont Beauvoisin to Lyons. They inhabited from

"the Rhone on the north, along the back of the Allobroges of Vienne and of the Segalauni of Valence, to St. Paul on the south—in a long and narrow portion of land."

"The Vocontii possessed the country from the Sier at Seyssel to the Guier at St. Genis and Pont Beauvoisin:—they lay in a long narrow braid, stretching at the back of the Tricastini, having the Rhone for their boundary on the north, and their capital Vaison low to the south."

"The Tricorii possessed the region, probably, between the Arve of Geneva and the Sier at Seyssel. They appear to have lain with their heads to the Rhone, at the back of the Vocontii, extending in length towards Cavaillon and Orange in the south."

"All lay, extending from these their respective possessions on the north, in three long waves as it were, one behind the other, down the narrow length of Dauphiny."

Let any one take a map, and slice out Mr. Whitaker's three waves, flowing one from Lyons and St. Genis to St. Paul, one from Seyssel to Vaison, and one from Geneva to Cavaillon. He will see, in the originality of the arrangements, a fair sample of the author's power—of the boldness, and respect for evidence, which distinguish his whole work. In performing this exploit, Mr. Whitaker remarks, "D'Anville was singularly puzzled and perplexed in settling these tribes." D'Anville was, indeed, another sort of man—a sound and honest inquirer. His aim was truth; he could acknowledge a difficulty, though he could not always master one.

The bold blunder of making the Arve the Druentius of Strabo, which belongs to Mr. Whitaker alone, has an affinity to the error of D'Anville, already noticed, in making his Doria the minor Doria, which has obtained so much currency. Both are founded on the same passage of that geographer. In the fourth book, p. 203, Strabo names, among other things, the Doria and the Druentius as rising from one spring in the

heights of Medulli; the former running to join the Po, the latter running the other way to join the Rhone. The erroneous assertion of the identity of the sources was accepted as a fact by D'Anville in 1760, and by Whitaker in 1794; and it caused to each his particular error. Strabo was not warranted in asserting that identity. He knew whence the Doria came, but blundered on the source of the Druentia. Recent occurrences of Roman warfare had made him to know well the source of the Salassian Doria, but he had no means of knowing the vast mountainous regions which lay spread from north to south between the source of that river and the source of the Druentia; and he spoke rashly without evidence when he pronounced one source for the two, if ever he did pronounce it.

Whitaker, assuming the proximity, and knowing that the Doria flowed from the Col de la Seigne to Italy, made the Druentia flow to Gaul from the other side of the same ridge, and so identified it with the Arve. D'Anville had before assumed a similar proximity on the two sides of a ridge; and, apprehending the source of the Durance to be in the Mont Genève, conceived Strabo's Doria to spring on the other side of that mountain, and to be the river called Doria Minor. Both writers blundered from the same cause; one making the Doria to rise where it does not, the other making the Druentia to rise where it does not. These two rivers, which Strabo alleges to spring in the same region, do not spring in the same region; and if you find the source of one, it is no guide to the source of the other. The introduction of the Druentia as a river whose source was near to those of the Po and the Doria, is the blemish in Strabo's description of the rivers; and it is right to bring to view modern errors which are founded upon his error. I hope that I succeeded in showing, against D'Anville and his followers, that Strabo's Doria is not the river of Susa; and I think it will be acknowledged, against Whitaker, that Strabo's Durentius is not the Arve.

*The Dranse, the Druentia of Mr. Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee).*

It was the happy fortune of Mr. Whitaker to receive the applause of a good-natured critic, who promptly composed a pamphlet expressly in praise of his discoveries. It was published in London, 1795, without a name, and called "A Critical Examination of Mr. Whitaker's Course of Hannibal over the Alps ascertained." The noble editor of Gibbon and the authors of the *Oxford Dissertation* ascribe it to Mr. Tytler (Lord Woodhouselee).

I may give a sample of the complaisance of the reviewer. He says (p. 32), and I conceive not ironically: "From Lyons Hannibal passed through the country of the Tricastini to the deep indent of the Rhone at St. Genis. He ranged along the limits of the Vocontii and Tricorii, up to the Lake of Geneva, without interruption till he came to the river Druentia." Here, he says, "The river Druentia has, from a similarity of appellation, misled most of our authors. They have neglected the local descriptions, and childishly trusted to a delusive similarity of names." Reading this, one expected to find a commendation of Mr. Whitaker's Druentia, the Arve; but not so. As if it were necessary, for the credit of a reviewer, to find some little error in the author whom he patronises, Mr. Tytler repudiates the Arve, goes the whole length of the lake, and still ascends the Rhone. At last, forgetting the delusiveness of similarity, he discovers Livy's Druentia in the Dranse, which falls into the Rhone near Martigny.

*The Drac, the Druentia of the Cenisians.*

M. Larauza professes to identify the Druentia of Livy as being the river now well known as the Drac. He is, I believe, the inventor of this notion; and he numbers among his disciples Dr. Ukert and Mr. Ellis. Arguing against Letronne,

he objects that Livy's description does not agree with the character of the Durance in the part of its course where Letronne assumed Hannibal to have crossed it, namely, between Chorges and Embrun. This argument against Letronne is made on the assumption that Livy's local description must be accurate.

appears from what all the French writers say, that no part of the stream near to Embrun, whether above or below that place, accords with the character given to it by Livy. Letronne himself admitted it, as an error on the part of the historian:—"Il se livre en cet endroit à quelques exagérations, en faisant de la Durance une peinture qui ne convient qu'à ce qu'est cette rivière au-dessus de Cavaillon."

Larauza dwells on this point, and even thinks it expedient to show that the breadth of stream, with the many channels and the whirlpools of Livy, do not belong to the Durance near Briançon—a superfluous effort, which rather indicates a sense of weakness. He says (p. 55): "Je l'ai vu et avant et après Briançon: lorsqu'on va de cette ville au Mont Genève, on la passe sur un petit pont d'une arche, au sortir du village de la Vachette, situé au pied du Mont Genève; elle a peut-être là de dix à douze toises de large sur deux à trois pieds de profondeur. A Embrun (et ces détails je les tiens de gens ayant vu et connaissant bien le pays), elle est beaucoup plus large, quoiqu'encore très peu profonde. Mais ni à la Vachette, ni à Briançon, ni à Embrun, elle ne présente aucune des particularités que signale la description de Tite-Live. Depuis la Vachette et Briançon jusqu'à Embrun et au-delà, elle est encaissée dans un lit régulier: son cours ne varie jamais et n'offre aucun de ces accidens dont parle l'historien latin—Ce n'est guère que vers Sisteron qu'elle commence à se présenter avec les caractères qui lui donne Tite-Live, et qu'elle conserve à son embouchure."

We saw (*ante*, Part IV. c. iv.) how M. Larauza criticised the

roughness of the Drac valley; and the honest rebuke which he got from M. Bandé de Lavalette, reminding him of the Lower Isère. When now, in his advance up the Isère, he at last finds himself in plain, he exults for a short time in the vale of Grésivaudan as "*iter campestre*." It does in itself deserve that character. But M. Larauza takes credit for it as "*iter campestre ab Druentiâ*," not allowing that a march towards the Alps near the Durance could be "*ab Druentiâ*." I do not see that Livy, by the word "*ab*," need have intended that the march, after crossing the river, was directed straight away from it, *quasi* at right angles with its course; but on this notion is rested the claim of the Drac. Do we not read in ch. xxxii. "*ab ripâ Rhodani movit*"? and yet the march in that case was a march up the Rhone. In both instances the preposition imports a progress from that part on a river where it had just been crossed.

The objections which Larauza has taken against Letronne, have no force to divert us from construing Druentia the Durance. An exaggeration in the painting of this notorious mountain stream does not disprove that Livy intended the river which he names. His information on its features may have been inaccurate in itself, or apprehended erroneously by him: he may have heard of the Druentia as possessing the features which he portrays, and have introduced them to give effect to his story, not reflecting that one part of that river's course might greatly differ from another.

And now what are the affirmative arguments of M. Larauza, by which he construes Druentia to be the Drac? He undertakes to show, that the four landmarks of Livy suit his own order of march: but he rather shows that they do not: for he misplaces them. Having spread the Tricastini along the Isère nearly to the Drac, he says, "*Après eux viendront les Vocontii, occupant les vallées que parcourt le Drac jusqu'à son embouchure: enfin après les Vocontii nous placerons*



"les Tricorii." Thus M. Larauza's Druentia running through Vocontian valleys, has been left behind before Hannibal gets into the Tricorii. In Livy the sequence is Tricastini, Vocontii, Tricorii, Druentia.

That the Drac should be called Druentia, was a difficulty worthy of M. Larauza's powers of solution: and he makes his effort. After telling us (p. 90) that Druentia and Dracus must have the same root, he writes thus:—"Quand on observe enfin que, du tems de Tite-Live, le dernier de ces deux fleuves n'avait pas encore de nom dans la géographie, puisqu'on ne le trouve pas, même plus tard, dans Strabon, ni dans Ptolomée, ne conçoit on pas facilement comment cet historien, rencontrant ce fleuve décrit dans les mémoires d'après lesquels il travaillait, et désigné sous un nom qu'il ne retrouvait dans aucun géographe; voyant d'ailleurs le rapport qu'il avait et par lui-même, et par son nom avec la Durance, rivière alors très connue, aura pu prendre sur lui-même, tout en conservant la description de substituer à la dénomination inconnue celle de la Druentia qui est restée. Si l'on veut que ce mot, par cela seul qu'il se trouve dans la narration de Tite-Live ait dû se trouver dans les mémoires qu'il consultait, ne pourrait-on pas alors voir là une seule et même dénomination appliquée à deux rivières différentes, et penser que les auteurs de ces mémoires reconnaissaient deux Durances, comme depuis on a reconnu deux Doires, la Doria major ou Doria Baltea, et la Doria minor ou Doria riparia? Ou bien enfin ne pourrait-on pas encore supposer que la rivière en question se trouvait décrite seulement sans être nommée dans les anciens mémoires, et que Tite-Live, d'après les analogies qu'elle avait avec la Durance, aura cru reconnaître en elle ce dernier fleuve dont il lui aura imposé le nom?" Larauza, pp. 90, 91.

Thus, M. Larauza offers us the choice of three views of the matter. 1. Livy had found the Drac mentioned under some

name which he did not know, and thought it might be the Durance which he did know. 2. There may have been two Druentias, like two Dorias, and the Drac might be one of them. 3. He found it without a name, and called it Druentia from its likeness to the Durance. Two of these notions show that Livy intended to speak of the Durance: as to the third, on which Larauza says, "Peut-être le Drac était-il appelé Druentia minor, ou Druentius?" p. 91, it is enough to say that Pliny has named two Dorias, and has not named two Druentias. Moreover, the notion of a Druentia minor is itself unfortunate: Livy is not telling of a second-rate river: he gives it distinction among the rivers of the Alps—"Druentia flumen: Alpinus amnis, longè omnium Galliæ fluminum difficillimus transitu." It is not incredible, that Livy should exaggerate the characteristics of a torrent river; or that he should be without safe information on a particular part of its stream. But it is incredible, without better solutions than those here imagined, that he should have introduced into this portion of his story a river other than that which he names, being a river well known, as he names it, to all his contemporaries, and which had become familiar in Roman warfare, as belonging to their great line of communication with Spain through the Western Alps.

Dr. Ukert subscribing to the theory of the Cenis, accepts the Drac of Larauza, as being the Druentia of Livy; and Mr. Ellis follows them, saying (p. 136), "The Drac and the Druentia of Livy have been concluded to be identical by M. Larauza—see Ukert's *Géographie*." The French critic has exhausted all his ingenuity on the matter, and, I hope to have shown, without success. The others do not try to strengthen his dogma by ideas of their own. If we can bring ourselves to reject the Arve, the Dranse and the Drac, and admit the Durance to be the Druentia of Livy, it follows that his pass is the Genève.



## CHAPTER V.

*Durance being conclusive of Livy's intention, identity of the two tracks is disproved. Livy diverged from Polybius at the Isère. From thence to the Durance utter dissonance both in topography and incidents. Subsequent incidents are largely copied from Polybius: topography there is none. Ascent; Summit, with Mr. Ellis's explanations; Descent. Livy's argument will belong to the ultimate question.*

THOUGH we have not traced the progress told by Livy beyond the crossing of the Durance, the fact of reaching the Durance determines one essential point; that Livy's track is not the same as that of Polybius. That fact shows that to him the pass of Hannibal was the Mont Genève: for to that pass only could the Durance lead. It cannot be requisite to give further consideration to the Viso: and the pretensions of the Cenis must be withdrawn, if the Druentia be the Durance. One who from the Lower Isère is tending to the Mont Cenis, can never come upon the Durance at any part of its course: and Livy's track, which did not touch the Durance, cannot have been directed to the Cenis.

The track of Livy has diverged from that of Polybius at the Isère; for, when it crosses the Durance, the Genève is indicated as the pass of his hypothesis. It was meant by him to be reached, not by the approach which D'Anville conceived, nor by the route contrived by Letronne, but through Valence, Die, Luc, Gap, Embrun and Briançon: and, when we say that the notion of identity of the two tracks must be abandoned, it is also to be remembered, that the opponents of our Graian theory are pledged, as conciliators, to accommodate the tale of Polybius to the landmarks of Livy, and the tale of Livy to

the landmarks of Polybius. Let us then lay all the materials of accommodation concisely before the reader: for, unless the two are ascertained to differ, the question of preference will not arise.

It is necessary to make a complete comparison of Livy's narrative with the other, from the mouth of Isère to the plain. I speak not now of his own subsequent argument growing out of speculations on the amount of the surviving force. By narrative, I mean the tale of progress, which ends with "*inde ad planum descensum*," "*hoc modo in Italiam perventum est*," "*quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis*." Livy's story may be briefly compared with the other in regard to two subjects: topography and incidents. The question throughout is on localities: but, if the routes intended are identical, there will also be similarity in the facts stated to have occurred: for the facts which did occur, occurred only once. Accordingly the identity will appear most strongly, if there is similarity both in topography and incidents: if there is no similarity in either one or the other, it fails; and one story only can be true.

In treating this matter, it will be convenient to consider the whole line of march from near the mouth of Isère in two parts: 1. to the Alps; 2. through the Alps. We shall find, in the first, an utter incongruity between the two narratives, both in respect to topography and incidents. In the latter part, we find, on the part of Livy, great similarity in facts, and no topography at all: Livy copies the facts of Polybius; but says nothing whereby we can say where they occurred.

*To the Alps.*

In the march from the Isère to the Druentia, there is an absolute and irreconcilable dissonance between the two narratives, both in the geography and the incidents. In telling of the country traversed, there is not one idea common to the

two histories. In Polybius the march from the point of the Island to the mountain barrier is through the Allobroges: in Livy it is through three nations, of whom the Allobroges are not one. In Polybius it is along a river: in Livy it is not along a river; but it crosses a river after the march has been carried through the three nations. In Polybius it is over plain country, favourable to cavalry: in Livy it is mostly mountainous, ending with an "iter agreste" for a short way.

As to the facts belonging to this march, the incidents told by Polybius are these: that the friendly prince accompanied the march with his force as an ally, the enemy hovering about them: that this ally returned home, when the plain country came to an end and the mountains were approached. These things have no place in Livy: the only incidents of any kind in his story of this march, are the turning to the left, and the "tumultus" and "trepidatio" in crossing a great river after visiting three specified peoples: incidents which have no parallels in Polybius. In Polybius this march has a specified time and a specified distance: in Livy there is neither time nor distance.

If any should contradict this by pointing to the Allobroges as an incident belonging to both narratives, I would answer, that in that feature there is the most affirmative disagreement. In Polybius, Hannibal, after entering the Island and striking a blow in favour of one of two litigants, continues his march for ten days along the river to the Alps, during which he is menaced by the Allobroges; he then storms those first Alps against the resistance of the Allobroges, and occupies the town of the Allobroges beyond those first Alps. According to Livy, Hannibal marches to the Island, promptly settles the disputes of the Allobroges by arbitration, having gone towards them only in the purpose of a short delay, then turns his march away from them to the Alps, never seeing them again; but marching through three other nations, whom he

names, to the Druentia, and then to the Alps, where he is obstructed by a people to whom he gives no name.

*Through the Alps.*

Advancing with Livy from the passage of the Druentia to the first Alps, wherever that point should be, and proceeding thence across the mountains to the plain, we have in his story no aid to the geography of the line which he is dealing with. He relates incidents similar to the incidents of Polybius: so similar, that he must have had the Greek history before him. He copies the events of that history in succession, occasionally adding things not derived from it. Still there is nothing that enables us to apply the incidents which he relates to the identification of his route. Even those who see that Livy meant Hannibal to cross the Mont Genève, and therefore think that Hannibal had done so, do not found this belief upon anything which that historian says in telling the march in the Alps. They read that Hannibal came to the Durance; and see that, if he did so, he was of necessity tending to the Genève.

A better use has been made of the narrative of Polybius. He copied nature: and by his incidents we identify the places where he describes them to have occurred. As we recognised them by his account of the march to the Alps through the Allobroges till Hannibal forced the mountain boundary of the Island: so in the Alps his instructions enabled us to trace the scenes of events and circumstances which occurred at the foot of the main pass, and also the place of the casualties in the descent. Livy, in the Alps, though sometimes almost transcribing the facts of Polybius, furnishes no memorial by which his greatest admirers have been able to point out in the map the places where they may be supposed to have taken place: he adds occasionally a new feature, such as the vinegar, the combustion, and the pre-

cipice : but, from whatever sources he obtained his materials for things done in the Alps, his followers have not professed to recognise the scenes of action from the Druentia to the plain of Italy. Even M. Letronne never gave the site of λευκόπετρον.

It is expedient to speak separately of Livy's ascent, summit, and descent. We shall see that, though the events are the events of Polybius, the geography is none. You only know Livy's track in the Alps, by his track to the Alps.

#### *The Ascent.*

Here Livy's incidents are those which had already appeared in the history of Polybius; the halt in front of the first mountain heights; the report of the spies that the pass was left unguarded in the night; the lighting of the camp fires; the occupation of the pass by Hannibal with his light troops in the night; the astonishment of the enemy in the morning; the assault upon the column in its embarrassments; Hannibal charging down upon them, and the results; his occupation of their town; the supply of three days' provisions; the march unimpeded till they came among a new people; the conference with these; their insidious designs; Hannibal's caution; his order of march, himself with the heavy infantry in the rear; the attack made in a narrow pass; the pressure from the rear; his separation for the night from the cavalry and baggage; the dispersion of the enemy; the summit gained on the ninth day; the encampment for two days; the beginning of snow; the season of the setting of the Pleiades. These are similarities, whereby the later history may be looked upon as in effect a translation of the former.

Notwithstanding this almost unqualified similarity of the incidents in the ascent, Livy's tale of them speaks nothing to fix their sites. We only see that he adopted the incidents themselves from another writer. In that other writer we do

find aid to the localities : he had described them on an experience of the country where they had occurred. Accordingly we who trust him are led to the first mountains by the Rhone and the country along the Rhone : and that same writer, having brought us to understand Hannibal's combat with the Allobroges on reaching the Alps by a march up the Rhone, shows us the scene of the second engagement by a visible memorial eight days afterwards. No such marks of locality are offered to us by the explainers of Livy's ascent to the Mont Genève.

#### *The Summit.*

One incident, which was discussed in vindicating Polybius from the Mont Cenis, must again be noticed for the purpose on which we are now engaged, of pointing out those things which do, and those things which do not, constitute a discrepancy between the two historians. It is related by Livy that Hannibal when proceeding on his march in descent, halted his troops upon a certain promontory, whence there was a view far and wide over the expanse of the Italian plain, and that he there made an address to them to revive their drooping courage : and Mr. Ellis, now interpreting Livy, declares this topic to be in the list of congruities between the two historians.

Polybius records an address made by Hannibal to the troops, on the day of pure rest when encamped on the summit—that he administered consolation to his men, not pending the most frightful day's work that belonged to their whole five months' expedition, but during that one day of undisturbed quietness\* which they so much required, and which also had the purpose of waiting for stragglers to come

\* They only reached the summit early in the morning of the first day.

up; a purpose which was answered. Mr. Ellis ventures to maintain that, in spite of this, the two stories coincide. He was pledged to such an attempt, as is every critic, to whom we of the Graian Alp are opposed. All but ourselves are conciliators of the histories, though not all make the effort.

Deeming the Mont Cenis to illustrate both the histories, Mr. Ellis exhibits his powers of conciliation in the following manner—he admits (p. 140), that “*at first sight* there appears a direct contradiction between the two authors.” He reconciles them by supposing, that this incident took place not at the encampment on the plateau of the summit, but somewhere out of the road and west of La Grande Croix. He makes it out by presuming both historians to mean what neither has said; namely, that Hannibal encamped on the summit for one night; and shifted his camp a few miles down for the second; also, that the imagined view was not to be had in the track of the march; so he made an excursion for the enjoyment of it, in travelling from one point to the other. The philosophy of the conciliation is this—Hannibal made a speech: the three authors, Polybius, Livy, and Ellis, all assign the speech to the summit: therefore all must mean the same thing. They all assign it to the summit, because the whole seven miles are summit, from the Col of the Little Mont Cenis down to La Grande Croix. Polybius introduces the speech at the camp on the top; Livy introduces it *en route*, halting his troops to hear it: Ellis gives it somewhere on one side, making an excursion for the purpose: therefore all three had it on the summit, and all three tell the same tale.

The argument is thus expressed by its author—“The descent from this pass into Italy is considered to begin from La Grande Croix, all the ground above, though varying considerably in level, being included in the plateaux which form the summit of the Mont Cenis. Hannibal therefore,

“when on the promontory, or at La Grande Croix, would still be correctly spoken of by Polybius as being on the summit of the pass. Yet he might *naturally* be mentioned by another author, as having begun his descent, when on his way from the plateau of the Little Mont Cenis to La Grande Croix.”

I fear that Mr. Ellis's edition, which pretends to agree with the two others, is as palpably opposed to both, as they are to one another: for it attributes to a day of rest a movement of some miles for the whole armament, aggravated by a senseless and laborious “*extra viam*.” The text of both histories, though differing as to the scene of Hannibal's address, require that the time on the summit was a time of actual rest—*αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ δύο ἡμέρας προσέμεινε*. Livy's story is, if possible, still plainer on the unqualified rest from labour: Polybius interrupts it in some degree by the very fact of the soldiers assembling to listen to their chief. No such incident breaks the second day of Livy—“*Biduum in jugo stativa habita; fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus*.” Livy relates, concerning the renewal of the march, on the morning that followed the two days of rest, that, as it proceeded, “*cum signis primâ luce motis segniter agmen incederet*”—sluggish despair in every countenance, a halt was ordered: the general addressed them to revive their courage, showing the plains of the Po spreading wide beneath, and pointing to Rome the citadel of Italy, which, if they made the effort, would soon fall into their hands. The protracted calamities of that day's march are then strongly painted, before we read, “*castra in jugo posita, ægerrimè ad id ipsum loco purgato*.”

Mr. Ellis relieves what he justly calls “the direct contradiction apparent between the two authors,” by giving from himself a new version of Hannibal's proceedings discordant from the narrative of either. Presently, conscious of his



infirmity, he gently censures Livy, for not having done that which he would without scruple have done himself; namely, thrown away one of the two days of summit: and, as if time were the only obstacle to his improvements, he draws this consolatory hypothesis:—"By these means he would have made his narrative of the events at the summit of the pass quite consistent in itself, and completely in accordance, though at first sight apparently at variance, with the account of the Greek historian."

An English tourist, full of fresh vigour, and in a season not threatening a grave of snow, may bound rapidly from one point of interest to another in regions which spread from Bramante to Susa. Mr. Ellis seems to have as great personal experience of the district of Mont Cenis as any but the late Mr. Brockedon and the Sardinian engineers: he with his carpet-bag might pass a night at the Granges de Dervieux, and after touching at the Lac Blanc or other point of interest, and staying successively at La Poste and La Grande Croix, might fairly write home that he had spent a few days on the Mont Cenis. But the texts that we are studying and comparing are not to be explained by Punic wanderings over Mr. Ellis's constructive summit. Hannibal had not time which he could so trifle with: he desired remission of toil for the shattered multitude: he sought rest to the weary: Mr. Ellis gives none: his specula, if it deserve the name, may be somewhat less offensive than the Balbotet of Folard; but it is not less peremptorily to be repudiated, as a vain conjecture, and repugnant to authority. The episode of an excursion, as he fondly calls it, is incredible either for a marching day or for a resting day. Hannibal, always husbanding the strength of his men, would not, in his terrible descent, purposely deviate from the line, incurring superfluous danger, and courting an increase of labour, to prove the diminution of it. Not a yard of that blind and bitter march gave security

against the destruction of man and beast: and he did not, in pursuit of evidence, devote them to fresh calamity over ground still more unpractised and therefore still more dangerous. Mr. Ellis, of all men, should not be insensible to unnecessary risks: it is he who records a loss of 10,000 men in that descent without an enemy.

#### *The Descent.*

In the residue of Livy's march to the plain, he must still have had the story of Polybius in view; but he does not try much to adhere to it. He has a *mauvais pas* of his own in the early descent; and one of a very serious kind: four days are spent in vanquishing it; and three in resting after it. Still there is nothing to suggest the locality. No one can tell us where to find his precipice of 1,000 feet; whereas we do give site to the impediment described in the other history; we find a place where to this day the same peculiar causes still produce the same effects.

As the identity of the two routes is at present our subject, it is to be observed, that the obstructions given to the march in the first day of descent are so differently related by the two historians, that the stories can hardly be applied to the same locality. The three half stades is in Polybius a measure of length; the same estimate with Livy is a measure of height. Niebuhr is rather severe on Livy's precipice. We read this in his ninth Lecture, i. 173:—"Livy says, that the mountain formed a precipice of one thousand feet, and that the new road was built down that precipice. This is nonsense, as every one must see."

There appears also a difference between the two historians in the estimate of climate, which does not aid the identity of place. Livy seems to depict a climate too mild for the story of Polybius, as Dr. Arnold depicts one too severe. They who suggest that the Carthaginians of Polybius were for some



days above the snow-line, will probably think that the Carthaginians of Livy were not. His story, like the other, has no snow till it has reached the summit; but further, when the *mauvais pas* is come to in the descent, there is not only vegetation enough for twigs, stumps, and roots for them to cling to, but trees of vast size are at hand for combustion of the precipice.

Livy's story of the vinegar is supposed by Niebuhr to have been derived from Cælius Antipater; but no reason appears why, in the absence of authority, it should be fathered on him. Cælius knew that the Carthaginians came over the Little St. Bernard, and must have known that he was agreeing with Polybius. Livy, who is silent on Polybius, must have been conscious that he did not agree with him.

If we pretend to trace the Carthaginian track of Livy from what he has written, we fail in the want of materials. We know the pass which he intended by the line which he draws from the Isère to the Durance. As to the march in the Alps, his events are chiefly taken from Polybius, but with nothing of locality to aid us: and if we seek to know by which of the two descents from the Genève he conceived Hannibal to have come down to the plain, there is nothing in his narrative of progress that enables us to answer such a question. We have had occasion to show the two routes used by the Romans in later times to descend to the Cisalpine province. But nothing shows that Livy had knowledge of the distinction. His extant works are silent on Susa, which is in one road, and on Ocelum, which is in the other; as much so as those of Polybius.

But after Livy's narrative of the march, concluding with 'ad planum descensum,' he makes some comments on the question of the pass, which arise out of a discussion into which he had entered on the amount of force which survived to the invaders after their arrival in the plain; and when

they were restored to condition for commencing warlike operations. This argumentative matter will show the grounds on which he had conceived the Cottian, and not the Penine or Cremona, to be the pass of Hannibal; and it will be most conveniently treated when we deal with our final question; whether we shall accept that opinion of Livy in preference to that which results from the study of Polybius.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART X.

#### TWO PECULIAR THEORIES.

##### CHAPTER I.

BEFORE I bring this inquiry to a close with a comparison of the stories of Polybius and Livy, two peculiar theories should be mentioned, which are not among those whose merits have been discussed under the arrangement of tracks made above in Part IV.

In one of them the Carthaginian army never bends its course towards the Isère at all: Hannibal takes leave of the Rhone as soon as he has crossed it, and makes his way direct to the Genève as by Nions and Serres. I will exhibit a few samples of this scheme, for inviting attention to the originality of the author.

##### *I. Theory of M. le Comte de Fortia D'Urban.*

This respectable gentleman, author of "Antiquités et Monuments du Département de Vaucluse," has disclosed his views on our subject in a volume entitled "Dissertation sur le Passage du Rhône et des Alpes par Annibal. *Troisième édition.* Paris, 1821." He concurs in the usually recognised place of crossing the Rhone: but he runs out of the course almost as soon as he has crossed it. His track is from Orange

up the Eygues to Nions : then by Remusat and Rozans to Serres, Gap, Embrun, &c. He is a sceptic *sui generis* : and his notions are so original, that the best way of exhibiting them will be by quoting some of his own words.

*From page 19, showing how Hannibal's anxiety to avoid an engagement caused him to move as slowly as possible.*

"Mandajors place-t-il son île après le passage de l'Isère, c'est-à-dire à cinquante six mille cinq cents toises, environ six cents stades de distance. Mais peut-on véritablement croire que Polibe a prétendu peindre la frayeur d'Annibal telle, qu'aussitôt après le passage très pénible d'un fleuve aussi rapide, il ait fait une course forcée avec une armée aussi nombreuse ? On sait qu'il avait cinquante mille hommes d'infanterie, neuf mille de cavalerie, et trente sept éléphants. Cela n'est nullement vraisemblable ; et je crois que cela n'est pas vrai. C'est surtout au commencement de sa marche vers les Alpes, que craignant peut-être encore d'être attaqué par les Romains, qu'il ne voulait pas combattre alors, il dut marcher avec beaucoup de précaution."

*From page 21, showing that Hannibal did not begin to push forward till after the retreat of Scipio.*

"Le troisième jour depuis le passage du fleuve, le second depuis l'arrivée d'Annibal à l'île, Scipion vint à Roquemaure, à l'endroit où les Carthaginois avaient passé le fleuve, lorsque ce général romain eut pris le parti de retourner dans la Tirrhénie, croyant que les Barbares des Alpes leur opposeraient assez d'obstacles. Ce fut seulement le cinquième jour, c'est-à-dire le lendemain du départ de Scipion, qu'Annibal, prenant sa route de la mer vers l'orient, comme le dit Polibe, et cette observation est très-importante, traversa Orange et les deux branches de l'Eygues, et tourna à droite, après avoir traversé la seconde branche, ainsi que le font encore aujourd'hui ceux qui veulent aller d'Orange à Nions."

*From page 23, showing in what manner Hannibal consumed the four days mentioned by Polybius.*

"La phrase, Ἀννίβας δὲ ποιησάμενος ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας τὴν πορείαν, doit être rendue mot à mot, 'Mais Annibal ayant ordonné à son armée une marche de quatre jours de suite.' En réfléchissant sur ce passage et sur la situation d'Annibal, on sentira que ce général, qui s'était fait rendre compte du local et qui avait un chef des Tauriniens pour le guider, savait que son armée ne pouvait marcher de front le long de l'Eygues : il la partagea donc en quatre portions, qui exigeaient quatre journées pour qu'elle fût déplacée toute entière. C'est ce qu'expriment les mots 'pendant quatre jours de suite.' On comprend aisément que les premières portions étaient composées chacune de vingt-cinq mille hommes d'infanterie ; les deux dernières de sa cavalerie et de ses éléphants, comme l'a dit Polibe lui-même un peu plus haut."

*From page 29, showing further that Scipio marched away from Hannibal, not Hannibal from Scipio.*

"C'est à l'original qu'il faut s'en tenir, et Polibe, en énonçant que Scipion s'était retiré le troisième jour après le passage du fleuve, et qu'Annibal avait ensuite continué sa route, a suffisamment exprimé que le général carthaginois ne s'est éloigné du Rhône qu'après la retraite du général romain, et conséquemment qu'il a pu l'attendre, ce qu'il est très naturel de penser."

*From page 40, showing the boundaries of the Island or Delta.*

"L'Eygues prend sa source dans le sein même des Hautes-Alpes, comme on peut le voir dans la carte de Cassini, où il est très-bien décrit, et qui lui donne le nom d'Aigues, ou de la Vigne. Il naît au-dessus de Saint-André-de-Rozans,

"où il se joint à un autre torrent appelé Lidane. Il reçoit, "au-dessus de Rémusat, une petite rivière aussi considérable "que lui, dont la source est au-dessus de Chalançon, et qui "se nomme l'Oulle. Une autre petite rivière, connue sous le "nom de Legnuées, s'unit à lui à Curnier, un peu au-dessus "des Piles. Ces quatre torrens, réunis à beaucoup d'autres, "forment une petite rivière pendant un cours que ses détours "peuvent faire évaluer à près de trente lieues, jusqu'à son "embouchure dans le Rhône. C'est environ à trois lieues au- "dessus de cette embouchure, qu'il est subdivisé en deux "branches, dont l'une va se joindre à une petite rivière, "connue sous le nom de la Meyne, et tombe avec elle dans le "Rhône à plus de deux lieues de l'autre. Il en résulte une "petite île de deux lieues de base sur trois lieues de hauteur, "et plus exactement de six mille romains sur dix, qui occupe "environ quatre lieues carrées d'un terrain très-fertile en "blé, où se trouvent renfermées les villes d'Orange et de "Caderousse."

*From page 46, showing how far the Delta of the critic resembles the Delta of the Nile.*

"Mon île, surtout dans la carte du comté Venaissin, faite par "D'Anville en 1745, a la forme du Delta, sans en avoir "l'étendue."

*From page 47, showing that Livy did not flatly contradict Polybius, through a feeling of respect for his memory.*

"Tite-Live, au tems duquel ce Delta des Celtes était "beaucoup mieux connu, a eu soin d'observer que cette île "ne renfermait qu'un territoire très-borné. Il a seulement "ménagé Polibe, en ne le critiquant pas comme il aurait pu "le faire, et cette attention pour un historien aussi respectable "ne peut que lui faire honneur, sans rien diminuer de la "force de son témoignage."

*Extracts showing the true causes of topographical accuracy in military matters.*

*From page 16.*

"Ce second historien (Tite-Live) né lui-même à Padoue "dans la Gaule cisalpine, n'avait pas besoin de venir chercher "les habitans du pays comme l'Arcadien Polibe."

*From page 11.*

"Trogue Pompée, né à Vaison, aurait levé tous nos doutes, "si nous avions conservé son histoire malheureusement "perdue."

*From pages 47, 8.*

"Je crois avoir étudié la marche d'Annibal, autant que la "connaissance parfaite des lieux permettait de le faire—J'étais "propriétaire du Lampourdier, sur la Meyne, avant M. le "général Chabran."

Thus we learn that the faculty of interpreting historical notices of Celtic topography comes by birth and by property. If Polybius had in his cradle breathed the air of Padua instead of that of Megalopolis, and in his maturity had been possessed of the estate of Lampourdier, he would not have so failed in his account of the Island. He would have set before us a piece of ground surrounded by water, having two leagues of Rhone for its base, three leagues of Eygues for each side.

*From page 31, showing the claim of the author to the gratitude of the literary world.*

"Les amateurs de l'antiquité me sauront gré d'avoir mis "d'accord Polibe et Tite-Live autant qu'il était possible. Ce "que je dirai dans les articles suivans achèvera de lever tous "les doutes qui peuvent rester dans l'esprit du lecteur même "le plus prévenu contre mon opinion."

The author has indeed brought the two historians to a level, and, as the amateurs here spoken of will probably agree with him in deeming his commentary to furnish, as he announces, "une explication entièrement nouvelle," curiosity may tempt them to proceed in the study of it. If they are startled by the few samples which I have exhibited, their surprise will not be diminished, when they come to learn that the last section of the march defined by Polybius, 1200 stadia, was from Briançon to the Ticino. "Polibe compte 1200 stades ou 150 milles Romains du passage des Alpes aux plaines de l'Italie, qui sont le long du Pô, chez les Insubriens, comme le dit Polibe, c'est à dire de Briançon à l'extrémité de la Gaule que les Romains appelaient Cisalpine, lorsqu'après avoir franchi le Tesin, Annibal fut entré dans les plaines du Pô: c'est encore la vérité!"

The author accounts for his own accuracy in this way, p. 14. "J'adopte la traduction de Dom Thuillier, qui est en général d'autant plus exacte, que ce savant bénédictin a eu pour guide la version latine de Casaubon." If the Count had himself followed that guide, he would never have marched up the Eygues: for Casaubon, telling the march, "along the river to the Alps," translates ποταμόν Rhodanum: and, if Hannibal's entry into the plain had, as the Count says, been deferred till he crossed the Tesin, he would never have entered it at all.

## CHAPTER II.

*The Theory of M. Replat.*

THIS commentator published a pamphlet of 87 pages in 1851, entitled "Note sur le Passage d'Annibal"—*Chambéry. Imprimerie, Bachet, Rue du Château.* In the course of the march he proposes this question:—"Par ce mot (λευκόπετρον)

"Polybe n'aurait il point indiqué le Mont-Blanc? On découvre le Mont-Blanc depuis quelques points de la vallée de Beaufort: c'est une roche blanche un peu plus merveilleuse que celle assise au pied du Petit-Saint-Bernard; et le roi des Alpes meritoit une mention speciale de la part de Polybe, le doyen des touristes."

As said in my preface, I found this pamphlet on my arrival at Aix-les-Bains in August 1854, and forthwith published a comment upon it, also at Chambéry; *Imprimerie, Puthod.*—The whole of it was given in my Criticism published in London, April 1855, which was chiefly directed against the new theory of the Little Mont Cenis: and I did intend to give here also the whole 20 pages. But it would be thought an unnecessary incumbrance; and it is enough to show, by my first few pages, which were on that occasion the opposing passes.

*Observations sur L'Ouvrage de M. Replat.*

Aix-les-Bains, 4 septembre 1854.

Je suis venu dans ce charmant lieu pour ma santé au commencement du mois d'août. Parmi les amusements que j'y ai rencontrés, je trouve un ouvrage sur le passage d'Annibal, publié à Chambéry par M. Replat, jurisconsulte à Annecy: je voudrais qu'on me permît aussi le plaisir de le critiquer. Je veux dédier les observations suivantes aux habitants et aux visiteurs d'Aix-les-Bains, qui s'intéresseront toujours vivement, j'en suis sûr, à l'événement qui, plus que tout autre, donne la célébrité à leur Mont-du-Chat. Quant à moi, la seule partie de la route entière des Carthaginois, de l'Espagne à la plaine d'Italie, que j'ai pu parcourir jusqu'à présent, est peut-être de six kilomètres, depuis le col de cette montagne jusqu'au village du Bourget. Jamais je ne me suis approché de la chaîne principale des Alpes.

Il est fort évident que M. Replat s'est bien instruit des auteurs classiques. Il avance ses opinions avec vivacité; son



style est agréable, et ses nouvelles idées sont déployées d'une manière modeste. L'examen que je veux faire de ses opinions n'a pour objet que ceci seul: la vérité sur un fait historique. Maintenant cet examen sera court par nécessité. Je suis sans livres,—sans Polybe,—sans Tite-Live; et, ce qui est encore plus désastreux pour celui qui fait un premier essai en français, je suis sans dictionnaire. Si je ne résiste pas à aborder un sujet aussi intéressant, je m'y mêle seulement dans le but de corriger des erreurs singulières, sans prétendre en cette occasion établir en détail les conclusions les plus positives, auxquelles chacun peut arriver à force de lire l'historien grec.

Voici l'hypothèse de M. Replat: "Le col de la Seigne est incontestablement le col du Cramont, le *Jugum Cremonis* de Cælius Antipater."

Je puis bien concéder, puisque je l'ai toujours cru, que le mot Cramont représente le mot *Crema*, mentionné par Tite-Live. C'est lui qui dit que l'historien Cælius avait raconté qu'Annibal traversa le *Cremonis Jugum*. J'ai cru aussi qu'Annibal a traversé la montagne ainsi indiquée par Tite-Live; mais pourquoi le Col de la Seigne?

Le Cramont est une montagne qui s'élève à droite quand on va de Pré-St-Didier vers le Petit-St-Bernard. On peut en faire l'ascension en partant par cette route, soit après une demi-heure de Pré-Saint-Didier, soit du village d'Eléva, qui est plus avancé sur le chemin et plus près du village de la Thuile, qui ne se trouve pas loin du pied du passage du Petit-Saint-Bernard. Le Cramont, au nord, est un précipice qui borde l'Allée-Blanche, par laquelle on voyage de Courmayeur au Col de la Seigne, cotoyant à droite les glaciers du Mont-Blanc. De Saussure dit: "La cime du Cramont ne domine pas immédiatement sur l'Allée-Blanche. Elle en est séparée par des chaînes de montagnes plus basses, qui empêchent que les yeux ne plongent jusqu'au fond de cette vallée."

Je ne doute pas que Cælius, rapportant *Cremonis Jugum*,

a parlé de la véritable route d'Annibal; et j'accepte son témoignage comme le témoignage d'un historien qui suivit Polybe sur un sujet dont il n'était alors pas question. Maintenant il me semble que, pour comprendre ce que c'était que *Cremonis Jugum*, il faut penser à l'autorité dont nous recevons ces idées, c'est-à-dire à Tite-Live. Sans adopter son opinion, il faut écouter sa narration. Il ne croyait pas que ce que Cælius avait rapporté fût vrai. Il a prononcé qu'Annibal ne traversa pas le *Cremonis Jugum*. Il parle de ce passage-là comme d'un passage qu'il connaissait bien; il dit que c'est un passage qui conduit au pays des Salasses, et que, selon son opinion, il était très improbable qu'un tel passage fût ouvert du temps d'Annibal. Il prononce de même sur le passage Penine, qui conduit aussi dans le pays des Salasses. En effet, il déclare que ces deux passages, qui de son temps étaient bien connus comme routes militaires, ne pouvaient être praticables dans un temps aussi ancien.

Il est nécessaire donc que M. Replat maintienne que Tite-Live, quand il fait mention du *Cremonis Jugum*, parle du Col de la Seigne. La raison en faveur d'une telle théorie, que je trouve dans ses observations, est la même qu'on a trouvée quelquefois en faveur des autres, c'est-à-dire qu'elle est incontestable. S'il y a d'autres raisons, je ne m'en aperçois pas. Il me semble qu'il y a de meilleures raisons pour soutenir que l'historien parle du Petit-Saint-Bernard.

So began my pamphlet, written at Aix in August, 1854. It ended thus:—Les idées curieuses de M. Replat, au sujet du Bonhomme et du Mont-Blanc, ne sont pas les plus recentes, ni, peut-être, les plus étonnantes, auxquelles on se soit livré sur le passage d'Annibal. Cette année même, 1854, un savant de Cambridge a publié un ouvrage pour démontrer qu'Annibal traversa le Petit-Mont-Cenis; et, pour soutenir cette opinion, il déclare positivement que la route par ce mont-là est marquée (*laid down*) sur la carte de Peutinger!!

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART XI.

#### CONCILIATION FAILS. QUESTION OF PREFERENCE.

##### CHAPTER I.

*We must elect between the two historians. Their general reputation. Polybius had better access to facts. Livy's facts bear against his hypothesis. We learn from him that the prevailing belief was in a descent by the valley of Aosta; and that an early writer of celebrity named the Pass of Cremo. He avoids to mention Polybius.*

I HAVE, as at first proposed, interpreted separately the narratives of the two historians, for ascertaining the track of march intended by each: and I have endeavoured to deal fairly with the conflicting theories by which they are explained. The result of the inquiry is, that the story of Polybius denotes the Little St. Bernard; and that the story of Livy denotes the Mont Genève. I have fairly encountered the question of identity; can the same track have been intended by both historians? Two sorts may lean to the affirmative: those who began with minds warped to the presumption that they meant the same; and those who, deeming both narratives to be doubtful, are willing to bend that which they deem the more doubtful into an accordance with the other.

I am too far removed from a sympathy with either of these, that I should affect the task of conciliation. A geographical conformity between Polybius and Livy was not anticipated as necessary: nor need we strain for it, in relief of doubt: careful and patient investigation has in my view made clear the meaning of both writers: and I find no doubt that vindicates so desperate an attempt. I have not the pliancy of construction with which to say, after M. Letronne, *Janv.* 1819, p. 24: "Dans Tite-Live il n'y a pas un seul mot à changer pour faire coïncider son texte avec celui de Polybe." On the contrary, I do not discover a word which justifies the suspicion, that their lines of progress coincide for the length of a kilomètre from the mouth of the Isère to the plain of Italy. If my reasonings have been just, the Polybian march by a necessity of construction moves from the Isère up the Rhone: the Livian march by an equal necessity moves from the Isère down the Rhone. In one, the progress from the Isère to the first Alps, is altogether through the Allobroges: the other takes leave of them at the Isère and never meets with them again. By one statement the army arrives among the friendly Insubres: by the other among the hostile Taurini.

Both tracks being made evident on ample scrutiny, I cannot bend either of them into accommodation with the language that describes the other: nor can I bring myself to a compromise in that unhappy medium, the *Cenis theory*, which has the merit of impartially disregarding the language of both historians. I leave the effort of conciliation to those, who prescribe it as the chief or only duty belonging to this inquiry, and have so zealously devoted themselves to the performance of it.

*The question of preference.*

Which then were the Alps of Hannibal? On which of the two histories shall we rely, as instructing us to the track of the great invader?—Before we examine the particular grounds

on which one story is preferable to the other, some notice may be expected of the estimation in which these authors are generally held: and of their opportunities of knowledge on the facts which they relate.

*Reputation.*

I have no desire to dwell on their comparative claims to the merits of truth and accuracy: no wish to exalt the pretensions of one, or depress those of the other. They who are at a loss on this subject may be referred to the sentiments of Niebuhr. His enthusiasm on the splendid work of Livy has been duly mentioned: yet he did not hesitate to confess the blemishes of the author whom he most admired. "Often," he says, speaking of the defeat at Candium, "have I been obliged to fulfil the odious duty of exposing Livy's falsifications or negligences: but nowhere does he deserve severer censure than in this part of his history, one of the most brilliant in masterly clearness."\* The same eminent man points to the value of both historians as recorders of fact, when contrasting their accounts of the same portion of history. After speaking disparagingly of the statements of one, he thus expresses himself concerning the other. "In the account of Polybius, on the other hand, there is not one feature which is not correct, and founded upon accurate observation.†" In a previous lecture he has said of Polybius: "As far as we possess his work, we cannot wish for anything further or better: his third book is a master-work, and there is nothing in it, which leaves the mind of the reader unsatisfied."‡

I ought in fairness to say, that all do not make the same estimate. Dr. Arnold held a very different opinion on the

\* Transl. by Smith and Schmitz, iii. 213.

† Niebuhr's Lectures, edited by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz, vol. i. Lect. 9.

‡ Ibid. Lect. 8.

third book of Polybius. He wrote on 28th January, 1841—  
 “I have been working at my history pretty steadily, and have  
 “just finished Cannæ.—The text of Polybius appears to me  
 “in a very unsatisfactory state, and the reading of the names  
 “of places in Italy worth next to nothing. I am sorry to  
 “say, that my sense of his merit as an historian becomes  
 “less and less continually.—I should like to know what  
 “Niebuhr thought of him.”\* This is followed by more  
 severe comments on Livy; of which there is another strong  
 specimen in the following September.

A strong testimony to the solid reputation of Polybius is  
 found in the 20th volume of the great work of M. Thiers.  
 Speaking of the later days of Napoleon, he says (p. 683), “Il  
 “demandait des livres, et surtout Polybe, qu’il n’avait-pas, ce  
 “qui le contrariait beaucoup, car il voulait puiser aux sources  
 “mêmes des notions exactes sur Annibal, pour lequel il  
 “éprouvait la plus profonde admiration.” Again, p. 700, “Il  
 “se faisait lire Homère, et les guerres d’Annibal dans Tite-  
 “Live, ne pouvant se les faire lire dans Polybe, qu’il n’avait  
 “pu se procurer.”

If our most diligent and ingenious adversary, M. Larauza,  
 had survived to defend or surrender his arguments for con-  
 ciliating the two narratives, he would not have desired to rest  
 on a comparison of historical credit: his words are (p. 29),  
 “Certes nous conviendrons bien avec M. De Luc, que, dans  
 “cette question, le témoignage de Tite-Live ne saurait avoir  
 “la même autorité que celui de Polybe, et que dans le cas où  
 “il y aurait impossibilité évidente de les concilier, on ne  
 “devrait plus balancer à sacrifier l’historien latin à l’historien  
 “grec.”

There is a practical confirmation of M. Larauza’s remark in  
 this circumstance: among the interpreters of the march,  
 many profess to follow both Polybius and Livy as intending

\* Niebuhr’s Lectures were not published till 1844.

the same line: a few follow Polybius, rejecting Livy: there  
 might have been a third class, professing to follow Livy and  
 to reject Polybius. There are none such: though there is the  
 utmost disregard of what Polybius has written, none avow it:  
 the persuasion is universal, that he knew the truth and re-  
 lated the truth; and that, if we can apprehend his meaning,  
 we are to accept his authority.

*Polybius had the advantage of better knowledge.*

If any should suppose that the claims of the two historians  
 to influence our belief are, generally speaking, equal, I would  
 point out that on this subject they are not equal. There are  
 cogent grounds of preference, founded on the superior strength  
 of one, available to the particular question which we desire  
 to solve. Polybius claims a higher credit, from the nature of  
 the evidence which he had the opportunity to give, being  
 such as Livy was not enabled to give. The geographical  
 evidence of Polybius is that of a man who made a careful  
 inspection of the country in which the events recorded had  
 taken place, and who in his daily life listened deliberately to  
 competent witnesses. The evidence of Livy is that of one  
 telling things not conveyed to his mind by direct testimony,  
 but which had been subject to the variations of successive  
 relators, and liable to the infusion of their conjectures.  
 Polybius knew the scenes of action: Livy knew them not.  
 Polybius saw and conversed with performers of the exploits  
 told: Livy flourished among their remote descendants.

These distinctions give to the earlier historian a superiority  
 of credit, even for the campaigns in Italy: but for the first  
 invasion, and, most of all, for the march from the Rhone to  
 the plain, his advantage is still greater; while to his succes-  
 sors this subject was the most open to scepticism. The place  
 where Hannibal crossed the Rhone was inspected by a Roman  
 consul: it was not likely to become a subject of disputation,  
 and we do not trace that it was so. But, from the spot where

Scipio saw the deserted entrenchments to that where in the plain of the Po he saw the living enemy, there was no official knowledge of the Carthaginian track to the Roman government. I have noticed their ignorance of the Alps prior to these events, and their long state of non-intercourse with those mountains, which succeeded. Whatever was the information which they first received on the particulars of that march, it would not, though true, be stamped with an authority that defied question, or that would in after times disarm the scruples of those who were inclined to doubt. But see the difference between a new publication of Livy's day, and one that was produced a hundred and seventy years earlier. While facts were fresh, Polybius was the plain unbiassed narrator of things which he had safe means to ascertain, and on which there was no dispute, no doubt engendered by conflicting speculations. After a lapse of many generations, Livy came forth as a theorist in a matter which could not defy controversy.

Some, thinking that the theory did not originate with him, urge that he cites the authority of Cincius and others, as agreeing with his own on Hannibal's passage of the Alps. This is a mistake: he refers to Cincius only on the amount of loss between his crossing the Rhone and his being in the Taurini: and the just observation is this; that, as in the sentence which follows, he argues the question of the pass, he would on that subject also have brought forward Cincius, if he had been an authority in his favour. On that question, however, Livy expresses his surprise that the world did not agree with himself: he does not intimate that any one did agree with him. We understand from his protesting against the Penine and the Graian, that he was espousing some other way, which led to the Taurini: and this could only be the Cottian: but no modern writer has brought much to his support. Livy himself is more intelligible on the routes which he denies, than on that to which he inclines.

*The Statement of Livy bears against his own hypothesis.*

When Livy's narrative has brought the invaders into the plain, he discusses the amount of force which survived: and expresses his surprise that there should be doubt on the pass by which they had crossed, and gives an argument upon it. Here I shall contend that the hypothesis of Livy is to be condemned on his own evidence; that his comment on the track is unfavourable to his own theory, and bears strongly in favour of that which it is the purpose of these pages to maintain. In short, that those things which we learn from him preponderate in favour of the Little St. Bernard, though his particular impression was in favour of the Mont Genève.

I will quote all his words—as far as I know them, which is from Drakenborch's Edition, Baxter, *Oxford*, 1825:—  
 “Quantæ copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint,  
 “nequaquam inter auctores constat: qui plurima, centum  
 “millia peditum, viginti equitum fuisse, scribunt: qui mini-  
 “mum, viginti millia peditum, sex equitum. L. Cincius  
 “Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime  
 “auctor me moveret, nisi confunderet numerum, Gallis Ligu-  
 “ribusque additis: cum his octaginta millia peditum, decem  
 “equitum, adducta in Italiam (magis adfluxisse verisimile  
 “est, et ita quidem auctores sunt): ex ipso autem audisse  
 “Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex  
 “millia hominum, ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum  
 “jumentorum amisisse in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens  
 “erat in Italiam degresso.

“Id quum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi,  
 “quoniam Alpes transierit: et vulgo credere, Penino, atque  
 “inde nomen et jugo Alpium inditum, transgressum. Cælius  
 “per Cremonis jugum dicit transisse: qui ambo saltus eum  
 “non in Taurinos, sed per Salassos montanos ad Libuos Gallos  
 “deduxissent. Nec verisimile est, ea tum ad Galliam patuisse



" itinera : utique quæ ad Peninum ferunt, obsepta gentibus  
 " semigermanis fuissent. Neque, Hercule, montibus his (si  
 " quem forte id movet) ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Veragri,  
 " incolæ jugi ejus, nôrunt nomen inditum ; sed ab eo, quem, in  
 " summo sacratum vertice, Peninum montani adpellant.

" Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximæ genti,  
 " adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exer-  
 " citum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset (in reficiendo  
 " maxime sentientem contracta ante mala), non poterat.  
 " Otium etenim ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inlucie  
 " tabeque, squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebant.  
 " Ea P. Cornelio consuli caussa fuit, quum Pisas navibus  
 " venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone, et in  
 " novis ignominis trepido, ad Padum festinandi ; ut cum  
 " hoste nondum refecto manum consereret. Sed cum Placen-  
 " tiam consul venit, jam ex stativis moverat Hannibal ; Tauri-  
 " norumque unam urbem, caput gentis ejus, quia volentes in  
 " amicitiam non veniebant, vi expugnarat : junxissetque sibi,  
 " non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate, Gallos adcolas Padi ;  
 " ni eos, circumspectantes defectionis tempus, subito adventus  
 " consulis obpressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, in-  
 " certos, quæ pars sequenda esset, Gallos præsentem se  
 " secuturos ratus."

What do we learn from this disquisition of Livy ? We learn two facts :—1. That in his day the prevalent belief was, that Hannibal crossed the Penine Alp, seeking the plain of Italy by the valley of Aosta. 2. That in the history of Cælius Antipater, he was said to have come by the Cremonis jugum, which also leads to the plain down that same valley. Both these statements are unfavourable to Livy's theory. And, on scrutinising his reasons for coming to a conclusion adverse to the Cremonis jugum, we shall find that he rests it upon feeble and erroneous grounds.

*Livy states the prevailing belief to be in favour of the Penine.*

This appears in the latter part of the comment—" Vulgo credere Penino transgressum : " this prevailing belief involves a persuasion that Hannibal came down the valley of Aosta : and it is hostile to Livy's hypothesis, which imports an approach to the Po by the valley of Susa, or that of the Clusone. Now that prevailing opinion, as it involves an approach through Aosta, avails to aid our theory of the Graian. A descent from the Penine, the Great St. Bernard, brings you into the plain through the Salassi down the valley of the Doria. But a descent from the Graian, the Little St. Bernard, also brings you into the plain through the Salassi down that same valley. Aosta (Augusta Prætoria) was built in the mountains where the former track falls into the latter, which has come into the Dorian valley at a higher point. Where these two approaches to Italy fall into one line, the Roman general, employed by Augustus to reduce the Salassians, had his head-quarters ; and, after the successes of the war, a Roman colony was founded on the site of his camp. From hence the Doria continues its course in the mountains, for, I believe, fifty miles more, before it reaches the plain. Thus, while the tradition of an invasion of Italy from the Penine involves the tradition of an invasion from the valley of the Doria, it may be that the latter only had a just foundation, though the former became engrafted upon it. And such I conceive, was the case : we see our way to the truth of one and the error of the other.

When we estimate a simple tradition that the invaders poured themselves into the plain from this valley, it is reasonable to suppose that it was founded in truth : it would be preserved among those who dwelt on the stream above and below its outlet into the plain : it would live among the descendants of eye-witnesses : from them it would be caught by the Romans, whose more habitual contact and communication

with those descendants had been rather at the skirts of the Italian plain than in the higher valleys or steeps of the Alps. There is not the same probability, that the name, which some were appending to the tradition, was founded in truth; and that the Dorian valley had been itself invaded from the Penine Summit. Livy bears witness against this: he declares that such a notion had sprung from the fancy of etymologists, and asserts distinctly that it did not stand upon tradition among the natives—"neque montibus his ab transitu Pœnorum ullo Veragri, incolæ jugi ejus, nôrunt nomen inditum." The denial of the tradition is applied to the Penine, and to the Veragri who occupied the Penine: these were not inhabitants of the valley of the Doria, or owners of the approach to it from the Little St. Bernard: they owned of the summit of the Great St. Bernard, and their capital was Martigny upon the Rhone. Livy, controverting a Veragrian reputation, adverts rather to the Helvetian than the Italian side of the Alps, and establishes a negative which is consistent with and auxiliary to the route which I maintain.

He is of course sceptical on both these passes, and states both to be improbable. But his argument attaches itself only to one of them. He disproves a descent from the Penine Alp, but leaves untouched a descent from the Graian, into the valley which is the conduit to the plain from both. He succeeds in exposing one error. That error, I conceive, had been engrafted upon truth. Separating one from the other, we discover the real force of a tradition which in his day was distorted to a popular belief of the Penine pass. Rome had received the truth from the Salassian valley, but had given her a false name.

The name Penine, and the blunder about it, were probably novelties when Livy wrote, as well as his own conception of a Taurine pass. He was about thirty-five years old, getting up his materials, when Terentius Varro reduced the brave

inhabitants of the Salassian valley, on which the colony was planted at Aosta. Speculations on the Carthaginian march may have been induced on the improved opening of that valley after the pacification. Augustus at that time assigned names to the several parts of the Alpine chain: Penine no doubt was one of them; Julius Caesar had spoken particularly of that same pass, but without a name: he gives account of protecting the merchants who travelled it from the exactions of the natives: but there is no Penine in the Commentaries.

*Livy informs us that the historian Cælius Antipater related Hannibal's passage over the Cremonis jugum.*

The reputation of the Salassian valley, as explained, prepares us for another matter of evidence, which Livy has furnished against himself, and in favour of our opinion; namely, that Cælius Antipater, who wrote a history of the second Punic war in the Latin language, and preceded Livy by a century, had recorded the Cremonis jugum as the Carthaginian pass.

In Crema we trace Cramont, a mountain which ranges on your right hand, as you go up to the Little St. Bernard, from the valley of the Doire. Not that this similarity of names is wanted, for showing that Cælius intended this pass. Livy identifies it in saying, that the route by that "saltus," so recorded by Cælius, brings you, like that by the Penine, through the Salassi into the Gauls of Italy: which is applicable only to the Little St. Bernard. So Strabo, 208, when he tells of two routes to Lyons diverging out of the valley of the Salassi, speaks unquestionably of the Great and Little St. Bernard. As to the word not occurring in other writers, this need not surprise us. Cælius in using it may not have been intelligible to all: Livy clearly recognises it: some might

better know the term Graian. Cremona may have designated one particular mountain, as known to the natives rather than to the rest of the world. How many now can talk of the Great and Little St. Bernard, who know not the Cramont!

And yet, on reference to the best modern works, this mountain claims an interest in our studies; we sympathise with the disappointment of philosophers, who, on reaching its summit, have perceived an intervening ridge, that eclipsed the base of Mont Blanc. Professor Forbes, in his *Travels through the Alps of Savoy*, p. 114, having reached the top of the Cramont from the mule-path of the Little St. Bernard, says:—"I was so fully imbued with De Saussure's enthusiastic picture of the grandeur of the station, that I was a little disappointed to find it, not only equalled in height by some others in the neighbourhood, but overtopped by one, which stands between the Cramont and the Allée Blanche, effectually preventing the eye from diving into its depths, and thus measuring Mont Blanc at once from top to bottom, as is the case in the view from the Breven, above the valley of Chamouni." But De Saussure had himself said seventy years before, "La cime du Cramont ne domine pas immédiatement sur l'Allée Blanche: elle en est séparée par des chaînes de montagnes plus basses, qui empêchent que les yeux ne plongent jusqu'au fond de cette vallée." § 915. The charms of the Cramont are effectively described in a recent work by the Rev. S. W. King.

Mr. Ellis, in his *Treatise*, p. 146, says of the Cremonis jugum, "It is probably the Little St. Bernard, the ancient name being apparently preserved in the neighbouring peak of the Cramont." In his *Defence*, *Journal of Philol.* iii. 5, he again admits the probability: but, unwilling to concede the plainest fact without some struggle, expresses a doubt, saying, "If this (Alpis Graia, Little St. Bernard) were the Cremonis jugum of Cælius, he was undoubtedly in error.

"Yet it must be remembered that in the time of Cælius there were no Alpes Cottiae." Be it so. But the identity is quite independent of the terms Cottian, Graian or Penine. When Livy quotes Cælius as naming "Cremonis jugum," he proves it to have been the Little St. Bernard, by saying, that it was one of the two "saltus," which bring you down through Salassi into Galli.

It is then extremely important that Cælius, being of an age long prior to the obscuration of this matter of history, names the pass for which we contend. The works of Cælius are lost: but there is no reason to doubt his good faith in narrating a fact like this. Livy adopted much matter from Cælius; and refers to him here, as giving a name to the pass of Hannibal.

Those who hesitate to recognise the Alps of Polybius, and who, in the absence of a name, desire confirmation, may accept through Livy this confirmation by Cælius, and be satisfied. There is no reason to suppose, that that early historian, who flourished between Polybius and Livy, differed from his predecessor; or that in his time any dispute on the question had begun. He must have known that he spoke in accordance with the experience of Polybius, whose acquaintance he may in his youth have had the good fortune to enjoy.

*Livy does not name Polybius.*

It is reasonable to inquire why, as he names Cælius, he did not name Polybius. Polybius was a writer whom he knew well and greatly respected: to whose authority he often refers; \* as in book xxxiii. c. 10, "Nos, Polybium secuti sumus, non incertum auctorem, quum omnium Romanorum rerum, tum præcipuè in Græciâ gestarum." It might have been

\* See Livy, book xxx. 45; xxxiii. 10; xxxiv. 50; xxxvi. 19; xxxix. 52; xlv. 45.

that Livy did not know him as a writer on Hannibal, or was not aware which pass was favoured by him. But he knew it all; and did not deem it expedient to call public attention to so formidable an authority.

Livy, studying other authors on this subject, must have studied Polybius: for he talks of something on which all writers were agreed: Polybius could not fail to be one of them. In fact, he was especially under his notice. It has been pointed out that in one part of the march Livy is an attentive copier of the incidents of Polybius, though not assigning to them a perceptible locality: in another part we have seen his utter discordance from Polybius, in incidents, localities, and everything. Is it possible that Livy should himself have been unconscious of the disagreement; or, while he perceived the track of Polybius to be hostile to his own, could he fail to perceive which track it was? Was it not one of the two which he recognises as the rivals of his own?

There is no question but this—when Livy in one part of his line takes his facts from Polybius, and in another part varies from him in everything, which did he suppose to be the track intended by the other, Mons Peninus or Cremonis jugum? He shows his own knowledge of both. And are we to attribute his silence to accident or design? A writer of to-day may excuse himself for not understanding Polybius, because he finds no name to his pass. Livy could not have so excused himself. He was more acute than his followers; he knew that he differed from Polybius: they think, or without thinking presume, that the two tracks were the same.

## CHAPTER II.

*Livy grounds his hypothesis on the words of Cincius, inferring that the Taurini lay in the line of Hannibal's march to the Cisalpine Gauls. The inference is unsound. Salassi. Libui. Explanation by Gibbon. Version of Ukert. Version of Ellis. On the notion of placing Turin in the line of march.*

THUS it is Livy, who tells us of the general persuasion prevailing in his day, that the invaders came down the valley of Aosta. It is he who, though avoiding to speak of Polybius, tells us that Cælius named the track over the Little St. Bernard. Let us now examine the ground of his own dissentient opinion.

He reasons as offering his opinion in opposition to existing opinions. If he had told the story without argument, it might be supposed that, in naming Tricastini, Vocontii, Tricorii, Druentia, he expressed what was offered to him in prior narratives of the march; we might give to those ideas the credit of an earlier date, and say: "Why should he invent them?" But Livy does argue the question of the pass, and those ideas have no part in his argument, though they stand in his narrative. We may believe, therefore, that he first introduced them into the story; and in this we make no forced construction, nor one that derogates from his veracity. Having, on certain grounds, imbibed an opinion on the mountain pass of Hannibal, he supplies his readers with a clue for reaching it. Being persuaded that from the Isère the march must have proceeded to the Mont Genève, he names four objects which in such a march could hardly be avoided, and this is done in a single sentence. But he is not reasoning from those objects: when he wrote, this transalpine

district had come fully under the dominion of Rome, and it was fit that he should at least provide his reader with such general brief instruction. It is, indeed, of the most meagre kind; for, in getting across to the Druentia, which, as has been shown, could only lead to the Genève, not a town or resting-place is named, nor a single incident reported. The inference is, that he derived no information from other writings concerning that progress. In his details of the mountain march which follow, we recognise much fact of the Greek history, but no geography—his geography is given only from the Isère to the Druentia, a space which he fills up by naming three peoples, whom he would find in his map. He had read Polybius and Cælius Antipater, and he certainly did not find the four objects in their narratives: why in any others?

His impression on the pass of Hannibal had been acquired without regard to those objects: it was founded on the march in Italy, not on the march in the Transalpine; and having the belief that that pass was the Cottian, he roughly intimates the way of getting to it by a few intelligible signs; a way very simple and probable for him to think of.

His opinion on the pass was founded on the incident of the Taurini: he conceived that Hannibal had from the first intended the Genève pass; for he says that he turned up the Rhone to the Isère, not as being his way to Italy, but that he might avoid the enemy for a time, and postpone hostile encounter till he arrived in Italy. The cause of the deviation having ceased, "quum jam Alpes peteret," Livy tells the march to the Druentia: having in view the Cottian Alp, he gives his readers in few words the way for getting to it from the Isère. As far as the Durance, there is a short local instruction, but from thence to the plain of the Po the narrative has no local instruction at all, not even stating into what people Hannibal came down, unless it appears in an

argument which follows the narrative. After saying "ad planum descensum," and "hoc modo in Italiam perventum est Alpibus superatis," Livy enters into a discussion upon the amount of force which Hannibal then had left to him, out of which have arisen remarks in which the Taurini are mentioned, and from which it has been inferred that Hannibal first came down into that people from the Alps.

On Hannibal's losses, Livy quotes the historian Cincius Alimentus, who had at some time in the war been Hannibal's prisoner, and had heard him speak on the subject. Livy refers to his writings thus. After saying that different numbers were believed to have come over into Italy with him, some saying 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, others only 20,000 foot, 6,000 horse, writes thus:—"L. Cincius Alimentus, "qui captum se ab Annibale scribit, maximè auctor moveret me, nisi confunderet numerum, Gallis Ligaribusque additis: "cum his scribit octoginta millia peditum, decem equitum, "adducta in Italiam (magis affluxisse verisimile est, et ita "quidem auctores sunt): ex ipso autem audisse Annibale, "postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex millia hominum "ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum jumentorum "amisisse in Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in "Italiam degresso. Id quum inter omnes constet, eo magis "miror ambigi," &c. *See this all quoted before.*

*Id quum inter omnes constet.*

Here we inquire what is referred to by "id," as concurred in by all: for whatever Livy meant by "id," it seems given as the foundation of his own hypothesis on the pass: "id" must mean something, and if we ask what it is, the question claims a very specific answer. The answer cannot be in the amount of men saved or the amount of men lost (*both are given*); whether the former, including Gauls and Ligurians, were 80,000 and 10,000, or the latter 36,000 and a vast



number of horses. Such is not the answer; the answer ought to be by some proposition, which is plainly expressed in the previous sentence. No proposition has been plainly expressed, except the amount of lost or saved which one or other person had reported, with a special ambiguity in the report of Cincius; and the fact that the Taurini adjoined the Cisalpine Gauls.

It is not there alleged that Hannibal descended from the Alps into the Taurini; and yet this is treated as the fact which Livy says was universally agreed upon.\* Interpreters may choose to infer this from the text, but this has not been said in the text, and it ought to have been said, in order that it should represent "id."† So far is Livy from saying what is imputed, that his statement is the reverse: he states the common belief to be opposed to his own, and in favour of those passes which would have brought Hannibal out, not into the Taurini, but through the Salassi and then into the Libui Galli. And so would the Penine and Graian have done. As the Taurini and the Galli were contiguous, it is reasonable that the country of Taurini should be taken as the point up to which he may have counted his troops, estimating those who survived, or those whom he had lost; and this is consistent with my geography as well as that of my adversaries, whatever it be. I contend that Hannibal renovated his troops among his friends the Gauls, and then turned aside from them over the Po against the Taurini, who had offended him by spurning his alliance, while he lay encamped, occupied with the reparation of his army. My opponents who never trace the march, do not give the point of contiguity between Taurini and Galli. To that point he may have

\* Mr. Ellis's *Treatise*, p. 146.

† This is confessed, when the prior words are altered, so that "id." may fit that fact.

calculated his reverses. I think it requisite to call attention to the position of both these peoples. The text invites us to the subject.

*Gens Gallis proxima.*

Galli here are the Cisalpine Gauls, who began in the plains of the Salassian Doria, near the Po in the region of Chivasso, a place between the Orca and the Doria, and the Gauls spread east to Sena on the Adriatic. The Taurini were a Ligurian people, beginning some distance below Susa; their territory succeeding that of the Segusini along the minor Doria at about sixteen miles above the site of Augusta Taurinorum: it was continued to the site of that place, and a short way down the Po to where the great river bends to the east.

What then may we understand by the proximity of Taurini to Galli? Was it at one end of their narrow territory or at the other? At Avillano, or near Chivasso? They adjoined the Cisalpine Gauls at the latter extremity. The Orca or the Doria separated them from Gauls: and Hannibal, when his army had been renovated among his friends, passed into the country of the enemy, and punished them. At the other extremity of the Taurini, these were not "gens proxima Gallis." There were no Galli, therefore no proximity.

I know no better mode of speculating on the words which Livy has used on this subject. Perhaps Mr. Ellis will hardly think they deserve so much consideration. He says of Livy: "He loses himself among the Alps, a region of which he appears not only personally ignorant, but also to have failed in forming a tolerably accurate conception." *Treatise*, p. 137. After reading both histories, I am led to believe that Hannibal, having marched down the Salassian valley directly into Cisalpine Gaul, and there thoroughly established the efficiency

of his troops, turned aside to strike a blow against an enemy.\* The solution of Livy's mistake, if he made one, may be this: he learned from Cincius, that Hannibal's march brought him to a point where Galli and Taurini were contiguous; he neglected the fact that the Taurini were accessible through the Gauls, and hastily assumed that the march had come to the Taurini first. Knowing, moreover, that the first act of warfare in the plain was against the Taurini, he adhered to his error on their position as corresponding with that fact, though not asserted; and imagined the aggression by Hannibal to have preceded his arrival among his allies, instead of being his first enterprise after devoting himself to renovate his army among them. A careful reader will not doubt that the hospital quarters of the Carthaginians were established among friendly Gauls, and not among Taurini, and that the work of repairing the army was performed before he invaded the neighbouring people, who had dared to spurn his alliance. His primary duty, a necessity on escaping from the Alps, had been to restore life to his army, whose shattered state both historians so painfully describe. The offending people, who invited his vengeance, were near at hand; but, notwithstanding the proximity, Hannibal would have pursued his course without contact with them, but for the special provocation. They brought the visitation upon themselves: their contumacy alone diverted Hannibal from his route, and has made their name to belong to the tale of the Carthaginian progress.

Having ventured to speak of these Gauls as Cisalpines, I would observe that all do not recognise Livy's distinction

\* Dr. Arnold writes: "Hannibal remained in the country of the Insubrians, till rest, a more temperate climate, and wholesome food, with which the Gauls plentifully supplied him, restored the bodies and spirits of his soldiers, and made them again ready for action. The first movement was against the Taurinians, a Ligurian people, who were constant enemies of the Insubrians," &c. p. 92.

between Transalpines, Alpines, and Cisalpines. He speaks of Galli in France; Galli in Italy; and Alpini or Montani in the Alps. When he is bringing the march to the Alps, he speaks of the natives as Galli, "cum bonâ pace incolentium ea loca Gallorum, in Alpes pervenit." When the march is in the Alps, we read, "apparuerunt montani; montani jam pauciores concursabant; montani viam insedère." When he has brought Hannibal into the plain of Italy, we read of Gauls again: these are Cisalpines, and they extend to the Adriatic. But the mountaineers are named distinctly: as, when Hannibal speaks of himself to his soldiers in c. xliii., "domitor Hispaniæ Galliæque, victor Alpinarum gentium." So, "Gallicæ atque Alpinæ gentes."

In observing this distinction, there is some variety among commentators, and one specimen happens to call my attention. In the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, vol. iii. p. 34, Mr. Ellis, after pronouncing a strong censure on Mr. Law for impeaching Hannibal's veracity (an escapade which needs no answer), sets forth, as from Livy, these words:—"Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam degressum;" and says of them, "Gallis is plainly contrasted with Italiam, the one expression indicating the Transalpine, and the other the Cisalpine country." I understand no such contrast, and I believe that the Gauls of whom Livy here speaks are all Cisalpines; and as Mr. Ellis seems to have conceived a special respect for one tribe of them—the Libui—he ought to be correct on the point, and it is well to notice what he says of them.

Livy happened to name Libuos Gallos, and not wrongly: though he might have said Laos, or Lebecios, or Libicos, or Lævos, or Gallos only; perhaps there were not the five distinct tribes; though all varieties are found in Polybius, or Livy, or Pliny, or Ptolemy; and all may have been higher up in the plain than the Insubres who founded Milan. No writer

speaks of so many, or tells their relative situations; it would be difficult to show these Libui closer to Salassi than other petty tribes. But Mr. Ellis seems to think that they were closer, and may think that Polybius ought to have written *κατῆρε εἰς τὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἔθνος*, instead of *Ἰσόμβρων*.

I have before justified the narrative of Polybius for the descent into Insubres. He mentioned them by reason of history, not for geographical controversy. It would have been a great mistake if he had put forward an unimportant tribe, if he had named, Lai, Lebecii, Libui, or Libici, when Hannibal is said to come from the Alps among his friends in the plain. He is received by the Insubres, the great leading power, under whom the minor tribes are serving. From the time when Polybius brought the march through the Allobroges on the other side, no people has yet been named, and who so worthy now to be named as the Insubres? Among the Gauls of Italy they had always held the highest rank. At the time of an early irruption of the Gauls, Pol. ii. 17, we read of the Insubres as "the chief nation among them:" and now, on the approach of Hannibal, they are heading the confederacy against Rome, and welcome the arrival of their illustrious ally. Even they are not named again during the campaign; and no other Gauls are named at all. As to the Libui, whatever degree of independence they ever had (there is no trace of any), none can doubt that they were subordinate to the greater power, which had in older times settled near them in the plain.

Livy, too, recognises the superior rank of the Insubrian state, when he resumes the narrative in c. xxxix. Telling the state of war in which Hannibal found that country involved against Rome, he names no Gauls but the Insubres, because they were the chief belligerents. "Peropportunè ad principia rerum, Taurinis proximæ genti adversus Insubres motum bellum erat." Though it is not essential to contend

that in this passage the proximity is to the Insubres, my opinion is to that effect: for which I am complimented by Mr. Ellis with the want of reason and syntax. As he offers no reason or syntax of his own in opposition, it still strikes me, that Livy's nomination of Insubres as the party to the war is in congruity with Polybius, who treats them as the great allies of Hannibal, among whom he came down from the Alps.

In answer to my views on these Cisalpine Gauls, Mr. Ellis takes the Libui under his special protection, and charges me with "an utter disregard of ancient authorities." (*Journ. of Phil.* ii. 312.) He is shocked by my comment on the inferior rank of that people, and, as the champion of the oppressed, writes thus: "My object is to prove the continued existence of the Libui. It is sufficient for my purpose that Livy asserts the presence of the Libui in the plains of which Mr. Law seeks to dispossess them." Not content with the evidence of Polybius and Livy, he appeals to later testimony, and exclaims—"My third witness to the existence of the Libui will be Ptolemy, who assigns to them the towns of Vercelli and Lomello. We have thus satisfactory evidence of the continued presence for some centuries of the Libui in the same district. All Mr. Law's efforts to annihilate them at the time of Hannibal's passage will be perfectly vain in the face of such testimony."

So far am I from dispossessing or annihilating that people, Libui, that I am content to let them be where Livy's argument places them. I believe that, two centuries before Hannibal came that way, some such tribe or tribes settled between the Salassi of the mountains and the Insubres of Milan. My words, which raised this storm on the part of Mr. Ellis, were these: "We are not to infer from the words of Livy, that the obscure tribe Libui held the territory in question so that Hannibal's friends, the Insubres, could not be masters of

"it." I say so still. Other tribes—whether called Lai, Lebecii, Libici, Lævi, Libui, whichever be the fit names—would be serving under the Insubrian banner in that memorable war; and Mr. Ellis might have been satisfied with my admitting their occupancy without contending for their importance. I was willing to suppose that they remained where Polybius settled them, Lai and Lebecii, notwithstanding their doubtful substance as a nation. I only object to a few of the *centuries of their continued presence*, on which Mr. Ellis makes so touching an appeal to his third witness, Ptolemy. Whatever degree of independence such a state retained at the outbreak of Hannibal's war, when we may presume them to have served against Rome, I cannot believe that any independence survived that few years' struggle. On the contrary, I believe that they then came under the Roman yoke. In 218 B. C. the Boii would be friendly to that little people: after the war, they were not.

Livy, speaking of a time very soon after Hannibal quitted Italy, about 200 B. C., relates (lib. xxxiii. c. 37) that a Roman army, having attacked the Boii, and compelled the surrender of Bologna, turned into Liguria; that the Boii then moved with a force to harass their rear. Missing the Romans, they crossed the Po, and plundered the Lævi and Libui. Coming back by the Ligurian border, they fell in with the Romans, and were themselves cut to pieces. If this is, as it may be, the latest memorial of Libui, we need not estimate their importance in succeeding centuries, even if Mr. Ellis calls his third witness.

So long as these Libui or Libici existed as a distinct people, they may have been near the Salassian valley: being in the plain, they would be crushed sooner than those mountaineer neighbours. Strabo gives copious details of the extermination of the Salassi, without a word of the others, who must have vanished sooner. The Salassi themselves had been annihi-

lated before Livy wrote his lost book to tell of it. The great nation of Boii had been quite expelled from Italy long before Livy's time; and Ptolemy was nearly two centuries later still. If the appearance of the Libici in his catalogue bespeak their existence in his day, by parity of reasoning their appearance in the catalogues of D'Anville and Walckenner would prove their existence at the present day. Ptolemy could only have any knowledge of the Libui, as we have, from the writings of his predecessors, such as Polybius and Livy. If Mr. Ellis should call his third witness, he could only say to him, "Now, Ptolemy, recollect yourself; did not you publish two towns of the Libici, Vercellæ and Laumellum; and did not you publish two towns of the Salassi, Augusta Prætorica and Eporedia?" The answer would be: "To be sure I did; and what then? I picked up names as I could. As for Libici, I found them in Polybius, and their towns somewhere else. I know nothing of them myself, more than you do. When I entered Augusta as πόλις Σαλασσίων, the country may or may not have still been called from the Salassians. But those poor fellows never saw Augusta: they were exterminated first, and their destroyer made that place afterwards; and it is called Augusta still."

Such is the claim to celebrity which Mr. Ellis puts forth on behalf of the Libui as next-door neighbours to the Salassi montani. We concede to them all that he claims for them, save a few centuries of existence as a nation. A particular region seems once to have retained their name for a considerable time, before the second Punic war, and, for anything I know, they may give name to a parish at the present day. It is not true that I have denied their existence. I believe that we have a correct idea of their original location by rightly interpreting the words of Polybius in his second book.\* None of these small tribes appear as independent

\* See *ante*, Part VIII. ch. iv.



nations, and the few notices where their names are seen are consistent with their having been, in Hannibal's war, subordinate to a more powerful state. History tells the achievements of the Insubres and the Boii, vying with Rome herself. The Salassi, the Comenses, the Cenomani, the Anamani, and others, are recorded actors on the stage of history: on the performances of the Libui history is silent. We learn from the gravest and safest historian, that the Insubres received Hannibal on his descent from the Alps; and that fact is not to be rejected because he did not introduce the other petty tribes into the story.

*Notions of Gibbon on the text.*

Gibbon, on reading Livy, understood that, though Hannibal's first act of warfare in Italy was in the Taurini, he did not enter their territory directly from the Alps. In his miscellaneous works (v. 376, &c.), he discusses at some length the purport of those words; and his comment is this: "Hannibal wished to give an idea of the losses which he had sustained in passing the mountains, in consequence of battles, cold, and fatigue. He begins, therefore, from his crossing the Rhone, and ends at his arrival in the territory of the Taurini; since it was really in their country, and by taking their capital, that he began his operations in Italy. Their territory, therefore, formed the limit between two things totally distinct—his losses in Italy, and those in the Alps. It is not necessary that the country of the Taurini should be the first of Italy into which he descended from the Alps; it sufficed that it was the first where he fought a battle. The former explication is adopted by Livy, but the latter appears to me very capable of being defended. It deprives the Latin historian of what appears to him a decisive proof. It even turns this alleged proof against him, by laying open the source of his mistake."

Presently Gibbon hesitates, and says this—"I confess indeed that the sense of this famous passage is rather guessed at than explained: so perplexed, defective, and faulty is its construction. Critics have endeavoured to correct it; but it should seem more natural to say that Livy copied Cincius, and that the latter had preserved the very words of the Carthaginian general, who spoke Latin like a foreigner."

This whimsical conjecture does not aid to solve difficulty. It may be, that Hannibal was not quite fluent in Latin conversation: but he and his prisoner need not have conversed in Latin: Cincius wrote his history in Greek. The whole of the discussion is confused. The perplexity is from Livy's own words, which are meant to give the grounds of his opinion, but which fail to do so, not telling us what it was that had met with universal assent: only that his own theory did not.

If Mr. Gibbon were living and should continue to suspect the conversation of Hannibal, Dr. Ukert and Mr. Ellis might tempt him to enlarge his comments on the latinity. These advocates of the Cenis have each used versions of the text, which show an effort to remove the word "Taurinis" from its proper use in the sentence, and bring it into connexion with "degressum."

*Version of Dr. Ukert.*

In the 2d volume of the Professor's *Géographie*, p. 604, his version places a full stop after "amissime"; closing the reference to Cincius without the idea of Taurini. Livy is made to say on his own account, "In Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens est, in Italianam degressum quum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror," &c. The word "id" is omitted; and those ten words, being cut off from the previous sentence, make the nominative to "constet." By this modelling of sentences, Livy's statement on Hannibal's losses loses all its point: for the losses were those which occurred between crossing the Rhone



and coming into the Taurini. This version also damages the Latin: "in Taurinis" being a clumsy addition to "degressum in Italiam."

*Version of Mr. Ellis.*

In Vol. III. of the *Cambridge Journal of Philology*, p. 32, the version of Mr. Ellis has a comma inserted after "amisisse" and omits "in" before "Taurinis:" so that it stands thus:—"amisisse, Taurinis, quæ Gallis proxima gens erat, in Italiam *degressum*. Id quum inte romnes constet, eo magis miror," &c. This also diverts the idea of Taurini from the statement of losses, and attaches it to the descent from the Alps: and here again, "Taurinis" is a clumsy addition to "degressum in Italiam."

If Gibbon could have seen these later attempts to express Livy's thoughts, he might have been more indulgently inclined to what he thought was the Latin of Hannibal. Let these learned Cenisians settle their punctuation as they will; and determine the comparative merits of "degressum in Italiam Taurinis" and "degressum in Italiam in Taurinis."

*On the notion that Turin stood in the line of march.*

Many critics think that, as Hannibal chastised the Taurini before he moved forward to meet Scipio, he must have chosen that course through the Alps, by which Turin would lie in his way. They reason thus—"If Hannibal had entered Italy "from the Graian or the Penine pass, what business had he "in the Taurini? Those passes would have brought him "down into Gaul: the Cottian Alp sent him straight on to "the Ligurian Taurini, a people whom all admit him to have "attacked after his arrival in Italy." We admit that he attacked them; but not that he thought of doing so till the necessity arose; which was while he lay encamped among his friends the Gauls. Some there are, who presume that he

must have contrived the nearest road from the Isère to Turin; and therefore would not have approached them by the valley of the Doria: and that, if he had come down that valley, he would not have strayed from line of operations by turning against the Taurini. Both arguments are unfounded.

Ukert's comment on behalf of the Cenis is thus exhibited by Dr. Thirlwall in the *Philological Museum*, iii, p. 683:—"The motive for quitting the Isère at Montmeillan is sufficiently indicated by the map, which shows that the road "from hence to Turin, compared with that by the Little "St. Bernard, is the chord of a great curve." A similar conception was indulged by Mr. Whitaker, in conceding the apparent probability of the Mont Genève, i. 19. "Over this "mountain, Mont Genève, is the natural line of Hannibal's "march at present, Turin being his grand object."

I know not how it has been discovered, that Hannibal was providing for a Taurine war before he directed his march to the Alps. Livy's story, "*peropportunè ad principia rerum*," &c., gives no countenance to such a notion: on the contrary, it imports that the opportunity of chastising an enemy came unlooked for. It is one of the many futile fancies which this controversy has called forth, to imagine Hannibal on the Isère, studying the most direct line to Turin. If Turin existed, and a Taurine war had then occupied a chief place in his thoughts instead of none at all, it would not have influenced his course through the Alps. Their importance was in themselves: whatever was his best way through the Alps, was also his best way to attain a town on the other side. A few miles saved in the plain were as nothing, compared with an advantage gained in the mountains.

Some who cannot believe in the deviation of a few miles to the hostile town, wherever it was, by reason of the time that it would consume, contend with an appropriate inconsistency, that this very object was of sufficient importance to decide

the course by which the invaders should attempt the Alps. But, if we could suppose that the anticipation of a Taurine enemy could have swayed the election of a pass, the Cottian pass is just that which he would not have elected. He was one, who could appreciate the severity of the great mountain enterprise, and foresee the consequences. On reaching the plain, his men were unfit for conflict: "squalida et propè efferata corpora—armare exercitum non poterat." The repose which was to precede action would be better enjoyed among acknowledged friends who bordered on the enemy's country than among the enemies themselves. There is a just comment made by Dr. Arnold, which favours the Little St. Bernard; namely, that it led more directly into the country of the expected allies, than the shorter passage into Italy by the Cottian Alps.\* The fact is true: and it is an important one: but if the mountain dangers had been greater than in other routes, even the arrival among friends in the plain might not alone have been a cause of preference.

The other argument is urged in recent opinions, civil and military. M. Letronne, speaking of the reduction of the Taurine town, says: "Cet événement achève de prouver que le Mont Genève fût le lieu du passage: Turin, placé au confluent de la Doria et du Pô, opposoit aux Carthaginois une barrière qu'il falloit renverser pour passer outre. La prise de cette ville étoit donc nécessaire: dans l'hypothèse de M. De Luc, elle est inexplicable."† M. Baudé de Lavallette writes, p. 108: "Si on le fait descendre du petit St. Bernard, ce siège de trois jours devient inexplicable: c'est un long détour, un écart inutile, où s'amortit l'élan de sa marche rapide: c'est un véritable hors d'œuvre dans ses opérations. Rien ne saurait excuser la supposition ni faire admettre l'idée d'une excursion si étrange." General St. Cyr Nugues

\* Note L to page 84.

† Journal des Savans. Janv. 1819, p. 34.

expresses the same notions (p. 22), insisting that Hannibal would only have lost ground and wasted time by attacking the Taurini, "dans la vue de forcer un passage qu'ils lui ferment et dont il n'a pas besoin."

If the Taurine town was on the site of Turin, which I see no reason to assume, Hannibal's policy was to seize the first opportunity of encouraging his troops by a successful effort on Italian ground; of crushing those who dared to declare against him and reject his friendship; of assuring his allies. Livy's remark is, that the occasion of striking such a blow at the outset of the campaign was offered to him most opportunely. It is true that the line of his operations was down the Po: but it was his principle not to leave an efficient enemy in his rear. Among the urgent motives to the reduction of Saguntum, we read, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, οὐδὲν ἀπολιπὼν ὀπισθεν πολέμιον, ἀσφαλῶς ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν πορείαν.\* The same wisdom belonged to another invader, "quod neque post tergum hostem relinquere volebat."†

Such motive was cogent to justify the delay which the operation of chastising the Taurini might cause; and wisely did Hannibal turn aside for it. The end was commensurate. Polybius tells us (iii. 60), that he struck so great a terror into the barbarians around, that all, not under present coercion of the Romans, promptly avowed their allegiance to him. Nor is it clear that the operation did cause delay. Some length of time necessarily elapsed between the escape of the army from the Alps, and their competence to march forward against Scipio: and, as the movement which destroyed the Taurini may only have required a portion of the army, it may have been completed before they were ready to move in mass down the Po: in which case no increased procrastination of the campaign resulted from it.

I have pointed out as clearly as I can, the nature and the

\* Polyb. iii. 17.

† De Bello Gallico, iv. 22.

value of Livy's argument in favour of the Cottian Alps: and now, let me ask, what is the effect of his disquisition on the passage of Hannibal? The facts which we know through his disclosure of them are,—that there was a prevailing belief that Hannibal entered Italy by the valley of Aosta: that a foolish assimilation of the word Penine to Pœni had induced the notion that he came into that valley over the Penine pass; and that Cælius recorded him to have reached it by the pass of Cremo. Is it not curious, that Livy himself, the advocate of the Cottian pass, should be the reporter of these striking and important facts? The legitimate application of them is purely in favour of the pass of Cremo. Livy, however, objected to that pass: he did not believe it to have been open in so early times. The pass of Cremo, the Little St. Bernard, had been traversed by Roman armies from the time he was born; and it became a great Military Way of the Empire. He advances no good reason to impeach that pass: but discloses matters which are powerful to support it. If, besides all this, his argument for his own hypothesis is as nugatory as I have on fair examination shown it to be, we are entitled to claim him as a witness, an involuntary witness, in support of Polybian truth.

## CHAPTER III.

*Of writers prior to Livy no one favours his hypothesis. In addition to the historians Polybius and Cælius, we find some evidence in Sallust and Cornelius Nepos, tending in favour of the Little St. Bernard. Writers after Livy give no light. Silius Italicus. Pliny. Appian. Ammianus Marcellinus.*

## SALLUST.

THERE is an observation in Mr. Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, which, being found in so great a

work, I cannot leave unnoticed. In vol. i. c. 6. p. 290, having stated that Cæsar hurried back into Gaul by the route of the Cottian Alps, we read in a note, "The more usual but longer route would be that by the Col de Tiniers and Barcelonette, discovered by Pompeius. Sall. *Fr. Hist.* iii. 3. Appian, "B.C. i. 119. Walckenaer, *G. des G.* i. 225, 538."

I can only suppose that Mr. Merivale has stated the opinion of the Baron Walckenaer without scrutiny, entering as authority the references of that writer without consulting them himself. There is nothing which appears to warrant or provoke the introduction of the name of Sallust, for carrying Pompey over the Pass here denominated Col de Tiniers. This singular notion seems to have been caused by an unsuccessful effort on the part of Baron Walckenaer to render a few words of Appian, whereby he has converted a disaster of Pompey in Spain into a success of Pompey in France.

Let us first vindicate Sallust. Among the fragments of his works is a despatch addressed by Pompey to the Senate about the year 75 B.C. Pompey is remonstrating with the Senate for starving the war in Spain. With feelings of resentment and indignation, he points out what in three years he has done for them, and what they have not done for him—"Per Deos immortales, utrum censetis me vicem ærarii præstare, "an exercitum sine frumento et stipendiis habere posse? "Equidem fateor me ad hoc bellum majore studio quàm "consilio profectum: quippe qui, nomine modo imperii à "vobis accepto, diebus quadraginta exercitum paravi: hostes- "que in cervicibus jam Italiæ agentes, ab Alpibus in His- "paniam submovi. Per eas iter, aliud atque Hannibal, nobis "opportuni, patefeci. Recepi Galliam, Pyrenæum, &c." This must be the fragment referred to for the Col de Tiniers!

Let us look to the other references for Pompey crossing a Col de Tiniers, meaning, I presume, a pass accessible by ascending the river Tinea. The Baron Walckenaer writes

thus, p. 225 :—" Le premier qui découvrit un passage des " Alpes différent de celui que nous venons de nommer, est " Pompée, qui s'en fit un titre d'honneur auprès du Sénat, " ainsi que nous le voyons par une de ses lettres conservées " dans les fragmens de Salluste—lib. iii. p. 157. J'ai prouvé " ailleurs que cette route, peu éloignée de celle des Alpes " maritimes, était le passage du col de Tiniers et de la vallée " de Barcelonette ; mais comme ce passage retombait dans " celui des Alpes maritimes, il n'en fut jamais distingué. Le " lieu nommé Lauro dans Appien, où Pompée posa son camp " après avoir défait les Gaulois, est Laurès, dans la vallée de " Barcelonette." See also p. 538.

In a note to the same page (225) of Partie ii. ch. 1, of *Géographie des Gaules*, there is this translation of Appian : " Pompée fut chargé de se mettre en marche pour l'Ibérie : il " prit courageusement le chemin des Alpes. Il ne suivit pas " la route frayée par Annibal, et il s'en ouvrit une nouvelle." " Appien ajoute que Pompée, après avoir défait les Gaulois, " posa son camp près d'un lieu nommé Lauro, qu'il le prit, le " saccagea, et le détruisit. Laurès, qui est Lauro, se trouvait " en effet sur la route de Pompée : quelques cartes nomment " à tort ce lieu Lauret."

Such is the Baron's version of Appian. Now see what that author has said according to some editions. He states that " Pompey, being commissioned to Spain with a fresh " army, struck boldly through the Alps by a new route dif- " ferent from that of Hannibal, and near to the sources of the " Rhone and the Po, rivers that rise in the Alps not far from " one another." He then writes—ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, ἀντίκα ὁ Σεργήριος τέλος ὄλον ἐπὶ χορτολογίαν ἐξιδὼν αὐτοῖς ὑποζυγίοις καὶ θεράπουσι συνέκοψε· καὶ Λαύρων πόλιν ἐφορώντος αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν—edit. Amstelodami, ii. 696. " When Pompey had arrived in Spain, " Sertorius succeeded in entirely cutting off one of his legions

" which was out foraging, together with its followers and " baggage cattle ; and assaulted and plundered the town of " Lauro under the eyes of Pompey himself." The innovation of the critic seems to be, that he substitutes " après avoir défait les Gaulois " for ἀφικομένου δ' ἐς Ἰβηρίαν, and makes Pompey the nominative to διήρπασε καὶ κατέσκαψεν, instead of Sertorius.\*

As to the supposed route, I find no meaning in the proposition, " ce passage retombait dans celui des Alpes maritimes —il n'en fut jamais distingué." Such a route would from Nice proceed up the Var by Aspremont, then up the Tinea by St. Sauveur and St. Etienne, and then over the Col in question to Barcelonette in the valley of the Ubaye. This course and the route of the maritime Alps, are from the Var to the Rhone utterly dissociated. Such, however, is the Baron's " opportunus iter." I should think that, if Pompey had ever got to Nice in his way to Spain, he would have proceeded by the Military Way then already established through Frejus and Aix. If curiosity should lead any man over the Col de Tiniers, let him come again and try the Estrelles : then let him say which is the easiest and pleasantest march : and let him, if he can, find the meaning of " jamais distingué."

Let us now see whether this despatch of Pompey, as reported by Sallust, may throw light on the track of Hannibal. Pompey claims credit for having opened to the Romans a military way through the Alps to Spain more convenient than that by which Hannibal had come from Spain into Italy. He names neither pass ; but he distinguishes his own from that of Hannibal : and speaks of the latter as a thing known and recognised by those to whom he writes. Which

\* The author refers also to " l'analyse des Itinéraires " in his 3d vol. (p. 41, I believe) ; but there I found no assistance.



then was the "opportunus iter" of Pompey? Enough has been said to negative the Col de Tiniers. So also it was not the coast line: Pompey could not boast of that as his own discovery; for Roman armies had used it for half a century or more. Also we may throw aside the Col d'Argentière and the Col de Viso, as Pompey has not yet been charged with making those passages. We need only advert to the Mont Genève, the Mont Cenis, the Little St. Bernard and the Great St. Bernard.

The superior convenience and facility of the Genève have satisfied many in construing the words of Pompey, both that it was his own pass, and that it was not the pass of Hannibal: for, if it had been, there was none which Pompey could, on comparison, call "opportunus" for himself. All who carry Hannibal by any one of the three more northern passes, may acquiesce in the Genève as the route of Pompey, and acknowledge it as the most convenient "in Hispaniam." Even Mr. Ellis, who sends Hannibal over the Little Mont Cenis, as "the earliest known passage," and whose etymology compels Caesar into the same track, even he seems to tolerate the Genève as the pass of the intermediate general. He states (*Journ. of Phil.* No. 7, p. 20)—"Mr. Law says that Pompey's march to Spain was undoubtedly over the Mont Genève. "I wish I could prove this, as it is exactly the assumption that I should wish to make." I must take exception to the word "exactly." Our routes would differ exceedingly. From the Po to Césanne they have not a yard in common. Mr. Ellis would carry him through Susa: I know that Caesar in his march quitted the Inner Province at Ocelum: and I believe that Pompey had there established a garrison post on the frontier sixteen years before. He was bound for Spain, and his way was down the Durance. No Roman way to those Alps through Susa then existed.

But, while Pompey's letter indicates that the Genève was

his own pass, does it help us to recognise any one of the other three as the pass of Hannibal? I think that it does so; and for this reason. He takes Hannibal's route as a standard of comparison, as a thing known to, and acknowledged by those whom he is addressing: and it is probable in itself, that the passage so understood between them should be the same, which at that time stood designated by one historian of established reputation, Cælius Antipater, and which soon after was so clearly pointed out by another, Cornelius Nepos. It is far less probable that the track which in this correspondence was recognised as the iter of Hannibal, should be a track which is not found mentioned or referred to in history till fully 900 years later.

The Cenis is, I believe, not to be recognised in the whole range of ancient literature. Even that curiosity of later date, the Chart of Peutinger, while it exhibits new tracks within the Alps not known to the Roman itineraries, is exempt from any discovery of the Cenis route. I have never urged the ancient ignorance of the Cenis as itself conclusive on this question of Hannibal: but it is a very important circumstance: and when the great general, who had triumphed over the Alps in his way to Spain, is bringing forward, for comparison as ascertained things, the two routes, his own and the earlier course of Hannibal, it is greatly to the purpose that we know only of two writers prior to the controversy afterwards made by Livy, who gave a name to that earlier course: and that they pointed out unmistakeably the course of the Little St. Bernard; Cælius in the term "Cremonis jugum," and Cornelius Nepos as the pass of the Graian Hercules. Pompey writes between the periods of these two definite commemorations: he treats the pass of Hannibal as a known thing, and negatives the more commodious pass of the Genève: may we not then believe, that he apprehended that which had been named by the standard historian who



preceded him, and was soon named again by the accomplished writer who succeeded him?

This recognition of the pass by the earlier authorities aids the belief that the controversy began with Livy. The only good sense which belongs to his criticism is available, not against the truth, but against that which had chanced to pervert the truth: like other critics, he vanquishes a phantom. The nonsense about the Penine, which he exposes, had not embarrassed the minds of Pompey or Nepos: we hear of it first in Livy's report. I may add, that, if any should not credit the despatch of Pompey, but think it to have been written, as speeches are, by the historian for his hero, the argument remains the same: Sallust was of a generation prior to Livy.

*Cornelius Nepos.*

This author, writing, as I have said, before the criticism of Livy, notices the Carthaginian passage in his *Life of Hannibal*. He says this:—"Ad Alpes posteaquàm venit quæ Italiani ab Galliâ sejungunt, quas nemo unquam cum exercitu ante eum præter Herculem Graium transierat (quo facto is hodie saltus Graius appellatur), Alpico conantes prohibere transitum concidit; loca patefecit, itinera muniit, effecitque ut eâ elephantus ornatus ire posset, quâ ante unus homo inermis vix poterat repere."

The anonymous critic of Cambridge, 1830, who has been occasionally alluded to, denies that this evidence favours the Graian Alp. He denies (pp. 25, 26), that the words represent Hannibal to have crossed the Graian Alp, or followed the steps of Hercules: his opinion is, that "is saltus" means only the pass where Hercules crossed; not the "pass of Hannibal." But he is mistaken: "is saltus" is not explained by grammatical relation: for no "saltus" or pass has been spoken of before. But, as "is saltus" must mean some pass, we seek it in the context of the previous words; and from them we find

it to mean "that over which none but Hercules had gone with an army before Hannibal." Accordingly, Hannibal was the first who crossed it with an army after Hercules: and the pass spoken of is that of Hercules and Hannibal. If the words in parenthesis were wanting, the idea that none but Hercules had ever crossed with an army before Hannibal might be applied to the entire Alps that range between Gaul and Italy: but the words "quo facto is," &c. limit the application of that idea to the one particular pass. Cornelius Nepos would never have applied the proposition to all those Alps: he could not mean to say that none but Hercules ever led an army over the Alps till 218 A.C. He was well aware of the large bodies which before Hannibal's time had crossed the Penine under Viridomarus and others: it was the Graian Alp which he considered to have been traversed before Hannibal only by the expedition of Hercules. The way was called Graian, from the Graian Hercules who first crossed it. But what way? The way of Hannibal: Hannibal's way is the subject which employs the writer.

The same critic has discovered another reason that Cornelius Nepos did not impute the same pass to Hercules and Hannibal: namely, that the wretched track of the latter, "quâ unus homo inermis vix poterat repere," could not be one which had given passage to Hercules and his army: he is confident that Hannibal would have found a good wide road if he had followed Hercules. I cannot admit this necessity. Without disparaging the merit of Hercules as an engineer, one may conceive his improvements to have become obliterated after the lapse of ten centuries.

Here, again, as in the dispatch of Pompey, it is to be observed that the author, a learned and accomplished man, the friend and biographer of Cicero, speaks of the pass of Hannibal as a thing known to his readers, without any mark of doubt.

*Writers after Livy.*

An author so popular and fascinating as Livy, was likely to make proselytes to his opinion. But his influence does not appear to have been so great of old as upon the savans of the 18th and 19th centuries. Indeed his successors are not seen to have made a question on Hannibal's march.

Silius Italicus is claimed as an ally by some French critics; and they are welcome to his assistance. He was born soon after the death of Livy, and, as to the route, is to some extent a versifier of Livy, but not without poetical variety. From the Pyrenees he seems to conduct Hannibal to Lyons: for he describes the more vigorous stream embracing the gentler waters of the Arar, and carrying them along with his own. So, when we come to Asdrubal's expedition, whom Livy brings from Spain through the Arverni, the poet seems to do the same, by placing in his way the dwellers on the lazy Arar: after which this general appears to cross the Alps by following the steps of his brother, Hercules having been the precursor of both.

When the armament has crossed the Rhone, the poet contrives to fall into the track of Livy: we meet with "*Tricastinus finibus, rura Vocontia, turbidus Druentia;*" and when Hannibal has subdued the Alps by combustion, he is brought to an encampment "*Taurinis campis.*" The noble Roman does not further mark his own view of the controversy on the route. When Hannibal has reached the summit, no locality is to be found for it, unless through the remote idea of Taurini. The poet exhibits Venus coaxing Jupiter to favour the descendants of Æneas: but she does not happen to mention the particular Alpine heights against which it would be expedient to hurl the divine thunderbolt for arresting the Carthaginian progress.

Pliny was a very learned man: but his belief was not diverted from the valley of Aosta to the Cottian Alp: enume-

rating places and peoples in a geographical work, he fixes the position of Aosta, giving the names of the two Alpine tracks which meet there—*Salassorum Augusta Prætoria, juxta geminas Alpium fauces, Graias atque Peninas*—and he adds the vulgar reputation of their origin, "*His Panos, Graiis Herculem transisse memorant.*" Lib. iii. 21.

Appian, who flourished about 60 years later, in his book on the wars of Hannibal (p. 315) says, that he made his way through the Alps with fire and vinegar; that he descended into the plain; and, having rested for a time, moved on to Taurasia, a Celtic town, and, taking it by storm massacred the inhabitants, and then advanced to the Po and encamped. He further informs us, *De Bell. Civit.* p. 419, that Pompey did not adopt the same track; that he ascended the Alps, not according to the great enterprise of Hannibal, but cutting through by a different way about the sources of the Rhone and the Po, rivers which rise not far from one another. Thus Appian appears impartial in the patronage which he affords to the two great historians. The conquest of the Alps by fire and vinegar is favourable to the authority of Livy: the source of the Rhone is quite opposed to it; so that Mr. Whitaker was satisfied with Appian as confirming his own preference of the Great St. Bernard.

Ammianus Marcellinus, writing towards the end of the fourth century, as we have seen already, paints strongly the horrors of the descent into Italy from the Cottian Alp: but at the same time states it to be the best and most frequented in his day. He adds that other ways were used in ancient times: the first having been constructed by Hercules near to the Maritime Alps. The author then undertakes to explain the reason why the Poenine Alp came to be so called. The explanation is this, and no more: that Scipio, finding he could not overtake Hannibal, who crossing the Rhone got three days' start of him, made a rapid voyage to Genoa, and

waited there to catch him on his descent from the Alps : that Hannibal, being too cunning for him, "Taurinis ducentibus" "accolis, per Tricastinos et oram Vocontiorum extremam ad" "saltus Tricorios venit : indeque exorsus, aliud iter antehac" "insuperabile fecit, excisâque rupe in immensum elatâ, quam" "cremando vi magnâ flammâ acetoque infuso dissolvit, per" "Druentiam flumen gurgitibus vastis intortum regiones occu-  
"pavit Hetruscas."—So the story ends : The problem, "hac ex causâ sunt Alpes excogitatæ Pœninæ," is not further elaborated : but the author, as if suddenly inspired by Livy, defeats a prodigious precipice with fire and vinegar and then rushes through the whirlpools of the Druentia into Etruria. I leave it to the followers of Mr. Whitaker, Lord Woodhouselee, and Mr. Ellis, to decide whether the whirlpools of Ammianus Marcellinus belonged to the Arve, the Dranse, or the Drac.

I have noticed the ancient memorials of the Carthaginian march of invasion, as far as I am invited to do so by the adverse efforts which have been made on the subject. Livy was the only litigant : the only writer who plainly challenged existing opinions. When he approached the subject, there had been no dispute, save a competition of the two lines which join one another at Aosta : and I have endeavoured to show that his evidence adds strength to one of them.

As to writers who came after Livy, their allusions to the matter are futile, and neutral in their futility. Some, as Pliny, inherited the impression on the northern entrances, without heeding that Livy had proposed another. Others, such as Silius and Ammianus, show by their incoherent and contradictory stories, that Livy's theory floated with others in their memories. Some say too much : some too little. Appian suits no party : and Florus, caring for no party, omits the Taurini altogether. None treat it as a matter of dissension : none argue it, reasonably or unreasonably. Nothing

shows that Livy's views on the passage of Hannibal swayed the minds of his countrymen as they have disturbed the judgments of the savans of modern times.

The earlier memorials, which could not be influenced by his conceptions, are adverse to his hypothesis : all indicate the passage which is here maintained : and he himself, though looked upon as the champion of a contrary opinion, is in truth an effective witness for verifying the same passage. As such, he closes a continuous series ; Polybius, Cælius, Pompey, Nepos, Livy. The first explainer of the track receives confirmation from all the rest : all, when we examine them, carry us to one conclusion, not excepting the adversary himself. His evidence is strong, though he felt it not : its impulse is against the intention of the writer ; who, as the advocate of an unsound proposition, has disclosed the better reasons for the worthier cause. Truth required not this corroboration : but we have it. If the march of Hannibal had found no memorial in the writings of Polybius and others, there is in the history of Livy that which should incline us to reject the opinion which he himself cherished, and to believe that the invaders were launched into the Italian plain through the valley of Aosta. His own statement, which is aimed against both the courses for entering that valley, exhibits good reason for believing that the invasion was made by one, and that it was not made by the other.

## THE ALPS OF HANNIBAL.

### PART XII.

#### CAUSE OF DOUBT. CONCLUSION.

##### CHAPTER I.

*Doubt has come by neglect of Polybius. D'Anville failed, in ignorance of Polybius. Gibbon failed, in deference to D'Anville. Niebuhr did not fail. Melville had unveiled the Truth: and De Luc had proclaimed it adding fresh light.*

ONE who has noted the phenomena of this controversy, may feel what has been said by Mr. Babbage concerning more serious inquiries—"It is a condition of our race, that we must ever wade through error in our advance towards truth." I would add that, when error has been surmounted, it is useful to account for its having existed. Prominent among the causes of failure in this long fought question, is found that disabling prejudice, the fear of difficulty. There has prevailed a sort of timid acknowledgment that it is full of difficulty and doubt: and this impression has dissuaded instead of stimulating the spirit of original search. Many a critic has known the Latin narrative of events rather than the Greek: and it has happened, that better men have adopted the doubts of their less competent predecessors. Doubt which originated in incompetence has thus become inveterate, engendering a general

persuasion that there is not intelligible evidence, and many, giving undue weight to prior opinions, have consented to blame the obscurity of truth, themselves making no effort to discern it. There has been no want of courage to embrace a theory first, and work up arguments for it afterwards, but great want of resolution for the independent purpose of sincere inquiry and interpretation.

The subject has become one, in which a theory cannot be effectively enforced without fairly combating other theories: some writers abstain from the pugnacious effort; and this is no proof of confidence in their own tenets. The cause with some is, that the spirit of just inquiry has yielded to the desire to be original: others have found it easier to invent than to explain; and some are open to the suspicion of struggling against their own conviction. Livy was an original sceptic: and was too easily satisfied on a hasty and superficial view of the subject: one excuse for him may be that he had no knowledge of Alps; an excuse which men cannot plead now. After reading Polybius he resolved to have an hypothesis of his own: he expresses neither assent nor dissent; nor inquires into that great authority on the invading march. If it were asked, why did he, in his discussion of other men's opinions, bring forward Cælius, and not bring forward Polybius, the most plausible excuse, though not the true one, would be, that Cælius had named the pass of the Alps, Polybius had not. This want of a name is an excuse better suited to the moderns, under which they are tempted to disregard the chief authority, or avoid the task of interpreting him.

In progress through the subject, I have exhibited by instances the extravagant resources which I began with imputing to the defenders of many hypotheses. But there have been grave and strong minds—minds not given to wild fancies or deformed with the desire of novelty—whose failure to hit the truth may well surprise us. It was said in the

outset, that when the views of distinguished men are adduced for gaining assent to some interpretation of the problem, their arguments only should be heeded, not their names. Profiting by this caution, we may still be perplexed to conceive how some have been deluded into error, or disabled from detecting it. The fundamental cause of mistake, whether in critics the most distinguished or the least so, has been always this, that Polybius has not been studied. By many he has not been studied at all; by some under the bias of unreasonable prepossession; by few with any fixed and steady attention. Ignorance of his history in some, and neglect of it in others, has been the primary cause of failure.

If, as has been said, the data are really insufficient for solving the question, all must fail. But it is hasty to pronounce them insufficient, till every effort has been made to comprehend and apply them; and this effort is due now, among others, that we should strive to discern the causes of failure in those who seem best qualified to have been successful—men such as D'Anville, Gibbon, and Arnold. If we can safely see the reasons why they have not established the truth before the world, it is more conceivable that success may be reserved for others. Also, by seeing where they have erred, we may more easily believe that the larger catalogue of unsatisfactory reasoners could be confounded by their own mistakes, or the blundering of their predecessors.

*D'Anville failed.*

It is not without regret that we miss the respected name of D'Anville from the list of partisans in all the theories for interpreting Polybius. If it is asked how such a man could fail to hit the truth, the question has a ready answer. Though deservedly esteemed in matters of ancient geography, he took no pains to explore the text of Polybius. The pretensions of the Graian Alp were unknown to him: he would have written



differently if De Luc had written before him; he partook of the common inclination to reconcile the two histories, or rather to presume on their concurrence. This has caused, in many, a careless study of that which claims the greater study, and which, without that greater study, is not to be interpreted. The narrative of Polybius is a tale of fact and description, written by an original inquirer, suspecting no controversy. The narrative of Livy is rather a tale of names, written in a later age for a theory in a declared controversy. The latter has this chance of success in the hands of an interpreter—it is easier to make description bend to names than to make names yield to description: by the first course a man deludes himself with a seeming conciliation; when he strikes out a name, he is conscious of an act of violence. The pass of Alps intended by Livy could not be mistaken by so reasonable a man as D'Anville; and if, as appears, he took for granted the coincidence of the two histories, he might think it enough to interpret that in which the pass intended was hardly open to doubt, and which, perhaps, was the more familiar to him. If he had been told that he had made no effort to interpret Polybius, he would have acknowledged the imputation, and struggled further.

D'Anville's *Carte pour l'Expédition d'Annibal*, published in 1739, (see *ante*, Part IX. c. iii.), shows an early intention simply to follow Livy. When, in 1760, he published his *Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule*, he had still the wish to illustrate Hannibal's march; and his neglect of the authority which would best have guided him, is as plainly apparent as his mistake on that which did guide him.\* If we turn to the word Allobroges, we find that his account of that people, as concerned with Hannibal, is given on the scanty notice of them by Livy: the ampler account of the Allobroges by the Greek historian, who wrote one hundred and fifty years earlier,

\* See *ante*, Part IX. c. iii.

is not noticed; Polybius being only mentioned, together with Plutarch, Dion, and Appian, as spelling the word Allobroges with an "i," instead of an "o." There is the same neglect of him in the article "Allobroges" of Dr. Smith's *Dictionary*, from the pen of a well-known writer, where we read: "The Allobroges are first mentioned in history as having joined Hannibal (B.C. 218) in his invasion of Italy.—*Liv.* xxi. 31." The earlier historian is not alluded to. In either *Dictionary*, however, both that of 1760 and that of 1856, there is a subsequent article, "Insula Allobrogum," where the name of Polybius is introduced on the geographical character of the Island. It is curious that, in Dr. Arnold's account of Hannibal's progress, neither the Allobroges nor the Island are ever mentioned at all.

D'Anville assumed that Livy represented Polybius, and therefore read the earlier narrative with little attention. He says, in *v. Tricorii*, that the two historians give the reason for Hannibal, on crossing the Rhone, deviating to the Isère; but Livy alone speaks to that effect. I am not aware of D'Anville's bringing any statement of Polybius into discussion on the effect or bearing of it. Once, when he seeks to give probability to Livy's march, "depuis l'Isère jusqu'aux Alpes," also in *v. Tricorii*, he adduces the 800 stadia of Polybius. A most unhappy illustration! To serve Livy, he invents his worst error; besides which, the thing was not applicable: the 800 of Polybius was 800 along a river; and D'Anville thought to corroborate a measurement which was quite across country. I believe that D'Anville never discusses the meaning of Polybius, or the application of his words; nor alludes to the possibility of his having intended a route differing from that which he is imputing to Livy. He does not seem to apprehend that any one would suppose the two to disagree; and shows, in a few words, the summary and infirm process by which he allied himself to Livy:—"Comme Annibal des-

"cendant en Italie, rencontra d'abord les Taurini, cette circonstance détermine en effet le passage d'Annibal par cet endroit des Alpes." It is clear that the French geographer never sifted the Greek history, nor adverted to the necessity of doing so. Accordingly, there was nothing which could bring him to the result of renouncing the French Alps of Livy, or to a suspicion that his Tricastini, Vocontii, Tricorii, and Druentia were fallacious. While these stood unsuspected in the line, his pass was necessarily the Mont Genève.

I have spoken only of the error for which D'Anville is accountable in the neglect of Polybius, not of the blunder in his conception of Livy. That misfortune might have happened to any man in 1739, when he published the map which tells of his construction of Livy's track. (See *ante*, Part IX. c. iii.) Most men were then unacquainted with Mont Pelvoux, and liable to be misled by an apparent authority framed 1,300 years before. D'Anville is not for that less entitled to our respect. But it was his own fault that he was uninstructed by Polybius. Yet, under the circumstances, he might have done worse. Two candidates, at the most, to represent the pass, were likely to arise in his mind, as a disciple of Livy. He voted for the Genève: he might have done worse, voted for the Cenis.

*Gibbon failed.*

One should have expected that the opinion of a man having the powers and the advantages of Gibbon for a subject like the present, would be a safe opinion: and we have a good lesson on the imperfection of critical inquiries, when we see the result of the "reading and careful reflection upon the subject," which he states himself to have bestowed.\* He began well, for he cleared the common stumbling-block, the determination to reconcile the histories:

\* Miscellaneous Works, vol. v. p. 370.

and he promptly apprehended two strong points of Polybius, of which so many critics are insensible; the continuance of the march up the Rhone, and the emerging from the Alps into the Insubres. This amount of observation might have led to more, and have encouraged him to probe the whole text. But he did not persevere: he heeded not the plain country to the first Alps, nor the Allobroges defending them, nor the measurement of the march which led to them. He hurried up the Rhone to Martigny, blind to the other prescriptions of the historian.

His faculties of inquiry seem to have been paralysed by a most unreasonable impression with which he embarked in it, and from which he never escaped. He entertained the subject as a matter of competition between the Great St. Bernard and the Mont Genève, as if he had only to arbitrate between their respective advocates. He declares the former to be the pass of Polybius, as promptly as he declares the latter to be the pass of Livy; and the chief thing which he agitates is the question of credit between the two authorities. On this point he writes with spirit and interest, pronouncing a laboured eulogium of Polybius, as the historian of higher truth. But he ends the matter miserably. He is dissatisfied, as might be expected, with the two Alpine passes which he has admitted to the competition; he does not suspect the possibility of a third candidate, and at last, in despair, generously surrenders his right of thinking to the name of D'Anville, and for the very strange reason that that writer had not disclosed the grounds of his opinion. He says: "In M. D'Anville's map of Hannibal's expedition, that accurate geographer, whose positions are always chosen on reflection, makes the Carthaginians pass by the Cottian Alps. I am stopped and silenced by the authority of this learned man, which in this case is the greater, because he conceals the reasons on which his opinion is founded." Thus does one

man desist from a comparison of two historians in deference to another man, who had never thought it necessary to compare them at all.

It is evident that Gibbon, being under the impression that the question was wholly between the Great St. Bernard and the Genève, and seeing which of the two was related by Livy, looked into Polybius only so far as to be assured that he differed from Livy. He neglected to investigate the story of Polybius as a subject of itself. If he had read the narrative with fair attention, not caring for the opinions of others, he could not have mistaken it. After all, it is strange that his attention was not compelled to the evidence; for he cites the 1,200 stadia as the "breadth of Alps," and yet the 1,400 which in the enumeration of Polybius immediately precedes the 1,200, is unobserved. It is said erroneously, in the Preface to the *Oxford Dissertation*, that Gibbon was ignorant of the passage alluded to by Polybius, *i.e.* of the Little St. Bernard. He may, indeed, have forgotten it for a moment when he was writing these words (v. 380):—"Hannibal at the confluence of the Rhone and Saône followed the shortest route into Italy, when he crossed the St. Bernard."\* But this was carelessness, not ignorance. He deprives himself of all excuse when (p. 378) he thus retails the ideas of Strabo. "In the reign of Augustus, when Roman policy had levelled the Alps, that prince made two military ways, which, diverging from Augusta Prætoria, again united at Lyons. One of those roads, which crossed the Pennine Alps, was still so difficult that it could not be passed by carriages." He who wrote this might have paused to ask himself whether the other of those two ways, which he well knew as a course of Roman armies, might not be the line of Hannibal intended by Polybius.

\* He has already said, "Livy carries Hannibal over the Cottian Alps, properly Mont Genève; Polybius leads him by the Summus Penninus, or Great St. Bernard."

I say then of Gibbon, that he failed in his study of Polybius. He began inquiry under a false prepossession; that is to say, with a contracted notion of the scope of it. But he was dealing with evidence, and had the fairest prospect of encountering the truth, which was in a line which lay between his line and D'Anville's. They were both wrong, and he saw it; but instead of prosecuting the search for truth by renouncing both errors, he says a civil thing to D'Anville and gives the matter up. What was this but the fear of difficulty? The result of a little perseverance would have been that the world would owe the development of truth to Mr. Gibbon instead of General Melville.

If any one had happened to address Mr. Gibbon, "What say you to the Graian Alp?" he would have opened his eyes, quickened his attention, and determined the question. He wrote his comment in 1763: in a later day he would at least have said one thing which is said by his friend and editor, Lord Sheffield: "Perhaps the subject is best understood by the late General Melville." The noble editor is alluding, in a note, to Mr. Whitaker's treatise of 1794, and he speaks with kind commendation of the criticism which followed it by Mr. Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee, a Lord of Session. That short work is but an indiscreet eulogium of the vagaries of Mr. Whitaker. But the compliment to the pamphlet is duly superseded by the words that follow, "Perhaps the subject was best understood by the late General Melville." See Gibbon's *Miscellaneous Works*, v. 381.

*Niebuhr did not fail.*

Niebuhr was not spared to embrace in his great work the career of Hannibal, and to pourtray in all its dimensions the genius of that wonderful man: accordingly, he was not brought to deal deliberately with the invading march. His history, however, though not reaching that period, is not

without allusion to the subject, and it may be seen that the Polybian narrative of the track through the Alps is accepted with its obvious interpretation.

Speaking of the invasion of the Gauls, he says:—"It may be regarded as clearly certain that the Gauls came down into Italy through the valley of Aosta. It would be idle to inquire whether, like Hannibal, they crossed the Little, or like Buonaparte, the Great St. Bernard, and whether their march followed the Isère, or the northern shore of the lake of Geneva." Translation by Hare and Thirlwall, ii. 535.

In his last lectures on Roman history, given in the winter of 1828-9, and published by Dr. Leonhard Schmitz in 1844, Niebuhr shortly alludes to the controversy, and in very plain terms. He gives to General Melville the credit of having shown the truth to the world: he speaks, indeed, as if the General had himself published the result of his investigations. These are his words—"After the researches of General Melville, there can be no longer any doubt as to the road which Hannibal took: and, if any one who has a practical mind compares with the researches of General Melville the account which Polybius gives, he must see that no other road is possible." Vol. i. p. 170. The name of De Luc might with justice have been added to that of General Melville.

#### CHAPTER II.

*Arnold recognised the Truth: and might have extinguished Doubt. But not giving to Polybius the credit of showing him the Truth, he blamed him where he should have commended him. Conclusion.*

IN investigating the narrative of Polybius, I have sometimes adverted to comments of Dr. Arnold, according to my view of

their merits. Though some have required to be canvassed, he plainly leaned to our hypothesis. But there is from time to time one general persevering criticism, more likely than any comments on the narrative, to influence the judgment of others; his censure of the authority on which the question rests. Those who may be inclined to treat the question as depending on the authority of Polybius, are taught by that censure to distrust the value of his evidence.

The distinguished writer of whom I speak, whose death is still a fresh grief to literature and to society, and whose memory every good man must cherish, was one of rare power and attainments. His mind was characterised by zeal for all that was right and tending to the happiness of his fellow-creatures. His days were devoted to vigorous and various research. As a traveller with keen faculties of observation, as one who must have worked laboriously \* on the career of Hannibal before he grasped the history of Rome, and to whom the line of the great invasion continued to be a subject of strong interest and repeated study, he must be deemed amply conversant with the question in which I am engaged. For these reasons I cannot disregard his declared sentiments: and not disregarding, I must either resist or embrace them.

One who recognises the superior ability of Dr. Arnold for scrutinising the style and merits of a Greek author, may nevertheless be excused for objecting to the particular crimination here spoken of: for it arises out of, and is specially applied to the history of the march through the Alps. The charges brought against Polybius are illustrated expressly from this subject: and, if the attacks are just and fair, they damage the authority, on whose strength I rely throughout. I will examine them with the freedom that would have been approved by him whose views provoke the comment.

In the third volume of the *History of Rome*, remarks on

\* See *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*.



the geographical incompetency of Polybius, and the consequent inaccuracy and obscurity of his writings, appear in many places. The most injurious matter, which I will presently exhibit, is in the text. Much that is curious and interesting is found in the notes: the following is an elaborate instance. Note L. to ch. xliii. "The question, in what direction this famous march was taken, has been agitated for more than eighteen hundred years: and who can undertake to decide it? The difficulty to modern inquirers has arisen chiefly from the total absence of geographical talent in Polybius. That this historian indeed should ever have gained the reputation of a good geographer, only proves how few there are who have any notion what a geographical instinct is. Polybius indeed laboured with praiseworthy diligence to become a geographer; but he laboured against nature; and the unpoetical character of his mind has in his writings actually lessened the accuracy, as it has totally destroyed the beauty of history. To any man who comprehended the whole character of a mountain country, and the nature of its passes, nothing would have been easier than to have conveyed at once a clear idea of Hannibal's route, by naming the valley by which he had ascended to the main chain, and afterwards that which he followed in descending from it. Or, admitting that the names of barbarian rivers would have conveyed little information to Greek readers, still the several Alpine valleys have each their peculiar character, and an observer with the least power of description would have given such lively touches of the varying scenery of the march, that future travellers must at once have recognised his description. Whereas the account of Polybius is at once so unscientific and so deficient in truth and liveliness of painting, that persons who have gone over the several Alpine passes for the very purpose of identifying his descriptions, can still reasonably doubt whether they

"were meant to apply to Mont Genève, or Mont Cenis, or the Little St. Bernard." Again, in note F, he says: "His descriptions are so vague and imperfect, and so totally devoid of painting, that it is scarcely possible to understand them."

Thus does the Alpine traveller of the nineteenth century, charge him of 160 B.C. with neglecting his facilities. He may be defended by denying the facilities. Neither Polybius, nor any man of his day or of ages which succeeded him, had the means "to comprehend the whole character of a mountain country and the nature of its passes." No civilized community possessed the necessary facts, or knowledge, or experience. I conceive that Polybius was fully on a par in geographical instinct with Larauza, Arnold, and Ellis: and that, if he had possessed their advantages, and seen what they have seen, he would have conveyed by names and otherwise, as clear an idea of the several passes, as they could do. He has plainly told them the valley by which Hannibal gained his first Alps; and is hardly listened to. He has not named that by which he ascended to the main chain: and possibly he hardly knew that in that valley the invaders regained the river over which they crossed into the Island a fortnight before. Geography from authors he had none: maps there were none: and the identity may not have been conveyed to his mind through the varying dialects of successive Alpine tribes: the name, as articulated at Conflans or St. Maurice, may have been neither *Scoras* nor *Isaras*, nor anything which would have given light to his narrative, had he attempted to pourtray it in Greek characters. I may at least reply to such objection—"As you do not understand his valley of the Rhone, say not that he would have made you understand the valley of *Scez*."

Dr. Arnold, always conceiving that the course through the Alps should have been characterised by a lively pourtraying of



its varied scenery, wrote in 1835: "I have been and am "working at Hannibal's passage of the Alps: how bad a "geographer is Polybius!—The dulness of his fancy made it "impossible for him to conceive or paint scenery clearly: "and how can a man be a geographer without lively images "of the formation and features of the country which he "scribes? How different are the several Alpine valleys: "and how would a few simple touches of the scenery which "he seems actually to have visited, yet could neither under- "stand nor feel it, have decided for ever the question of the "route! Now the account suits no valley well, and therefore "it may be applied to many." While I doubt that such touches of scenery would have decided the question, I consider that the plain leading facts of the narrative do decide the question. They pronounce the path of Hannibal by landmarks which are ample for our guidance, though so many are unsuccessful in the recognition of them. The clouds which have so long obscured this subject were not produced by the defective painting of Polybius. It is the false light streaming from the more familiar tale of the Roman historian which has diverted many from observation of the better guide: and, if that guide has not led to knowledge, it is because they who most wanted it have so feebly sought and accepted his instruction.

The landmarks of Polybius are these—The arrival at the Island. The operations in it. The clear description of that country. The further ascent of the Rhone to the Alps. That this march was over ground practicable to cavalry. That it traversed the country of the Allobroges. That the first Alps were forced against leaders of that people. The precipitous descent on the other side of the barrier. The quiet of the succeeding march. The productiveness of the district, apparent from the supplies obtained after the first conflict, and again on the sixth day of Alps. The white rock at the scene

of action on the eve of the summit. The broken way, and the last year's snow on the first day of descent. The pasture valley below. The arrival in the plain among the Insubres. These things, with the arrangement of the whole track of the march into intelligible sections, and the assigning to each of them its proper measurement and period of time, these are the landmarks of Polybius: more or less strong, when taken separately; conclusive, when combined.

An inquirer into the Polybian history ought at least to apprehend these leading features of the tale, before he complains of the absence of instruction. When it is asked how for so many miles we read no names, the historian himself has provided the answer: \* and it is philosophical and just. When something more lively, more pictorial, more poetical, is required, we feel that it is not reasonable to exact, that Polybius should have painted the features of Hannibal's Alps in the spirit of contrast with those of other Alps. He did not go to solve a disputed point of history: dispute had not begun. He found the track, and he pursued it. We know not that he ever explored any other Alpine pass. He alone of his rank and station encountered the perils of this.

The illustrious of Rome in his day had little, if any personal intercourse with the Alps. The Greek hostage threw himself into those mountains in search of truth, and has recorded it in sufficiently clear characters. It was not presented to his mind, that he should guard it against misapprehension, by cumulating characteristic notices in the chance of distinguishing this pass from others of which he had no experience. He could not foresee the singular fatality by which truth has been resisted, nor the inventions which have led to feuds among his interpreters. He affected only the historian. His employment was on facts, not the embellishment of facts: and the indicia which he has given us are better than

\* Polybius, iii. 36.

painting or poetry. But even here his defects may be exaggerated. He could paint, and with a strong hand. When man or nature gives obstruction to the march, that strength appears. When all is easy and unimpeded, he bestows a lighter touch. His subject was history, not landscape: Hannibal, not the Alps. Is there the imputed dulness? Many a page of more popular history may be read, without finding a truer or livelier picture than that which Polybius has given of the passage of the Rhone by the Carthaginian armament. The account of the assault on the unwinding column, as they surmounted their first Alps, and trod the margin of the precipice, is strikingly clear and forcible. The descriptive power of Polybius, not enough for some, is too great for others. The ὄρη δυσπρόσοδα καὶ δυσέμβολα, καὶ σχεδὸν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἀπρόσιτα, represent effectively the outworks of the great natural bulwark which seemed to defy the progress of the invaders. If truth fails here, not weakness nor dulness is the cause: for grave authorities have, on this force of description, been seduced to say, that through such mountains no way could be for Hannibal. Dr. Ukert, arguing to that effect, is called sagacious by Dr. Thirlwall.\*

I repeat that none are entitled to impute their difficulties on the track to the dulness of the author, so long as they are blind to the main facts through which he has exhibited it. Dr. Arnold had not that blindness. His error is peculiar to himself. He saw the truth, and was qualified to grasp it; and did grasp it. My complaint is, that he did not do justice to the great authority from which he learned it. The struggle made by the multitude for a march up the Isère, is made only in the pretence of following Polybius. Livy did not misapprehend his predecessor. He did not insist that Hannibal, on reaching the Island, proceeded to the Alps by keeping the valley of any river. He disregarded the track of Polybius,

\* Philol. Museum, ii. 681.

and preferred an hypothesis of his own. No modern commentator, French, German, or English, has the courage to do this. None say that they disown Polybius. All say that he must be right. Let them then accept his evidence. Let them see that his course is up the Rhone to the Alps; being of necessity irreconcilable with ever reaching the Genève. Let them see that his descent from the Alps into the Cisalpine Gauls places him in incurable contradiction of any pass which they can call Cottian: and that his distances negative irremediably an approach to Italy from the Penine.

When broad instructions are openly misconstrued, truth is challenged and error can be met. It is more injurious that they should be passed by, with saying that the author fails to throw light upon the subject. I will advert here to a most important point in the disputed track, and one on which Dr. Arnold has shown more courtesy to critics than justice to the historian; the continuance of the march up the Rhone. While Polybius is blamed for the evidence which he is said not to give, there is hardly an acknowledgment of the evidence which he does give. Instead of thanks for his instruction, he receives censure for the want of it. It will perhaps be said that, as Dr. Arnold believed in the march up the Rhone, to the Mont du Chat, he had no occasion to enlarge his pages by giving the data which commanded his assent. But unfortunately the comment that he does find room for is a reprehension of Polybius touching the very points on which that march depends. There is not, I believe, in ancient writings, a hint which would guide Dr. Arnold up the Rhone to the Mont du Chat, save in the plain words with which Polybius has made the facts known. And it is to be lamented here, that the censure is rashly and hastily applied.

Dr. Arnold's narrative of Hannibal's arrival on the Isère, and advance towards the Alps, is in these words:—"In four days they reached the spot where the Isère, coming down

"from the main Alps, brings to the Rhone a stream hardly less full or mighty than his own. In the plains above the confluence, two Gaulish brothers were contending which should be chief of their tribe: and the elder called on the stranger general to support his cause. Hannibal readily complied, established him firmly on the throne, and received important aid from him in return. He supplied the Carthaginian army plentifully with provisions; furnished them with new arms; gave them new clothing, especially shoes, which were found very useful in the subsequent march; and accompanied them to the first entrance on the mountain country, to secure them from attacks on the part of his countrymen."

Such is the historical statement as imputed to Polybius by the pen of Dr. Arnold, who immediately adds this criticism, accounting for the doubtful information which it contains:—"The attentive reader, who is acquainted with the geography of the Alps and their neighbourhood, will perceive that this account of Hannibal's march is vague. It does not appear whether the Carthaginians ascended the left bank of the Isère, or the right bank, or whether they continued to ascend the Rhone for a time, and leaving it only so far as to avoid the great angle which it makes at Lyons, rejoined it just before they entered the mountain country, a little to the left of the present road from Lyons to Chamberi. These uncertainties cannot now be removed, because Polybius neither possessed sufficient knowledge of the country, nor sufficient liveliness as a painter, to describe the march so as to be clearly recognised." Having thus fixed the blame on the historian, he expresses his own opinion on the line of march, according to the line which Polybius has pointed out.

Though the uncertainties which the incapacity of Polybius has bequeathed to us are pronounced irremovable, they are made to vanish before the opinion of Dr. Arnold. In truth

they only appear to us by the way in which Dr. Arnold has told the story. The account which he impeaches as vague, is his own. It affirms nothing upon a river with a name, or without a name, and raises no question. In the statement of Polybius himself, Hannibal marches *παρά τὸν ποταμόν*, and I greatly doubt that any man ever rose from a first perusal of the history itself, with the impression that the author by *τὸν ποταμόν* meant anything but the Rhone. Polybius teaches plainly enough for any one, that Hannibal marched up the Rhone till he found the Alps: he teaches, moreover, that the march was through the Allobroges, menaced by that people, and ultimately resisted by them. If Polybius had been the liveliest of painters he could hardly have identified the river more intelligibly. "The river" by ordinary reference is the Rhone, and no one need stray from that construction to assume that the local guides would take the army away from the Alps into angles only to bring them back again and increase the length of march. If Dr. Arnold saw doubt in the *ποταμόν* of c. 50, he might have said so: if he was not satisfied with Polybius's statement of the march, *ἀπὸ τῆς διαβάσεως τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμόν ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἕως πρὸς τὴν ἀναβολὴν τῶν Ἀλπεων* in c. 39, he might have said so. But is it credible that, with those words before him, Dr. Arnold could admit either shore of the Isère to be a competing line of march within the words of Polybius? The authority of Dr. Arnold condemning the vagueness and uncertainty, more than anything that has been written, is calculated to engender a suspicion that the text of Polybius is ambiguous. The danger of this, is my best excuse for having dwelt so deliberately on the text and context of the historian touching the progress to the first Alps; protesting against the many who shirk that evidence, and the few who have ventured their feeble argument in favour of the Isère—(Part IV. ch. iii.) A careful exhibition of the facts and the

context was indeed called for by the scepticism of less potent writers. But it was still more due after the defective report and the ready reproaches of one so looked up to as Dr. Arnold. Viewing, as I do, the clearness and cogency of that evidence already pointed out by De Luc, I am at a loss to understand, that Dr. Arnold can have so read the story, as to find the pretensions of the rivers and of his three suggested tracks doubtfully balanced; and that, while he himself gives preponderance to a march up the Rhone, he could lament that the uncertainties cannot be removed, and could denounce Polybius as the cause of them. The plain words of Polybius, and nothing else, taught Dr. Arnold that Hannibal went up the Rhone to find the Alps: and it is unfortunate, that the author of a work so universally read, did not employ a few words for aiding the judgment of his readers with that which had compelled his own. Instead of giving Polybius credit for the instruction, and using a few words to vindicate his meaning, he reprehends him as the cause of the uncertainty through his incompetence to apprehend and to relate.

Polybius is innocent of the uncertainty. Misconstruction has long been favoured, and confusion nursed by those who would distort him into an accordance with Livy. But such confusion might have been cleared away by one who was himself proof against it. That idle longing to reconcile irreconcilables has been to others the spring of the mischief. If Polybius had been the only witness, a famed Helléniste of the *Collège de France*, Letronne, would no more have thought to construe ποταμόν the Isère than he would have thought to construe it the Seine. Larauza, Ukert, Ellis, and the rest, would have been spared their curious efforts in the same deceptive cause. And, if the favourite and popular blunder, the doubtfulness of the river, had not been so engrafted into the controversy when Dr. Arnold came to deal with it, he would never have told his reader that the river of the march

does not appear; and that the uncertainty cannot be removed: he would not, when suggesting the truth for himself, have condemned the very source that gave it him, and found excuse for doubts which were unworthy and unable to shake his own judgment. I have come to the conclusion, that no reader of Polybius is to be excused for not understanding that Hannibal found the Alps by marching up the Rhone to the Alps. Dr. Arnold did understand it: such a man could not help understanding it. But he missed the opportunity of doing a just thing, and of vindicating the historian, rather than the host of authors who had perverted the meaning of his words. Toleration of doubt by him has been more injurious than argument from others.

The incompetence of the historian is proclaimed, as having caused reasonable doubts of modern inquirers. I deny that the doubts are reasonable, and assign a different cause for their existence. Livy reasoned feebly: he avowed his belief in a line of march, and seemed to have the belief: and critics have shrunk from rejecting it. While none dare avow that they reject Polybius, this has sustained a state of doubt. The perplexity has been increased by the efforts to escape from it. Volumes, that have been written with inventions for solving it, have been but a waste of words to establish an impossible conciliation. Many constructions of Livy had not their origin in doubt of the pass which he favoured, but in the struggle to reconcile him with Polybius. Both are mutilated, that they may be one. Men would never have been provoked to misconstrue the pass, if there had been but one history to construe. If Polybius were the only writer, the Rhone would be the accepted criterion of the march to the Alps. If Livy were the only writer, the accepted criterion would be the Durance. All theories, except the Graian, are infected with the spirit of conciliation. This alone could have produced the laboured theories of the Mont



Cenis. Conciliation dislocates rivers, and builds upon their banks with etymology. An exchange of names is made between the Rhone and the Isère. Strange casualties awaited the Druentia: it was not enough that in the last century two of our countrymen discharged that river into the Rhone, one at Geneva, and one at Martigny. The bold Cenisians, coming thirty and sixty years later, empty him into the Isère instead of the Rhone.

Such are specimens of the rise and progress of doubt. Charge them not to the dulness of Polybius: but to the vain spirit of conciliation. Cease to make Polybius responsible for the doubts of "those who have gone over the several "Alpine passes for the very purpose of identifying his descriptions." Dr. Arnold himself really travelled in that purpose: and, though he did not declare all doubt dispelled, he hardly resisted the full result that we desire. Others have contemplated the Alps, not for the purpose of identifying the descriptions of Polybius, but for the purpose of reconciling them with the descriptions of another writer. This has been, and, according to their own express resolves, this ought to be, the definitive aim of their exertions—"Concilier Polybe et Tite-Live, voilà le problème; le but definitive de nos efforts."

Dr. Arnold travelled with a mind free from that disturbance: he was not a man to be awed by the numbers, weight, or pertinacity of the heroes of this controversy; but he laboured under a strong distaste of the author. Depreciation of Polybius had become habitual to him: the doubt between the right of Isère, the left of Isère, and the Rhone, is pronounced irremovable: the description of the march by this historian is said to be so obscure as to defy recognition: vagueness and want of painting, are said to make it unintelligible. Dr. Arnold made repeated efforts to understand this matter of history: we read of his labours and his scruples in 1825, and 1830, and 1835: and in 1841 he declares, that his

sense of Polybius's merit as an historian is becoming continually less and less. This feeling did not favour the success of a search into the author for instruction: and the result has been, that justice is not done to him, and that false critics are spared at his expense. Had Dr. Arnold sifted more severely the wayward interpretations of those for whose errors he finds excuse, and tried them by the words of the unpalatable history, he might not have added his weight to denounce the obscurity of a plain straightforward tale.

It is the great Roman historian, who has led the world astray by his conception of the Carthaginian invasion. His fame is riveted by the eulogies of one who owns his faults, the illustrious Niebuhr. Let those eulogies adorn the name of Livy. But let the interests of literature and historical truth prompt us to sustain also the fame and character of Polybius. Homage that is paid to the memory of Livy, the same lament over the spoils of time is due, though for other virtues, to the historian of Megalopolis.

#### *Conclusion.*

Of the comprehensive histories of Polybius, five books only have survived entire. Others are partially saved. Their value is inestimable. Through the few years to which these relics belong, we cling to them as to a great and safe authority. We find in their author not only a narrator of facts, and an expounder of geography, but an accomplished soldier, statesman and philosopher. He taught his countrymen and the world to found the success of human enterprise on the provisions of skill and industry, noting the moral causes of events, without imagining at every step the miraculous interposition of a patronising deity. Such precepts tended to improve mankind by inducing them to rely for success on their own merits and exertions. They have been censured by critics of different periods as the offspring of



an irreligious mind. Do they not betoken rather a mind breaking from the gloom of the religion which surrounded it, and struggling to discern a light beyond!

I venture upon this tribute to the merits of Polybius, notwithstanding the following criticism:—"Polybius, by temper and by circumstances a rationalist, is at great pains to assure his readers that Scipio owed no part of his greatness to the Gods, and that his true oracle was the clear judgment of his own mind. According to him Scipio did but impose upon and laugh at the credulity of the vulgar, speaking of the favour shown him by the Gods, while he knew the Gods to be nothing." Dr. Arnold conceives that Scipio is misrepresented; he vindicates the hero, impeaching the historian.

I venture to doubt that Polybius imputed such sentiments to Scipio, or that he entertained them himself. Such animadversions are not made now for the first time. Casaubon found occasion to refute the errors of those "*qui malè de Diis et Divinâ Providentiâ Polybium sensisse ausi sunt scribere.*"\* The Roman people indulged the notion that Scipio was a favourite with the Gods, that he held converse with them, and that his schemes prospered under their special interposition. It appears that that great commander countenanced a superstitious feeling beyond what his own mind accepted; that he encouraged his soldiers to believe that there was a divine inspiration in his enterprises, and that the Gods were on their side, knowing that this persuasion would raise the spirits of other men nearer to a level with his own, and work them to a state of resolution for mighty deeds—*πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τῶν ἔργων*. The historian gives Scipio the credit due to his actions, of wisdom in his designs, and vigour in the prosecution of them, and upon this is based

\* See his dedication to Henry the Fourth of France, given by Schweighæuser, as *Præfatio Casauboni*.

the imputation that the power of the Deity was held of no account, and the superstition of the Romans treated as an object of ridicule.

It is to the honour of Polybius, that he did not keep pace with the superstitions of the age, nor suppose the noble Roman whose achievements he recorded to have ascribed all happy results to dreams and omens and the caprice of the Gods. He gave its due rank to the genius of that illustrious man, while feebler observers, incapable to appreciate his sagacity, and blind to the connexion of moral causes and effects, imputed each successful effort to chance or to the special interference of the Gods.\* It is unjust to charge Polybius with a scorn of the Deity, because he censured those writers, or because he extolled the greatness of Scipio. Difficult as it is to dissect the thoughts of men, and tell where religion ends and superstition begins, there is no reason to doubt that both the hero and his eulogist were men of reverential minds.

One might suppose from the terms of condemnation, that Polybius was the patron of a system in which there was no God, and man was everything. But in truth the ground he takes is on the defensive against those who deemed the virtues and abilities of man to be nothing, and who referred each success of human labour to the caprice of a God or the agency of chance. If we could study the whole of such a controversy, we might find the religious principle beaming with a purer light from Polybius than from his opponents.

There is good sense, and no impiety, when he rebukes other writers for introducing divine agents where they are not wanted: and, when this reasonable censure is deemed a contempt of the Gods, it is like denouncing a man as an infidel because he does not believe in ghost stories. Polybius insists that the wisdom and energy of a man produces fruits, though

\* Polyb. x.

not backed by preternatural means; and he dissents from those who ascribe each prosperous result to dreams, omens, Gods, and fortune. He was intolerant of the story that some divinity appeared in person to escort Hannibal over the precipices; and, if he had heard of the celestial vision on which that hero was enjoined to fix his eyes, with the gigantic serpent and the destroying tempest in the rear,\* he would have remarked that the great invader made his way through Spain and France without those auxiliaries. He did not credit the special interference of Neptune to accomplish the assault of Carthage, though he tells how Scipio encouraged his soldiers to the belief of it. The sentiments of Polybius were not only not hostile to religion, but they accorded with the sounder notions on the divine government of the world. In denying false agencies and vindicating the energies of man, he best asserts the power of God.

The distinguished writer and editor of the *Dictionary of Biography*, as if adopting the censure to which I object, pronounces Polybius to be "a decided rationalist;" but he adds this: "Although he regards Fortune (Τύχη) as the Goddess "who regulated the affairs of men, whose hand may always be "traced in the history of nations, and to whom the Romans, "therefore, owe their dominion (comp. *e.g.* i. 4, 58, 86, ii. 35, "70, iv. 2, viii. 4), still he repeatedly calls the reader's attention to the means by which Fortune enabled this people to "rise to their extraordinary position. These he traces first of "all in their admirable political constitution (vi. 1), and in "the steadfastness, perseverance, and unity of purpose, which "were the natural results of such a constitution."

One who so speaks of the Τύχη of Polybius, might have omitted the designation of rationalist. The term Τύχη, representing Chance or Fortune, is in frequent use with Polybius, as with others. It is familiarly used by some for

\* Livy, xxi. 22.

good luck: and why not? Polybius personifies her; so do we. If he deifies her, which I am not aware of, so do we. The gravest modern writer can speak of the smiles and the frowns of the fickle goddess, but his conscience bears no allegiance to such divine personage, neither did the conscience of Polybius. There is no sentence of his in which the word appears, that might not be written by a Christian. When, in opposition to certain writers, he denies the agency of Τύχη, he intends Chance. But when, in discussing the mutability of human affairs, he reprehends those who complain of Τύχη, he has regard to the dispensations of Providence. The words just quoted from Dr. Smith express a power "which regulates the affairs of men, and whose hand may be traced in the history of nations." What is this but the Providence of God?

While Polybius with sound discernment traces effects to their moral causes, he does not pretend to explain all results by his own efforts of reasoning. He applies the ideas of bad and good fortune as we do, when events seem not the fair and probable consequences of things precedent: as when one, who has ably done all within his reach, is defeated by overpowering circumstances. This is not peculiar to him, nor wrong in any one. We do not offend the religious sentiment, when we call the man unfortunate, who with honest efforts fails of success: nor is Polybius to be blamed for saying, that fortune prevailed against Hannibal, who had done πάντα τὰ δυνατὰ πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν.

He denies the agency of Chance, when, in praise of the energy and perseverance of the Romans (i. 63. 9), he states them to have attained the ends they aimed at, οὐ τύχη, καθάπερ ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν εἰκότως. This very repudiation of Chance might be thought to involve him in irreligion by those who deemed all praise of man to be a slight of the Gods. Insisting on human

sagacity and labour as bearing their fruits, he condemns those who gave to Chance the merit of success and the blame of failure, and says (ii. 38. 5), "Charge it not to Chance, but look for a cause." Still we find him inclined to show that the course of events is just, and cautioning his readers against the hasty assumption that it is unjust. Speaking (xv. 20. 5) of the conspiracy of the two kings against the infant sovereign of Egypt, and their spoliation of his possessions, he says that there had indeed been excuse to complain of *Τύχη*: but he calls attention to the retribution which followed, *τοῖς ἐπιγενομένοις κάλλιστον ὑπόδειγμα πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν*. Here Providence is the object of vindication.

If there is reason in these remarks, the comment which has invited them cannot be just. The severity of it is pointedly clear: that the rationalist Polybius laboured to show that Scipio owed no part of his greatness to the Gods, while he laughed at the vulgar credulity and knew the Gods to be nothing. I believe that, in all the works of Polybius, no such nor similar sentiments are to be found. In these our times rationalist is a well known term of reproach: it embraces that with which Polybius could not be chargeable, a rejection of divine truth; a distrust of the word of God, in resting on the standard of human reason. This with us is irreligion: for it shows the paramount duty of obedience; and we are commanded to believe though we cannot comprehend. Where was the revealed word, which claimed this duty of Polybius? Was it in the favoured communications that were rumoured as vouchsafed to Scipio, or in the familiar interventions with human society which the ancients imputed to their Gods? What breach of duty constituted the rationalism charged against Polybius? To repudiate all divine interposition in the affairs of mankind was in any age impious. But an ancient philosopher is not to be stigmatised for withholding his assent from notions which his reason could not accept;

for disbelieving miracles which he had not witnessed, or striving to account for them by natural causes. Before we join in the reproach, we should at least know the character of the things which he questioned: if, for instance, he discredited a knowledge gained through the flight of birds or the entrails of beasts, was the scepticism vicious or praiseworthy?

See now the rationalism of Polybius: he challenged the absurdity of writers, who asserted a statue of Diana, standing open to the heavens, to be privileged against rain and snow: \* he impeached the authors, who declared that the forms of those who entered a certain temple would throw no shadow from the light: † he exposed the ignorance of a commander, who, being blockaded by a superior force and having contrived a plan of escape, was deterred from the execution of it by an eclipse of the moon. ‡ He was indeed the assertor of human reason: like Strabo, he found in the glorious work of Homer a depth of knowledge not heeded in the poorer praise of some who went before him. § Polybius denied the splendid course of Scipio to be the mere result of the patronage of Gods, and applauded the judgment, wisdom, and energy that worked the welfare of his country. They too, who in the poverty of their reasonings had celebrated the Carthaginian hero as achieving the impossible Alps under the present guidance of a God, are rebuked with the assurance that this extraordinary man had ascertained and estimated all difficulties, and foreplanned the efforts to surmount them.

These instances of right reason will perhaps be conceded, and the charge made to touch a more serious chord, the acknowledgment of a Supreme Being. Is it true then, that Polybius imputed to Scipio, that he believed the Gods to be nothing? His desire was to do justice to the memory of that great man on points where others did not do him justice.

\* Polyb. xvi. 12.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. ix. 19.

§ Strabo i. 23, &amp;c.

He was not called upon to extol his devotional character. In the purpose of portraying other great features, he was more likely to soften than to exaggerate the tinge of superstition which belongs to the anecdotes that he relates. It seems a great mistake, that because he bestows not the praise of superstition, he is taken to deny the grace of religion: and the historian is himself held up as a libeller of the Gods, because he ascribes to his hero merit of his own. That merit was, that he served his country with transcendent ability and perseverance. Polybius complains (lib. x.) that all who had hitherto written about him, had left those merits untold, only proclaiming him a child of good fortune and a favourite of the Gods. A long period had elapsed since the death of Scipio, when Polybius so vindicated his fame, and declared that the world remained uninstructed on the greatness of his genius and energy by those who had pretended to write the history of his time: he therefore was resolved to show to the Romans what that illustrious commander had done for their country, and that his successes were the intelligible results of wisdom and energy, not the offspring of dreams and omens.

Before he exhibits by facts the marvellous industry and talent displayed by Scipio in war, he relates, as heard from Lælius, an incident in his early life, which encouraged the general impression of his supernatural support: and the historian's report of it has tended perhaps to bring censure on himself. The story is, that the elder brother Lucius was a candidate for the office of Ædile, and that his mother was trying to propitiate the Gods by sacrifice. Scipio, conscious that he would himself be most acceptable to the people, and might carry his brother's election also, assured his mother that he had dreamed that he and his brother were both elected, and so obtained her permission to offer himself. This incident, with the success which followed, aided the reputation

of Scipio as a favourite with the Gods. This is the comment of Polybius—"of which things the dream was none: but, "being generous, munificent, and of kindly demeanour, he "reckoned on the good-will of the multitude towards himself. "In the result, having happily hit the right time both with "the people and with his mother, he not only gained his "object, but was thought to do so through some inspiration "of the Deity. For those who cannot survey with exactness "the seasons, and the causes, and the coincidences of things, "whether from poverty of spirit or from inexperience or "indifference, ascribe to the Gods and Chances the originating "of that, which is accomplished by sagacity with reasoning "and foresight. I make these observations for the sake of "my readers, lest, being led away falsely by the current notion "concerning him, they should be insensible to the most "honourable and the noblest features of the man: I mean "his skilfulness and perseverance in toil."

These sound remarks are found in the remains of the tenth book: where afterwards, in the admirable account of the siege of Carthage and the recovery of the Roman preponderance in Spain, Polybius traces the effect to its cause, and explains the singular merit of the general. All is plain common sense, and creditable to him who tells it: there is no more impiety in one who thus commends the insight of Scipio into the affairs of life, than in those who extol the military instinct of Wellington or Napoleon. Well does the historian portray the character which he celebrates, when he says of the youthful proconsul, going forth to Spain two years after the anecdote just related,—*εὐθαρσῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον, οὐ τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύων ἀλλὰ τοῖς συλλογισμοῖς*. We find in Strabo a similar contrast between Chance and Design, where it is applied to a higher subject, the beneficent providence of the Creator, testified by arrangements made *οὐχ ὅπως ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἂν μετὰ λογισμοῦ τινός*. iv. 189.



The unfavourable impressions which I am here combating, have, I believe, been founded partly on what Polybius has said in the sixth book on the *δεισιδαιμονία* of the Romans; to which he attributes, among other things, their superiority in moral principle to Carthaginians and Greeks, and their resistance to pecuniary corruption. He extols as a whole their studious system of observances, and their awe of the præterhuman, the influence of which was practically interwoven with all affairs of state and the usages of domestic life. He notices, however, the excess and exaggeration to which these things were carried, and observes that it had been so done *τοῦ πλήθους χάριν* (for the sake of the mass): adding, "that such a method would be unnecessary to a community of wise men, if a State could be composed of them; but that, as the mass everywhere is thoughtless, full of illicit cravings, irrational impulse, violent passion, they must be constrained by uncertain terrors, and such theatrical solemnities (*τοῖς ἀδύλοις φόβοις καὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ τραγῳδίᾳ*). That the ancients therefore appeared to have designedly introduced for the mass, notions about the Gods, and conceptions of things done in the infernal regions; and that the moderns rather were unwise in rejecting them." In the same spirit, and without the tinge of irreligion, Strabo says that "you cannot rouse the mob of mankind by philosophic reasoning to reverence, holiness, and faith (*πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ πίστιν*), but must act also through superstition (*ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας*)." i. 19.

The religion of the Romans did indeed embrace a wide field of wonders, some of which might, for swaying inferior minds, receive a qualified sanction from philosophers. *Δεισιδαιμονία* is not here employed merely in its best sense, the fear of God: nor *τὰ ἐν ᾄδου* to express the fact of a future state. To dispense with the recognition of those ideas, would be to teach that religion is needed only as a bugbear to terrify the way-

ward and headstrong. But it was not those instincts of a reasonable mind, that wanted merit in the eyes of Polybius, or that he would dismiss as unnecessary from a society of wise men. The fables of a heathen mythology were an unreal mockery to his sober mind: and the *δεισιδαιμονία* of the Romans, however politically useful, abounded in the false agencies which he rejected. He repudiates the notions that the wise Lycurgus had learned to found his polity by the teachings of a Pythian priestess, and that Scipio had raised his country through the impulses of dreams and omens.\* He predicates an undue *δεισιδαιμονία* of him whose courage quailed under an eclipse of the moon, and shows that he would have been the better for some knowledge of astronomy.† On Timæus he observes, that, while he opposes the audacious statements of others, he is himself full of dreams, and wonders, and incredible fables, abounding, in short, in low superstition and womanish nonsense (*δεισιδαιμονίας ἀγεννοῦς καὶ τερατείας γυναικώδους*). xii. 24.

It seems to me that in these matters Polybius exhibits a sound discrimination: and that he is not to be censured, either for the resistance which he offers to superstition, or for the modified toleration which he extends to it. If he is charged with imputing atheism to Scipio, it seemed relevant to consider whether he could be so charged himself: therefore I have alluded to some matters in the sixth book. But in truth, in those comments on Roman institutions, he is not dealing with the principles of religion and the duty of man to his Creator: his subject is the perpetual blending of sacred ceremonies with the ordinary transactions of life: and he treats with respect forms and observances which awe the ordinary mind into rectitude. Thus he notices the oath of office, the obligation of which, *ἡ κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον πίστις*, made

\* Polyb. x. 3.

† Ib. ix. 19.



the Roman faithful to his trust of public money, a virtue unknown to the Greek. Shall we also not allow, that in a society of wise and good men, oaths would be superfluous? Yet not the less must we agree with Polybius in the principle by which they are required. We claim the oaths of witnesses: a process as needless to bring truth from a good man, as it is vain for stifling the lies of a bad man: but upon the shadowy multitude that intervenes, the solemnity has a clear practical influence to the daily benefit of society. The religion of an oath has merit in its political usefulness: but he who approves it on that ground is not to be construed as undervaluing religion.

The mind of such a man as Polybius was likely to become cautious of superstition, and bold in the cause of Truth, by the variety of circumstances in which his life was placed, and his opportunities of viewing with deliberation, and scanning without prejudice, the institutions of the civilized world, their beauties and their blemishes. He was free to use the voice of reason, and to grapple with those who invited the belief of mankind to things, which he designates as "falling beyond the scope, not only of what is probable, but of what is possible." He could doubt what others believed; and censure what others sustained: but did he withhold honour and praise where honour and praise were due? Were his scruples not based in truth? If they were, blame him not for moderating his acquiescence in the delusions of his age. Had he gone further, we might have excused without applauding him. Things, not reasonable in themselves, may from circumstances be entitled to excuse, or almost to commendation. Cicero believed in the unity of a wise and beneficent Creator: yet it became his duty to observe, and to enforce the observance of the religion of his country. So let it stand. If it be required to bring these merits into critical balance, and to

pronounce for one the greater praise, that praise must be rather that he was a sceptic among heathens, than that, an enlightened theologist, he was an actor in heathen ceremonies.

What was it, then, which the philosophy of Polybius rejected? Not the belief in a Being greater and wiser than man: but the surrender of the understanding to notions preposterous in themselves, and irreverent of that greater and wiser Being. He defines the extent to which superstition may be tolerated, limiting it to that which is subservient to religion, and protesting against the nonsense which, offending our reason, does not tend to a reverence of God. "We may excuse some historians," he says (xvi. 12, 9), "when they deal in miracles and fables, so far as it tends to sustain the piety of the multitude towards the Deity (*ὅσα μὲν συντείνει πρὸς τὸ διασώζειν τὴν τῶν πλήθους εὐσέβειαν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*); all beyond this is inadmissible." This comment is in check of superstition: but even that superstition was not the subject of ridicule: still less could religion be so. If there are passages in which his accusers find the Gods to be nothing, let them be pointed out. In the meantime there are those which tell plainly his contrary impressions. When he speaks of religion, of the duty of man to God, his terms are *εὐσέβεια* and *τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια*: these always had an advocate in him. In treating of democracy as a form of government (vi. 4), he desires to be understood as meaning, "not the wilful rule of a mob, but a system which cherishes as national the worship of the Gods, honour of parents, respect of seniors, obedience to the laws." His praise of his countrymen, the Arcadians (iv. 20), is that, "while they habitually fulfil the duties of society and hospitality, they are chiefly distinguished by their reverence of the Deity"—*διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν*.

One who so writes can hardly be moved only by worldly usefulness; but, if more is wanted to show that there was a duty of religion in which Polybius sympathised, a heartfelt principle, not the mere approval of an invention convenient to society, there is that may satisfy the most scrupulous. In the very passages (x. 2) where he has been supposed to heap honour upon Scipio at the expense of the Gods, there is plain proof that his was the true spirit of piety, and which retorts the impiety upon his opponents. "All other writers," he says, "introduce Scipio as the man of good fortune, whose endeavours prospered as of themselves and beyond reason: they hold such men to be more godlike, more admirable, than those who act in all matters upon a fixed principle. They see not the distinction between that which is praiseworthy and that which is prosperous. The latter may fall to any sort of men; the other is proper to those who are endowed with mind and reason: these we are to esteem as godlike—these the dearest to the Gods." This doctrine of a divine approbation of human merit is worthy of the writer; while there is a vulgarity in its opposite, which wantonly visits with celestial patronage those who have not merit of their own. And let us not forget that Polybius was one who acknowledged a divine justice and a divine vengeance. It is enough to note his words upon the rebels, reduced by Hamilcar, and perishing by famine: "The deity executing upon them an appropriate retribution for their impiety and lawlessness towards their neighbours—τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν οἰκείαν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέροντος, τῇ πρὸς τοὺς πέλας ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ παρανομίᾳ." i. 84.

Such sentiments are not those of a contemner of divine power, but of one who believed in the ever-present miracle, unscanned by human reason,—the government of the invisible God. When such sentiments have sprung under the light of

nature, not of revelation, let us give credit to the author of them for a pure rather than a perverse impulse, nor depreciate the source of that which in itself is wise and true. If the doctrines of Polybius are challenged as adverse to the duties of Paganism, let them be hailed as akin to purer influences by which Paganism was to be overthrown. He vindicates the dignity of man's intellectual and moral nature, and claims that great and good actions shall bring him honour. Shall this be treated as contempt of the Gods? Different was the impression of one to whom his full works, unhappily wanting to us, gave ampler evidence of the spirit of his opinions. Suidas, a Greek writer of the eleventh century, thus alludes to those opinions, as in harmony with the sentiments of a Christian: "Fortune, with Greeks, is the government of the world without a Providence; a course from uncertain to uncertain, of events turning up as of themselves. But we Christians acknowledge God as administering all things; and to this effect speaks Polybius."\*

I hope to be excused for these notices of a great and good man, whose claims to our respect I believe to be not sufficiently estimated. While he is the only safe authority on an important period of the history of the Roman commonwealth, he is not among those whose works every one reads in the course of classical study, as pursued for improving the taste and the conception of universal language. He is read by the laborious few who read everything, by the professed historian, and by those who find themselves directed to him for a particular object; not by the mass. Though not en-

\* Τύχη, παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, ἀπρονόητος Κόσμον ἐοίκησιν· ἡ φορὰ ἐξ ἀδήλων εἰς ἀδηλον καὶ αὐτόματον. οἱ δὲ Χριστιανοὶ Θεὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν διοικεῖν τὰ πάντα. καὶ Πολύβιος φήσι. Suidæ *Lexicon* in v. Τύχη, and see Casaubon's dedication, and Schweigheuser's edition of Polyb. *Fragmenta Grammatica*, v. Τύχη.

dowed with the splendid eloquence of Thucydides, nor with the masterly and charming flow of Livy, he is in the highest rank of historians. Much of Aristotelian wisdom and accuracy is found in his written counsels; but he belonged not to the days when letters were fostered by liberty in Greece: and there was in him a sobriety of thought not favouring the higher polish of composition. Some, viewing him in contrast with the more brilliant models, have been extreme in disparaging his genius: not satisfied with proclaiming him "a decided rationalist," they denounce him as "not possessing a particle of enthusiasm in his nature."\* I venture to think that in every sentiment there is to be traced a disciplined and right-feeling mind—the merit of enthusiasm, without its extravagance. His nature knew the better kind; an ardent zeal in illustrating, without the waywardness of fancy, all that is great and noble, and that sheds honour and dignity on our species. His doctrines, without attracting by style of expression, are persuasive with energy and warmth. He "had musick in himself;" and if there be anything in ancient literature worthy to have suggested to our own great poet his charming eulogy of the musical sense, it is in the congenial spirit of Polybius, with which he enforces the wisdom and the duty of its cultivation. We sympathise in the disdain with which he rejects the notion of Ephorus, that music was given to man for deceit and witchery, and insists that it was to reclaim and soothe the ruggedness of our nature. We sympathise in his condemnation of his savage and uncivilized neighbours, and in his prayer for their conversion to music.† The men of Cynæthæ were "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils," wanting that sweet softener of humanity.

One who shall diligently study the writings of Polybius

\* Dictionary of Biography, "Scipio," 12.

† Polyb. iv. 20, 21, 22.

which time has spared, not diverted by undue contrasts and the bias to which they lead, and who will observe the station which he took in the promotion of general knowledge and in the active business of the world, will find many high faculties to be respected, many admirable features to be contemplated in his character as a citizen and a philosopher. The study is of one, whose endowments commanded the affectionate respect, and whose care framed the minds of the sons of Æmilius; whose wisdom under national affliction secured the gratitude of the cities of Achaia; and whose monument recorded, that he reclaimed from the oppressor the memorials of those who had asserted their country's freedom; of one whose fame it is, that, if she had obeyed his counsels, that country would have averted her degradation.\*

And with these merits, let us remember the sacred attribute, which, though it can consist with inferior claims, was in him the controlling guide of a great and powerful intellect. They who, in the easy enjoyment of the fruits of modern science, look down upon the hard-earned knowledge of the ancient geographers, and they whose literary taste is most unsatisfied with the style and diction of this historian, fail not to confer one praise, while they cling to censure that impairs it. All are constrained to own, that among those to whose labours we are indebted for a knowledge of the times that are past, there is no name that lives ennobled above the name of Polybius by the clear spirit of truth. This was the light of his path, and thus he hails it:—"Truth is the eye of history: for, as the living thing deprived of sight becomes all useless, so, if truth be taken from history, what remains is an unprofitable tale."† And again: "If one has come to knowledge, then is the most difficult thing of all;

\* Pausanias viii. 37. Polyb. xl. 8.

† Polyb. i. 14.

"for even the eye-witness to control his knowledge, and, despising the paradoxical and marvellous, to give for his own sake the first honour to truth, and tell us nothing that transgresses her." \* While such his zeal, and such his sense of danger, he felt the higher principle in which this virtue has her safety: he taught the bright lesson, that truth to man is kindled in sincerity to God—τὸ γὰρ μανθάνειν ἀψευστεῖν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπόθυψις ἐστὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀληθείας.†

\* Polyb. iii. 58.

† Ibid. vi. 59.

## APPENDIX.

## APPENDIX A.

TRANSLATION OF PART OF THIRD BOOK OF POLYBIUS.  
(c. 39 TO c. 61.)

*From Schweighæuser's ed. Oxford: Baxter. 1823.*

### *Carthaginian Power in Spain.*

39. THE Carthaginians at this period ruled all those parts of Libya which border on the Mediterranean sea, from the altars of Philæus, which are on the Great Syrtis, as far as the Pillars of Hercules, a line of coast exceeding 16,000 stadia. Crossing the strait at the Pillars, they had in like manner subdued all Iberia, as far as the rocky ridge which on our sea terminates the Pyrenean mountains, that separate the Iberians and the Celts. That place is distant from the Herculean strait about 8,000 stadia. For from the Columns to the new City whence Hannibal began his expedition to Italy, it is 3,000: some call the new City, New Carthage.

### *The line of March to Italy in five Sections.*

And from this City to the river Ebro it is 2,600 stadia: and from the Ebro to Emporium, 1,600: and from thence again to the passage of the Rhone, about 1,600: (for these distances have now been stepped and carefully marked at every eight stadia by the Romans.\*) And from the passage for those who travel along that river as if towards its source,

\* I conceive that this remark ought to follow the 1,600 to Emporium.



as far as the ascent of Alps which leads into Italy, 1,400: and the rest of the way over the heights of Alps, about 1,200: surmounting which, he was to enter into the Padan plain of Italy. So that the entire distance which he had to traverse from the New City was about 9,000 stadia. Of his march through these regions he had already accomplished nearly half in distance: but in difficulty, the greater part of the march remained to be performed.

*Roman Preparations. Rising of the Gauls.*

40. Hannibal was now encountering the defiles of the Pyrenean Mountains, having some fear of the Celts by reason of the defensible nature of the positions. About the same time the Romans, having learned from their ambassadors to Carthage all that had been resolved and the words spoken, and the news of Hannibal's passing the river Ebro having come upon them sooner than they expected, determined to send off the consuls with their armies, Publius Cornelius to Iberia, and Tiberius Sempronius to Libya. While the consuls were engaged in the enrolment of the legions and other matters of preparation, those who had been before appointed to dispatch the colonies into Gaul, were hastening to the fulfilment of the business: they were actively walling the cities, and they ordered the settlers to repair to their posts in thirty days, in number as much as six thousand for each city; one of which they founded on this side of the Po, calling it Placentia, and the other on the other side, naming it Cremona.

No sooner were these colonists settled, than the Gauls called Boii, who had long been watching, as it were, to break their alliance with the Romans, but as yet had not the opportunity, now elated and confident, through the emissaries, of the approach of the Carthaginians, broke off from the Romans; abandoning the hostages delivered by them on the close of the

last war, of which I have given account in a former book. Having called to them the Insubres, and laid their plans together under the feelings which already impelled them, they plundered the district which was allotted to the colonists by the Romans: and jointly pursuing those who fled to Mutina, which was a Roman colony, besieged them there. Among these were three men of distinction, who had been commissioned to the partition of the lands; Caius Lutatius of Consular rank, and two of Prætorian rank. On these demanding a conference, the Boii assented: but, when they came forth, seized them in breach of good faith, hoping by this means to recover their own hostages. Lucius Manlius, who was Prætor, and had charge of the posts thereabouts with a force under his command, hearing what had taken place, hastened to their assistance. The Boii, aware of his approach, prepared an ambuscade in a forest district; and, as his force moved on into the wooded parts, fell upon them at once from all sides, and slew many of the Romans. The survivors at first made a precipitate flight; but, on reaching high ground, they made a stand in some measure, so as to effect, though with difficulty, an orderly retreat. But the Boii pursued these into the village called Tannes, and shut them in there. When the news reached Rome that the fourth legion, surrounded by the Boii, was besieged by open force, they sent off in haste to their relief, under the command of a Prætor, the legions which had been equipped for Publius, and ordered him to raise and enrol fresh legions from the allies.

*Scipio lands in Gaul. Hannibal on the Rhone.*

41. Such then was the state of events among the Gauls from the first, and until the coming of Hannibal; and such the issue of them, as I have detailed in what I have written both before and now. The Roman generals, having got all things ready for their respective enterprises, set sail, when

the season came,\* to their appointed duties: Publius for Iberia with sixty ships; Tiberius Sempronius for Libya with a hundred and sixty quinqueremes, with which he purposed to carry on the war in so astounding a manner, making such equipments too at Lilybæum, by collecting every necessary from every quarter, as if he was straightway on landing to lay siege to Carthage herself.

Publius, making his voyage along the Ligurian coast, came to the parts about Marseille on the fifth day from Pisæ, and mooring off the first mouth of the Rhone, he landed his forces, hearing indeed that Hannibal was already crossing the Pyrenees, but persuaded that he must still be far distant, on account of the difficulty of the country and of the great population of the Celts who lay between. But Hannibal did arrive, beyond all expectation: having overcome the Celts, some by force of arms, others with bribes, he came with his forces, having the Sardinian sea on his right hand, to the passage of the Rhone. When it was made clear to Publius that the enemy was at hand, doubting it in some respects because of the speed of his appearance, but still anxious to know the real truth, he recovered his force from the effects of the voyage, and deliberated with the tribunes, as to the positions which they should take, and where they should bring the enemy to action. He sent forward three hundred the most valiant men of his cavalry, adding to them as guides and fellow-warriors some Celts, who were with the Massaliots as mercenaries.

*Preparations for crossing. March of Hanno.*

42. Hannibal, having arrived in the country upon the Rhone, straightway set about effecting the passage where the river ran in a single stream, being encamped at a distance of

\* Scipio was delayed, and cannot have sailed from Pisæ so early as Sempronius put forth from Lilybæum.

nearly four days' journey from the sea: and, having in every way conciliated those who dwelt along the river, he purchased from them all their single timber boats, and their barges, which were sufficient in number, as many of the dwellers on the Rhone carry on a trade from the sea. Moreover, he got from them suitable timber for making the canoes; from which there was in two days a numberless multitude of vessels of transport; each man striving to be independent of his neighbour, and to have in himself his hope of a passage.

By this time, a crowd of the barbarians was collected on the opposite shore for the purpose of preventing the passage of the Carthaginians. Looking well at these, and considering from existing circumstances, that it would neither be possible to force a passage in the face of so numerous an enemy, or to keep his position without expecting the enemy upon him from all sides, Hannibal, as the third night is coming on, sends off a division of the army under the command of Hanno, son of the king Bomilcar, joining to them guides who are natives of the country. After marching along the river up the stream for a distance of 200 stadia, and coming to a place where the river is divided into two branches round an island, they halted there: and having got timber from a neighbouring forest, they soon fitted out a number of rafts sufficient for the present purpose, partly by framing the timbers together, partly by tying them. On these they were safely carried over, no one obstructing them; and, having taken up a strong position, they remained there that day, giving themselves a respite after the hardships they had undergone, and preparing themselves for the coming emergency, according to the plan concerted. Hannibal too was doing the same with the force that remained with him. His greatest difficulty was the passage of the elephants: there were thirty-seven of them.

*The Passage of the Rhone.*

43. As the fifth night came on, the division, which had already crossed the river, pushed forward about the morning watch along the river, against the barbarians who were opposite to the Carthaginian army. Hannibal now, having his soldiers all ready, was intent on the work of crossing, having filled the barges with the light-shielded cavalry, and the canoes with the lightest of the infantry. The barges were ranged highest up and along the stream; the small craft were ranged below them; that, the former sustaining the chief force of the current, the crossing of the canoes at the passage might be accomplished more safely. And they made a plan of drawing on the horses swimming at the sterns of the barges, one man managing three or four with reins from either side of the stern, so that a sufficient number of horses were at once carried over with them in the first crossing.

The barbarians, seeing the purpose of their enemies, rushed out from their entrenchments in a disorderly and confused manner, persuaded that they could readily prevent the landing of the Carthaginians. But Hannibal, as soon as he perceived that his own troops were already drawing near on the other side, for they made signal of their approach by smoke as was agreed upon, at once gave orders for all to embark, and for the managers of the transport vessels to contend forcibly against the current. This being speedily done, and the men in the boats vying with each other, and shouting and striving against the force of the stream, and the two armies standing forward on either side to the brink of the river, their own men sympathizing and shouting and cheering them, the barbarians in front raising their war song and challenging to the danger, the scene was one of terror and of excitement to the struggle.

At this moment, the tents of the barbarians being left

vacant, the Carthaginians, who had before passed to that side of the river, falling upon them suddenly and unawares, some set fire to the camp, while the mass rushed upon those who were guarding the passage of the river. Seeing an event so utterly unlooked-for, the barbarians ran, some to protect their tents, others stood against the assailants and fought. Hannibal, all things succeeding according to his purpose, straightway drew up together those who first landed, encouraged them, and engaged with the barbarians: the Gauls, from their want of order, and from the strangeness of all that occurred, soon turned and made a precipitate flight.

*Conference with the Gaulish Chiefs.*

44. The general of the Carthaginians, victorious at the same time over the passage and over his enemies, immediately attended to the transport of those who yet remained on the other side: having in a short time brought all the troops over, he encamped that night along the river. On the morrow, hearing that the expedition of the Romans had anchored off the mouths of the river, he selected five hundred of the Numidian cavalry, and sent them off to ascertain where the enemy might be, and in what numbers, and what they were about: at the same time also he appointed fit persons for bringing over the elephants. Then, himself assembling his forces, he introduced the chieftains who were with Magilus: for they were come to him from the plains of the Po: and he made known to the soldiers through an interpreter all that had been resolved upon among them. Of the things brought forward, the most effective for giving confidence to the mass were, first the fact of the presence of those who were inviting them on, and who declared that they would make common cause in war against the Romans; next, the credit that seemed due to their promises when they engaged to conduct them through regions by which, with no

want of necessary means, they should accomplish the march into Italy safely and by a short route: and beyond all this, the richness of the country which they would arrive at, its extent, and the zeal of its inhabitants, in conjunction with whom they were to contend against the armies of Rome.

The Celts, having discoursed to this effect, retired. After them, Hannibal coming forward himself, first reminded his multitudes of their past deeds; that, engaged in many an enterprise of difficulty and danger, they had not failed in one, having obeyed his judgment and counsel: next to this he exhorts them that they will now also be of good cheer, seeing that the most important work has been performed with success; for they have mastered the passage of the river, and have been eye-witnesses of the zeal and good feeling of their allies: that they should make themselves easy on matters of detail, as being his care; and, obedient to orders, should be good soldiers worthy of their past exploits. The multitude applauding and exhibiting great zeal and eagerness, he commended them, and having prayed to the gods on behalf of all, he dismissed them, with orders to get themselves refreshed, and to make their preparations with activity, as the camp would be broken up the next day.

*Conflict of Cavalry. March up the Rhone.*

45. When the assembly had broken up, the Numidians, who had been before sent forward to reconnoitre, came in after the loss of most of their number and the total route of the remainder: for on their falling in, not far from their own camp, with the Roman horse who had been sent out on the same service by Publius, both parties brought such a zealous emulation to the conflict, that there were slain of Romans and Celts as many as an hundred and forty, and of Numidians more than two hundred. On this, the Romans in the pursuit came up to the Carthaginian entrenchments; and, after recon-

noitring, made all haste in their return, in order to confirm to their general the fact of the enemy's arrival: reaching the camp, they made their report. Publius immediately, having put all his baggage on board the ships, broke up with his whole army, and led forward along the river, eager to bring the enemy to action.

On the day after the holding of the assembly, Hannibal with the first light placed out all his cavalry in direction of the sea, drawn up as a corps to cover his operations: the infantry force he put in motion from the entrenchments on their march; and waited himself for the elephants and the men who were left with them.

*Passage of the Elephants.*

46. The transport of the elephants was effected in the following manner:—Having constructed a good many rafts, they joined together two of these strongly, and so as to fit closely one with the other, and planted both firmly in the shore at the place of embarkation, the two together being about fifty feet wide: then joining other rafts together in the same way, they attached these on to the former at the outer end, carrying the fabric of the bridge forward in the line of passage: and, that the whole structure might stay together and not be carried away down the river, they secured the side which was against the stream by cables from the land fastened to some trees which grew on the brink. When they had thrown out this bridge to the length of two plethra (200 feet) in the whole, they added at the extremity two rafts constructed more perfectly than others and the largest of all; bound with great strength to each other, but to the rest in a way that the fastenings could easily be severed: to these they fixed a number of towing lines, with which the towing barges were to prevent their being carried down the river, and holding them by force against the stream, to take over the elephants



upon them and land them on the other side. After this they brought a quantity of dug earth to all the rafts, and spread it till it was level with and looked just like the road that led over the dry land to the crossing place. The elephants were used always to obey the Indians to the edge of the water, but never yet ventured to go into the water: they brought them therefore along this bank of earth, putting two females first; and the beasts obeyed them. When they got them on to the furthest rafts, then, cutting away the fastenings by which these were fitted to the rest, and laying a strain on the two lines with the barges, they soon carried away the beasts and the rafts which bore them from the earthy pier: thereupon the animals, quite confounded, turned themselves about and rushed in every direction: but, surrounded every way by the stream, they shrank from it and were compelled to stay where they were: and, in this way, the two rafts being fitted on repeatedly, most of the elephants were brought over upon them. But some cast themselves into the river in the midway across through fright; and it happened that all the Indians belonging to these were lost, but the elephants were saved: for with the power and size of their probosces, raising them above the surface of the water, and breathing through them, and spouting out all that got into them, they held out, making their way for the most part erect below the water.

*March up the river: the Rhone: the Alps.*

47. The elephants having been brought over, Hannibal, bringing up them and the cavalry, and covering the rear, put forward along the river; making his march away from the sea as towards the east, as if for the midland of Europe. The Rhone has his sources above the Adriatic gulph facing westward, in those parts of the Alps which slope away to the north: his course is to the winter sunset, and he discharges himself into the Sardinian sea. He flows for a considerable

way through a defile, to the north of which dwell the Ardyes Celts, while the whole southern side of it is bounded by the mountain sides of the Alps which slope northwards: the higher Alpine chain separating the plains of the Po, on which I have often spoken already, from the valley of the Rhone, and spreading from Marseille as it were to the head of the Adriatic gulph: which higher chain Hannibal having surmounted from the country on the Rhone, invaded Italy.

*Errors of Authors.*

Some of those who have written on this passage of the Alps, wishing to astound their readers with marvellous stories on the regions here spoken of, fall unconsciously into two things most adverse to all history: in fact they are driven to state falsehoods and to write things which refute themselves. For, while they proclaim Hannibal an incomparable general, both in daring and foresight, they unquestionably exhibit him to us as quite void of reason: at the same time, unable to reach a conclusion or any result of their fictions, they introduce Gods and the sons of Gods into practical history: for, when they represent the impregnable ruggedness of the Alpine mountains to be such, that not only horses and armies with their elephants, but even light-armed foot-soldiers almost find them impassable, and when, in the same way, they describe such complete desolation in these regions, that, unless some God or hero had appeared and pointed out the ways to Hannibal's soldiers, they must all have perished without resource, it will be acknowledged that in these representations they fall into each of the faults here described.

48. In the first place, what general could show himself a more senseless and stupid leader than Hannibal, if, commanding so vast a force, and resting upon it the high hope of succeeding in his main purpose, he was, as these writers allege, altogether uninformed on the ways and the positions, and as



to where he was marching, and into what nations he was marching; and if, moreover, the enterprises which he pursued were not such as might by some means be compassed, but were on the contrary just impossible. And yet what even those who have utterly failed in their measures, and are in every way reduced to emergencies, do not venture upon, namely, to plunge with an army into a country of which they have made no inquiry, this these writers ascribe to Hannibal at a time when upon the whole undertaking his hopes were in their full integrity. In the same manner, their stories of the desolation and insuperable difficulty of these parts, plainly falsify themselves: for, not being informed that in fact the Celts who dwelt upon the Rhone, having before the coming of Hannibal, not once or twice only, and not in former times only, but of late, crossed the Alps with great armies, had faced the Romans, making common cause with those who inhabit the plain of the Po, as told by me in what has gone before, and moreover not aware that a numerous race of men do in fact inhabit the Alps themselves; ignorant, I say, of all these things, they tell us that some hero, appearing to the Carthaginians, attended as the guide of their course. Herein, as might be expected, they fall much into the way of the tragedy writers; with all of whom the catastrophe of a plot requires to have a God or some artifice, inasmuch as the hypotheses on which they rely are fundamentally false and against reason: the same thing necessarily happens to writers of history, when they conceive a basis of their narrative that is incredible and false: they too must provide the apparitions of gods and heroes: for how is it possible to give a rational end to an irrational beginning?

The truth is, that Hannibal, far otherwise than as these persons have written, pursued his enterprises throughout in the most business-like manner; for he had investigated accurately the nature of the country which he designed to come

down upon, and the estrangement of the population from the Romans; and for all the difficult country which lay between, he employed native guides and conductors, men who were to share the same hopes with himself. I give account of these things with confidence, because I have sought information upon the transactions from those who belonged to the times when they took place, and have inspected the scenes of action, myself making a journey through the Alps, that I might know and see.

*Scipio returns to Italy.*

49. Now Publius, the Roman general, coming up three days after the decampment of the Carthaginians to the place where they had crossed the river, and finding the enemy gone forward, was greatly astonished: having felt persuaded that they would never venture to make their march into Italy that way, on account of the numbers and lawlessness of the barbarians inhabiting those parts; seeing, however, that they had ventured, he hastened back to his ships, and on reaching them embarked his forces: he sent his brother off to carry on the war in Spain, and himself set sail back for Italy, eager to anticipate the enemy by reaching the passage of the Alps through Etruria.

*Hannibal in the Island.*

Hannibal, having marched four days consecutively from the passage of the Rhone, came to the Island, as it is called; a very populous and corn-growing country; and which has its appellation from this incident, that the Rhone, on one hand, and a river called Isara, on the other, flowing on either side of this region, bring its form to a point at their confluence with one another. It nearly resembles in size and shape what is called the Delta in Egypt: only that one side of the Delta is connected with the streams of the rivers by the sea; while the third side of this region is formed by mountains, difficult to

approach, difficult to penetrate, and almost, so to speak, inaccessible.

Coming to this Island, and finding there two brothers in dissension upon the sovereignty, and in the field against each other with armed forces, and the elder seeking to gain him and imploring his co-operation for securing the command, Hannibal assented; and, as it was easy enough to see the advantages that would result to him for his present purposes, he joined forces, and attacked and drove out the other; and he earned great assistance from the conqueror: for not only did this chief supply the army liberally with corn and other necessaries, but also, by changing all their arms that were old and worn, he renovated the whole force most seasonably. Moreover, by furnishing most of them with clothing, and in addition to other things, with shoes, he rendered them vast service towards the passage of the mountains. But the greatest of all was this: as they were in a state of much apprehension about their march through the country of the Gauls called Allobroges, he covered their rear with his own forces, and secured their march until they drew near to the ascent of the Alps.

*Hannibal surmounts the first Alps, defeating the Allobroges.*

50. Hannibal, having in ten days made a march of 800 stadia along the river, began the ascent of the Alps: and it happened that he fell into the greatest dangers. As long as they were in the plain country, all the detached chieftains of the Allobroges held off from him, partly in fear of the cavalry, partly of the barbarians who escorted them. But when the latter had turned back homewards, and Hannibal's troops were beginning to advance into the difficult places, then the leaders of the Allobroges, collecting themselves together, being an ample force, preoccupied the advantageous posts, by which it was requisite that Hannibal's forces should effect their ascent.

If then they had kept their intentions secret, they might have utterly destroyed the Carthaginian army: as it was, being detected in their purpose, they still inflicted a heavy loss to Hannibal's force, though not a less one to themselves. For the Carthaginian general, aware that the barbarians had preoccupied the advantageous posts, encamped his army in front of the heights and waited there: then he sent forward some of the Gauls who were acting as guides, in order that they might see into the designs of the enemy and their whole plan. When these men had executed all that was arranged, the general, learning that the enemy steadily kept to his post and watched the passes through the day, but that they went to their repose at night in a neighbouring town; acting suitably to that state of things, he contrived this scheme: putting his force in motion, he led them forward openly, and having come near to the difficult places, he made his camp not far from the enemy: when night came on, ordering fires to be lighted, he left the greater part of his forces there, and, having lightly armed the most effective men, he made his way through the defiles in the night, and took possession of the posts previously held by the enemy; the barbarians having retired to the town as they were accustomed.

*He forces the Pass, and takes the enemy's town.*

51. This being done and day coming on, the barbarians, when they saw what had happened, at first abstained from any attempt: but afterwards, observing the crowd of beasts of burthen and the cavalry winding out from the defile with much difficulty and in a long-drawn column, were encouraged by these circumstances to close in upon the line of march. When this took place, and the barbarians fell on at many points, a great loss ensued to the Carthaginians, and chiefly in the horses and beasts of burthen; not so much from the enemy as from the nature of the ground: for, the pass being

not only narrow and rugged but also precipitous, at every movement and every shock numbers of the carrying cattle were sent with their loads over the precipices. And most of all, the wounded horses were the cause of these shocks: for some of them, in the panic caused by their wounds, driving right against the baggage-cattle, others with a rush forward knocking over everything that came in their way in this difficult passage, completed the vast confusion. Hannibal observing this, and reflecting that, even though the troops should escape, the loss of the baggage must be attended with the ruin of the army, advances to their aid with the detachment which had occupied the heights during the night; as he made his attack from higher ground, he destroyed many of the enemy, not however without suffering equally in return: for the disorder of the march was much increased by the conflict and clamour of these fresh troops. But when the greater part of the Allobroges had perished in the combat, and the rest had been forced to fly for shelter to their homes, then, only, the remainder of the beasts of burthen and cavalry, with great toil and difficulty, succeeded in emerging from the pass.

Hannibal, having then drawn together all the troops he could collect after the engagement, proceeded to assault the town, from whence the enemy had made their attack; and finding it almost deserted, because the inhabitants had been all induced to go forth in quest of booty, he easily became master of it; and from thence derived many important advantages, both for his immediate as well as his future wants.

For his present supply he obtained a vast number of horses and beasts of burthen and captives; and besides, a quantity of corn and cattle sufficient to maintain the army with ease for two or three days: he also infused such terror into the neighbouring people, that none of those who dwelt near the ascent of the mountains would easily be induced to form any enterprise against him.

*After a day's halt, march resumed. On fourth day conference with natives, who attend the march two days: then attack.*

52. Here then Hannibal encamped; and after staying for one day, set forward again. In the days which followed, he carried the army through safely up to a certain point: but in the course of the fourth day, he again came upon great dangers: for those who dwelt near the passage, having conspired to entrap him, met him bearing green branches and wreaths: for this is the symbol of friendship among nearly all barbarians, as the caduceus is with Greeks. Hannibal, who was inclined to be suspicious of such a pledge of friendship, sifted scrupulously their intentions and their whole design: when they said that they were perfectly aware of the capture of the town and the destruction of those who had attempted injury to him, and explained that they were come for this reason, desiring neither to give nor to receive any annoyance, and promised moreover to give hostages from among themselves, he was for a long time apprehensive and quite distrustful of what they said: but reasoning with himself that, if he should admit their proposals, he might perhaps soon make those who had come to him the more cautious and more quietly disposed, but, if he should not receive them as friends, he would certainly have them for his enemies, he consented to what they had spoken, and professed, as they had done, to establish the friendship.

On the barbarians delivering the pledges, and bringing a most bountiful supply of sheep and goats, and in fact putting themselves completely into their hands without any precautions, Hannibal's men trusted them so far as to employ them as guides for the difficult country which lay before them.

But when they had gone in advance for two days, then the people I have spoken of and those who had followed with

them, collecting themselves together, set upon the Carthaginians, as they were making their way through a defile where there was very bad footing and much precipice.

*The Engagement.*

53. At this juncture Hannibal's army must have been utterly destroyed if they had not, still retaining some degree of fear and an expectation of what was coming, kept the baggage-cattle, and the cavalry in the van of the march, and the heavy armed infantry in the rear: these being always ready in reserve, the calamity was less than it would otherwise have been, for they withstood the onset of the barbarians. Not but that, even under these circumstances, a considerable number both of men and horses and beasts of burthen were destroyed, for the ground occupied by the enemy being on a higher level, the barbarians made a corresponding advance along the sides of the mountains, and rolling down fragments of rock on some, and striking others with stones thrown by the hand, threw them into the utmost consternation and danger, to a degree that compelled Hannibal to pass the night with half his force about a certain white rock—a strong position—away from his horses and beasts of burthen, on guard for their protection till in the whole night they with difficulty defiled out of the ravine.

*The army reaches the Summit and encamps for two days.*

On the morrow, the enemy having retired, he joined force with the cavalry and beasts of burthen, and led forward to the summit of the pass of Alps, no more falling in with any complete organised body of the barbarians, but harassed by them partially, and at particular points, some of whom carried off a few baggage cattle from the rear, others from the van of the march, dashing at them as opportunity favoured. The elephants rendered Hannibal the greatest service, for in

whatever part of the line they showed themselves that part the enemy did not dare approach, being astounded with the strangeness of the look of the animals.

On the ninth day Hannibal, having accomplished his march to the summit, encamped there, and staid on two days, wishing at the same time to give rest to those who were brought up safe, and to wait for those who were left behind, during which time many of the horses that had run off in fright, and many of the beasts of burthen that had thrown off their loads, came again beyond expectation, following the tracks of the army, and joined the camp.

*Hannibal addresses his Soldiers.*

54. The snow having by this time become collected about the tops of the mountains, for the setting of the Pleias was at hand, Hannibal, seeing his multitudes in a disheartened state, both from the hardships which had already befallen them, and those which were still anticipated, assembled them and made an effort to cheer them, having for this end one resource, the clear evidence of Italy. For she so lies stretched under the mountains which I have before described, that, when both are contemplated together, the Alps seem placed as citadel to the whole of Italy. Wherefore, pointing out to them the plains of the Po, and reminding them generally of the friendliness of the Gauls who dwelt there, and at the same time suggesting to them the very situation of Rome herself, he succeeded to some extent in confirming the spirits of his men.

*March resumed—The Snow—The broken path.*

On the next morning, resuming his march, he began the descent, in which he no longer fell in with enemies, excepting those who pillaged by stealth; but from the character of the country, and from the snow, the number



that he lost was not much inferior to that of those who perished during the ascent. For the downward way being narrow and very steep, making it impossible for any one to know what he stepped upon, everything that erred from the right track and lost its footing, was carried down the precipices. Still, however, they endured these calamities, as being familiar with such hardships. But when they came to a place such that neither horses nor baggage-cattle could possibly pass on account of its narrowness, the path having before been broken away for nearly three half stades, and now lately being still more broken away, then was the army again thrown into despondency and alarm. At first the Carthaginian general made an effort to go round the bad parts, but fresh snow coming and making this impracticable, he desisted from the attempt.

*Causes which prevented the going round.*

55. For the circumstance was peculiar, and at that time excessive. The snow of the present year had recently fallen upon snow that was already lying, having remained since the last winter. The new snow was easy to be cut through, both because being fresh it was soft, and because as yet it had little depth; but when, after treading through this, their steps came upon that which was beneath it and of a firm consistence, they no more trod through, but slipping at once with both feet slid upon it, as happens on any ground to those who walk where there is a surface of mud. But the consequence of all this was still more distressing, for the men, unable to penetrate the under snow, when after falling they tried to raise themselves on their hands or knees in order to get up again, slid on so much the more, together with anything they tried to hold by; the places being for some way on a declivity. When the baggage-cattle fell, they broke through into the lower snow in their efforts to rise, and,

having penetrated it, remained with their loads as if fixed there, both by reason of their weight, and of the firmness of that older snow.

*The Path repaired—Horses pass on, and at last the Elephants.*

Wherefore, abandoning this hope, Hannibal made his camp near the mountain ridge, having cleared away the snow that was upon it: and after that, turning out his whole force, built up the precipice with very laborious effort. Thus in one day he completed a passage fit for horses and baggage-cattle, so that carrying these through at once and pitching his camp about parts which had as yet escaped the snow, he forwarded them away to the pastures. He brought out the Numidians in successive gangs to the building of the road; and it was with difficulty and after much suffering that in three days he got the elephants through. They had come to be in a wretched state from hunger, for the higher points of the Alps, and the parts which reach up to the heights are utterly without trees and bare, because of the snow remaining constantly summer and winter; but the parts along the middle mountain side produced both trees and underwood, and are altogether habitable.

*Hannibal comes down into the Plain and the Insubres.*

56. Hannibal, having got together all his force, moved down, and in the third day from the precipices which have been spoken of, completing the Alps, touched the plain, having lost many of his soldiers, both by the hand of the enemy and by the passage of rivers during the entire march; many too from the precipices and rugged regions of the Alps; not men only, but still more horses and baggage-cattle. At last, having performed the whole march from Carthagera in five months, and the passage of the Alps in fifteen days, he came down daringly into the plain of the Po and the nation of the



Insubrians, having safely brought through of his Libyan force 12,000 infantry, and of Iberians 8,000, and cavalry in the whole not above 6,000: as he himself sets forth on the column at Lacinium, which bears an inscription concerning the strength of his army.

*Scipio on the Po.*

About the same time, as I have said, Publius, having left his forces with his brother Cnæus, and enjoined him to devote himself to the affairs of Spain and prosecute the war vigorously against Asdrubal, sailed himself with a small number of men to Pisæ: then, after making his way through Tyrrhenia and having taken the command of the armies from the Prætors, armies which were in the field sustaining the war against the Boii, he arrived in the plains of the Po and, having encamped, was intent on the enemy, eager to engage with him in battle.

57, 58, 59. (*In these chapters, which may be omitted, Polybius excuses himself for not enlarging on geographical description, when writing history. Though some readers might expect him to describe the Pillars of Hercules and the outer sea, the British islands and the tin mines, Spain and the silver mines, &c. &c., he considers that such a course would too much interrupt the narrative, and divert attention from the proper subject. He therefore reserves his own geographical knowledge, which has cost him much labour, for a separate work, and gives reasons for doing so.*)

*Hannibal encamps—Restores his Army to condition—His Losses—He chastises the Taurini.*

60. We have already shown the amount of force with which Hannibal entered Italy. Having made his encampment close under the mountain range of Alps, he first recruited the health of his forces: for the whole army was brought into wretched condition, not only by their marches

of ascent and descent, and further by the ruggedness of the footing in the heights of Alps; but by the scantiness of necessary supplies and the neglect of their persons they were in miserable plight; and many absolutely gave themselves up under this state of destitution and continued fatigue. For they were quite unable to convoy through such places provisions adequate for the sustenance of so many thousands; and of the quantity which they had provided, these, in the destruction of the baggage-cattle, were to a great amount destroyed also. By which causes he who had set out from the passage of the Rhone with 38,000 foot-soldiers and more than 8,000 cavalry, had lost nearly half by some means in the passes of the Alps, as above told: and those who were saved had all become savage as it were, both in appearance and condition, from the constancy of their sufferings.

Hannibal having great providence for the care of his men, recruited both their minds and their bodies, and also his horses. When these things were done, his force being now recruited, the Taurini who dwell in front of the mountain side, being then at war with the Insubres and not placing faith in the Carthaginians, Hannibal in the first place invited them to his friendship and alliance; and, as they would not listen to him, he invested their chief town, and in three days took it by storm: and, having put to death all who opposed him, threw such terror into the neighbouring tribes of barbarians, that they all promptly joined him, giving themselves up into his confidence. The remaining mass of Celts inhabiting the plain, hastened to make common cause with the Carthaginians, according to their first impulse. But, as the Roman legions had already passed the chief part of them and shut them in, they remained quiet: some indeed were compelled to join force with the Romans. Hannibal, looking upon these things, determined to make no delay, but to lead

on forward, and accomplish something for encouraging those who were ready to join their hopes with his.

*Each Chief wonders at the presence of the other.*

61. Taking these things into consideration, and hearing that Scipio had already crossed the Po with his forces, and was near him, he at first distrusted what was reported to him, remembering that a few days before he had left Scipio near the passage of the Rhone, and considering that the voyage from Massalia to Tyrrhenia was somewhat long and difficult in the performance; and, moreover, ascertaining that the march from the Tyrrhenian sea through Italy to the Alps was long and nearly impracticable for armies. But as more were always bringing him the same information and more clearly, he wondered and was struck with the whole enterprise and performance of that general. A similar feeling arose also to Scipio: for he had at the first promised himself, that Hannibal would never attempt a march through the Alps with a force composed of various races; and that, if he should dare it, he would evidently be destroyed. With these reasonings therefore, when he learned, both that he had arrived in safety, and that he was already laying siege to Italian towns, he was struck with the desperate daring of the man.

## APPENDIX B.

### TRANSLATION OF PART OF TWENTY-FIRST BOOK OF LIVY.

(c. 22 TO c. 39.)

*From Drakenborch's edition. Oxford: Baxter.*

#### *March from Carthagera.*

22. FROM Gades Hannibal has come back to Carthagera, the winter quarters of the army; and from thence, having marched by the city of Etovissa, he leads them to the Iberus and the sea-coast. There the story is that a youth of god-like form appeared to him in the time of sleep, who declared himself sent by Jupiter for a guide to Hannibal into Italy—let him then follow, and by no means turn away his eyes from him. Alarmed at first, he followed, not looking about, not looking behind: then, in the anxiety of human temper, as he turned in his mind what it could be that he was forbidden to look back on, he could no longer control his eyes; that he saw behind him a serpent of wondrous size, borne on with vast destruction of trees and thickets, and after him came on a rain-storm with a crash of the heavens: then, seeking to know what was this monster, what did it portend, that he was told, It was the devastation of Italy—Let him go forward, nor ask more, but let the fates be undisclosed.

#### *Across the Ebro.*

23. Rejoicing in this vision, he led his forces in three divisions across the Iberus, having sent forward some who

might propitiate with gifts the minds of the Gauls through whom the army had to pass, and examine the passages of the Alps. He carried across the Iberus ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. He then reduced the Ilergetes, the Bergusii, the Ausetani, and Lacetania, which lies under the Pyrenean mountains; and placed Hanno over all this line of country, that he might command the defiles which connect Spain and Gaul. He gave him ten thousand foot and a thousand horse, for garrisoning the region that he was to occupy. When the army had begun to move through the passes of the Pyrenees, and reports of war against Rome were spread with more certainty among the barbarian allies, three thousand of Carpetanian infantry marched away at once; not so much influenced, as was evident, by dislike of the war, as by the length of the march and apprehension of the insurmountable Alps. Hannibal, as it was hazardous to countermand them or to retain their services by force, and an irritating of the fierce spirits of the other barbarians was to be avoided, sent back seven thousand more to their homes, whom he knew to be averse to the campaign; pretending too that he had himself discharged the Carpetani.

*Through the Pyrenees to Ruscino.*

24. He straightway passes the Pyrenees with the remainder of his force, that their minds may not get uneasy by delay and inactivity; and encamps at the town of Illiberis. The Gauls, though they understood that the war was being carried into Italy, still, as it was said that the Spaniards on the other side the Pyrenees had been subdued by arms, and strong bodies of men were set over them, some states roused to arms by the fear of being enslaved, assemble together at Ruscino. Which when it came to the knowledge of Hannibal, fearing delay more than hostilities, he sent envoys to their chiefs, representing that he desired a conference himself

with them; and either they might come nearer to Illiberis, or he would go forward to Ruscino: that they might more readily meet from head-quarters: for that he would be happy to receive them into his camp, or would himself without hesitation come to them. That he had arrived as the guest, not the enemy, of Gaul, and should not draw a sword before he reached Italy, if the Gauls would favour that intention. So much was notified through emissaries. Now, when the Gaulish princes, having at once advanced their camp towards Illiberis, came to the Carthaginian without any feeling of mistrust, overcome by his presents, with the greatest goodwill they forwarded the army through their territories past the town of Ruscino.

*Affairs in Italy.*

25. In the meantime no further intelligence had been brought to Rome by the emissaries of the Massilians, than that Hannibal had crossed the Iberus; when the Boii, having roused the Insubres, revolted, just as if he had already passed the Alps: and this, not so much from the old causes of animosity against the Roman people, as that they could not patiently endure the colonies newly established on the Po within the Gaulish territory, Cremona and Placentia. Accordingly, having in an instant taken up arms, and made irruption into that very district, they caused so great terror and confusion, that not only the rural populace, but the Roman Triumvirs themselves, who had come to apportion the lands, C. Lutatius, C. Servilius, and T. Annius, not trusting to the walls of Placentia, took refuge in Mutina. There is no question on the name of Lutatius. Instead of C. Servilius and T. Annius, some annals have Q. Acilius and C. Herennius: others P. Cornelius Asina and C. Papirius Maso. It is doubted also, whether the persons of ambassadors sent to remonstrate with the Boii were violated, or whether the attack was made on the Triumvirs measuring the ground. While

they were besieged in Mutina, and a race of men with no experience in the art of attacking towns, and very slow in military operations, were sitting lazily before the unassailed walls, they begin pretending to enter into terms of accommodation: and the ambassadors invited out to a conference by the chiefs of the Gauls, are seized, not only against the law of nations, but in violation also of the faith pledged for this occasion: the Gauls declaring, that they will not release them unless their own hostages should be restored.

When this affair of the ambassadors was reported, and that Mutina and the garrison were in peril, the Prætor L. Manlius, furious with anger, heads a large force in loose march to Mutina. In those days there were woods about the line of road, most parts being uncultivated. There, marching through ground which had not been examined, he went headlong into an ambush, and with difficulty gained the open country after much slaughter of his men. There he fortified an encampment; and as the Gauls hoped for nothing by making any attack upon that, the spirits of his soldiers were revived; although it was clear enough that his resources were impaired. He then renewed his march: and so long as he was carrying his force through open places, no enemy appeared. When the woods were entered again, then attacking his rear to the great confusion and alarm of all, they slew eight hundred soldiers, and captured six standards. The terrors of the Gauls and the fears of the Romans came to an end, on their getting out of the trackless and entangled forest. From thence the Romans, easily protecting their column of march in the open country, made their way to Tanetum, a village near the Po. There they maintained themselves with an entrenchment for the occasion, and with supplies obtained by the river, and with the aid of the Brixiani Gauls, against the masses of the enemy which were increasing daily.

*Scipio at the mouth of the Rhone.*

26. When this sudden outbreak becomes known at Rome, and the *Fathers* have learned that a Carthaginian war is grown larger by the addition of a Gaulish war, they order the Prætor C. Atilius to proceed and reinforce Manlius with one Roman legion and five thousand of the allies, just raised by the Consul on a new levy. He reached Tanetum without any fighting, the enemy having retired in fear of him. And P. Cornelius, a new legion having been made over to him in place of that which had been sent off with the Prætor, proceeding from Rome with sixty ships of war, along the coasts of Etruria and Liguria, and the mountainous coasts of the Salyes, gets to Massilia, and makes his camp at the nearest mouth of the Rhone (for the river comes down into the sea divided into many streams): hardly now fully believing that Hannibal has passed the Pyrenean mountains. When he comes to know that he is actually preparing for the passage of the Rhone, then, undetermined as to where he should oppose him, his own men too not yet quite recovered from their tossing about at sea, he sends forward three hundred cavalry, picked men, guided by some Massilians and auxiliary Gauls, to gain information on all things, and to get a sight of the enemy from a point of safety.

*Hannibal is already crossing the Rhone.*

Hannibal having quieted the other nations either by fear or gifts, had now arrived into the country of the Volcæ, a powerful state. They also occupy both banks of the Rhone. But, having no confidence in their ability to keep the Carthaginians off from their country on the right bank, and in order to have the protection of the river, they were now occupying the left bank in arms, having carried over nearly all that belonged to them across the Rhone. The other dwellers on the river, and such of this people too as had remained in their

homes, Hannibal induces by gifts to get together vessels for him, and to build them: at the same time they were themselves anxious for the army to be carried over, and for their own district to be relieved as soon as possible from the pressure of so great a multitude. And thus was brought together hastily a vast force of vessels and boats, which happened to be ready for the use of the neighbourhood; and other new ones the natives, beginning them first, hollowed out of single trees; and then the soldiers themselves, encouraged by the abundance of material and the easiness of the work, made hastily illshapen barks, not caring for more than that they should float in the water and hold their burthens, and so carry them over with what belonged to them.

*The March of Hanno.*

27. And now, when all preparations for crossing had been adequately made, the enemy on the other side gave them much alarm occupying the whole bank, men and horsemen. To divert these, he orders Hanno, son of Bomilcar, in the first night-watch to proceed for a day's march up the river with part of the force, and cross it where first he should be able, as secretly as he could, and bring his troops round for attacking the enemy in their rear, at the convenient time. The Gauls who were given as guides for this operation, point out that about five and twenty miles higher up, the river offers a place for crossing, flowing on both sides of a small island, being wider where it is so divided, and accordingly of less depth. Materials were hastily cut there, and rafts made, on which men and horses and other burthens might be carried over. The Spaniards, not adding to this mass, put their clothes into leathern bags, and placing their bucklers under them, to lean upon, swam over the river. The rest of the troops also, carried over on the rafts fastened together, after they had made their camp near the river, weary with the

night march and the labour of these operations, are recruited with one day's rest, their leader being bent on fulfilling his design in the most advantageous manner. On the following day, having made their march from that place, they give signal by sending up a smoke, that they have got over, and are not far off. As soon as Hannibal has recognised it, he gives the order for crossing, that he may not fail in his opportunity.

*The Crossing.*

The infantry now occupied the boats ready and fit for them. The mass of vessels higher up the stream, carrying over the horsemen, who were mostly near their swimming horses, broke the force of the current, and made the passage smoother for the boats that crossed lower down. A great part of the horses were drawn by reins at the stern, besides those which they had got into the ships equipped and bridled, that they might be ready for the use of the horsemen immediately on disembarking.

28. The Gauls rush to the bank to oppose them, with various yelling and singing in their fashion, shaking their shields above their heads, and flourishing their weapons in their right hands, although such a mass of vessels from the other side terrified them, together with the prodigious noise of the river, and the various shouts of the sailors and soldiers, who were struggling to break through the force of the stream, and of those who from the opposite bank were encouraging their comrades in their passage. And now, being amply frightened by the uproar in face of them, they are assailed by a more alarming clamour from behind, their camp having been taken by Hanno. And presently he himself was upon them, and a twofold terror surrounded them; in the multitude of armed men poured out of the ships on to the land, and the battle pressing unexpectedly from behind. The Gauls, after being repulsed in the attempt to force their way forward, now



break through wherever a way seems most open to them, and fly trembling in all directions each to his own village. Hannibal, having brought over his forces leisurely, for he now holds the Gaulish tumults in contempt, makes his encampment.

*Passage of the Elephants.*

I conceive there had been various plans for getting the elephants across: there are certainly various accounts of the accomplishment of it. Some relate that, when the elephants were assembled on the bank, the most savage of them being irritated by his driver, pursued him on his retreating swimming into the water, and drew all the rest after him; and that each, as the ford failed him, in his fear of the deep water, was carried by the very force of the stream to the opposite bank. But it is rather the common belief that they were carried over on rafts; and as this would have been the safer plan before the thing was done, so, since it was done, it is the more fit to be credited.

One raft of two hundred feet in length, and fifty in breadth, was extended from the bank into the river, and this, that it might not be carried down the stream, was firmly bound with several strong cables at the higher part of the bank, and was covered with earth like a bridge, in order that the beasts might walk on to it with confidence as on the land itself. Another raft, of the same breadth, and one hundred feet long, fit for passing over the river, was fastened to this; and when the elephants, driven, with the females going first, had passed over the fixed raft, as a road on to the smaller one which was attached to it, the fastenings with which the latter had been slightly fixed on were at once loosened, and it was carried on by some towing vessels to the opposite bank. So the first being landed, the others were then sent for and taken over. They were not alarmed at anything, so long as they were driven on a bridge

which held, as it were, to the land. Their first fright was when, the raft being detached from everything, they were hurried on to the deep water: then, pressing upon one another, as those on the edge of the vessel shrank from the water, they showed some amount of trepidation, till fear itself rendered them quiet, looking on the water around. Some indeed, growing savage, fell into the stream; but standing by their own weight, when their riders were thrown, and feeling their way in the shallows, they came to land.

*Conflict of Cavalry. Boian Envoys.*

29. While the elephants are being brought over, Hannibal had in the meantime sent five hundred Numidian cavalry towards the Roman camp to reconnoitre; to discover where they were, and in what force, and what they were preparing to do. The three hundred Roman horse, sent, as said before, from the mouth of the Rhone, fall in with this squadron of cavalry. An encounter takes place more severe than in proportion to the numbers: for, besides many wounded, the number of killed was pretty equal on both sides. The flight and panic of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, when they were already much exhausted. There fell of the victors to the number of a hundred and sixty: and not all Romans, some were Gauls. Of the vanquished more than two hundred fell. This, a beginning and an omen of the war, as it portended to the Romans a prosperous issue to the sum of events, so it portended a success, not bloodless, but through a fluctuating struggle. When, after this affair so performed, each party returned to their general, Scipio could come to no resolution beyond this, that he would regulate his proceedings according to the plans and undertakings of the enemy. Hannibal, undetermined whether he should push on the march into Italy which he had begun, or give battle to this

the first Roman army that had thrown itself in his way, is dissuaded from present hostilities by the arrival of the Boian envoys and the potentate Magalus; who, declaring themselves the guides of his marches, the associates of his dangers, give their judgment that Italy must be invaded in the freshness of the war, not sooner making any experiment of strength. The multitude were indeed in fear of the enemy, retaining the memory of the last war: and yet they were in greater fear of the unmeasured journey, and of the Alps, an object which report made terrible to men wholly ignorant of them.

*Hannibal addresses his Troops.*

30. And so Hannibal, when his own resolution was formed, to push forward and march for Italy, having summoned an assembly, works upon the minds of his soldiers in various ways by chiding and exhortation. "He wondered," he said, "what sudden alarm had entered into breasts always undaunted: that they had served so many years victorious, and only quitted Spain when all the nations and countries which the two opposite seas enclose were subjected to the Carthaginians: and then, indignant at the Roman people demanding that the besiegers of Saguntum should be delivered up as to punishment, had crossed the Iberus to destroy the Roman name and liberate the world. At that time, no one thought it long if they stretched their march from the setting of the sun to its rising. Now, when the far greater part of the journey was seen to be performed, when the passes of the Pyrenees had been surmounted through the fiercest peoples, when they had crossed the Rhone, so great a river, so many thousand Gauls resisting them, and the power of the stream itself being overcome, when the Alps were in sight, whose other side was Italy, they became weary, and paused in the very gates of the enemy. What did they suppose the Alps to be but the

"heights of mountains? Let them be thought loftier than the Pyrenees: earth nowhere reaches the heavens, nor is impassable to mankind. The Alps are cultivated; they produce animals and maintain them. Are they practicable to a few, and not to armies? The ambassadors who were then before them had not come over those mountains on wings. Their ancestors had themselves not been aboriginal dwellers, but had come over these very Alps to cultivate Italy, as strangers migrating from time to time in numerous hosts with wives and children. What could be an obstacle or insuperable to an armed soldier, bearing with him nought but the munitions of war? For the capture of Saguntum, what dangers for a space of eight months, what toil did they not endure? When the aim is Rome, the capital of the world, shall anything seem arduous and rough to arrest their enterprise? The Gauls of old had vanquished that which the Carthaginians despaired of reaching. Let them then yield in courage and spirit, to a race which they had of late so often vanquished: or let them trust that their journey's end would be the plain between the Tiber and the walls of Rome."

*March to the Island. Transactions with Allobroges.*

31. He now orders his men, encouraged by these exhortations, to refresh their bodies and prepare themselves for the march. The next day, having gone forward on the further side of the Rhone, he bends his way towards the inmost parts of Gaul: not because it was the more direct way to the Alps, but because he thought, that the further he withdrew from the sea, the less chance there was of encountering the Romans; with whom it was not his purpose to engage before he should arrive in Italy. In four days' march he comes to the Island. There the rivers Rhone and Isère, running down from different Alps, and having encircled a good district of land, flow together into one stream. The name "Island" has been given

to the country which they enclose. Near at hand, the Allobroges inhabit it, a nation already then inferior to none in Gaul for power or reputation. It was then in a state of discord. Two brothers were at variance in a struggle for the sovereignty: the elder, he who had ruled it before, named Brancus, was then excluded by his brother and the mass of younger men, who prevailed by force, not by right. The arbitrament of this insurrection being very opportunely referred to Hannibal, he being thus umpire of the kingdom, restored the government to the elder one, because this had been the opinion of the senate and men of rank. For this service he was supplied with provisions, and all things in abundance, chiefly clothing, of which an ample preparation was demanded by the intense cold of the Alps.

*March towards the Alps: to the Druentia.*

When Hannibal, having settled the disputes of the Allobroges, was now in march for the Alps, he did not shape his course by the direct way: but turned to the left into the Tricastini: from them, going through the further borders of the Vocontii, he went on into the Tricorii; the march being nowhere impeded till he came to the river Druentia. This, being itself an Alpine stream, is by far the most difficult to pass of all the rivers of Gaul, for, while it carries a prodigious force of water, still it does not admit of navigation; for, not confined within banks, flowing in many channels, and not always the same, constantly forming new shallows and new whirlpools (whence the track, even to a pedestrian, is uncertain), moreover rolling gravelly rocks, it affords nothing that is steady or safe to him who steps into it: and at that time, happening to be swollen by rains, it caused immense confusion to those who were crossing it, while beyond all other things they were confounded by their own terrors and bewildered cries.

*Scipio returns to Italy.*

32. The Consul Publius Cornelius, in about three days after Hannibal moved from the banks of the Rhone, had arrived, marching in square order, at the enemy's encampment, meaning to make no delay in engaging him. However, when he sees that the entrenchments are deserted, and that he shall not easily overtake them, having got so much in advance of him, he returns to the sea and his ships, that he may by so doing more safely and more easily oppose Hannibal on his descent from the Alps. Nevertheless, that Spain, his allotted province, might not be destitute of Roman reinforcements, he sent his brother Cneius Scipio, with the larger part of his force, against Asdrubal: not merely that he might protect old allies and conciliate new ones, but that he might even drive Asdrubal out of Spain: he himself sails back to Genoa with very few troops, meaning to defend Italy with the army which was then on the Po.

*Hannibal's March from the Druentia to the Alps.*

*His Stratagem.*

Hannibal made his way from the Druentia to the Alps, chiefly by a route through plain country, on peaceable terms with the Gauls inhabiting those parts. Then, although the subject was preconceived from report (which carries beyond the truth things not ascertained), yet the height of the mountains seen when close approached, and the snows intermixed with the sky,—hideous dwellings put upon rocks, flocks and cattle parched with cold, men unshaved and uncivilized,—all things animate and inanimate stiff with frost, and all besides more foul to see than to tell,—renewed their terror. As they brought up their march to the first acclivities, the mountaineers were perceived posted on the eminences that hung above; who, if they had planted themselves in the more

hidden valleys, and sprung suddenly together to an attack, would have inflicted great slaughter and rout. Hannibal orders his standards to halt; and finding, after he had sent forward his Gauls to inspect the places, that there was no passage by that way, he encamps in the most extensive valley he can command, where all places were rugged and broken. Having learned through those same Gauls, who had got into conversation with the mountaineers—from whom, in fact, they differed little in language and manner,—that the pass was only beset in the daytime, and that at night every one betook himself to his own dwelling, he moved up towards those heights, at the dawn of day, as if intending to force the narrow passes openly and in daytime. Then, the day having been employed in pretending a plan different from the one in preparation, after they had fortified their camp in that position where they had halted, as soon as Hannibal perceived that the mountaineers had gone down from the heights, and that the keeping guard was relaxed,—having, for the sake of appearance, lighted more fires than the number who were staying behind would require, and leaving the baggage and cavalry, and the larger part of the infantry,—he himself, with some light-armed, every man being of the most valorous, dashed through the narrow pass, and took post on the very same heights which the enemy had occupied.

*He defeats the Natives; takes their Fort and Villages;  
proceeds for three days.*

33. And now, when day dawned, the camp was broken up, and the rest of the army began to move forward. The mountaineers were now coming together, on a given signal from their fortresses, to their accustomed posts; when all at once they descry the enemies, some threatening from above, having got possession of their citadel, others coming through by the road. And these things, being offered at once to their

eyes and their minds, kept them for some time motionless. Presently, when they saw the wavering in the narrow passes, and the army itself confused by its own disorder, the horses being exceedingly terrified,—then, thinking that any additional alarm which they could themselves inflict would complete the destruction, they ran on, dispersing themselves round the rocks, by places untracked and devious, which they were familiar with. The Carthaginians then were thus opposed both by the enemy and by the hostile nature of the ground; and the struggle was greater among themselves than with the enemy, each man striving for himself first to get clear of the danger. But the horses caused the greatest disorder in the march, who, in fright at the discordant cries, which were multiplied by the forests and echoing valleys, and struck, perhaps, or wounded, became terrified to such a degree, that they caused a vast destruction both of men and baggage of all kinds; and, the narrow passages being abrupt and precipitous on either side, the throng forced many down to a prodigious depth; some, too, being the armed soldiers, but the great crash was in the rolling over of beasts with their burdens.

Though these things were frightful to see, yet Hannibal paused awhile, and restrained the force that was with him, that he might not aggravate the confusion and unsteadiness. Afterwards, when he saw the line of march to be broken, and that there was a chance that he should have brought the army through to no purpose, if deprived of its baggage, he rushes down from the higher ground; and when he had overthrown the enemy by the very force of the assault, he also increased the confusion to his own troops. That confusion, however, is quieted in a moment, on the passage becoming clear by the flight of the mountaineers; and soon all were brought through, not only without molestation, but in silence. Hannibal then took possession of the fort, which



was the chief place of that district, and the circumjacent villages; and he fed the army for three days with the flocks of his captives: and as no obstruction was offered by the mountaineers, who had thus in the beginning received an overthrow, nor much by the nature of the country, he made good progress in his march for those three days.

*Conference with Natives. Assault in a narrow Pass.*

34. He then arrived into another nation, abounding in cultivators of the soil, considering it was a mountain country. There he was nearly defeated, not by open war, but by his own arts, deceit, and then ambuscades. The chiefs of their fortresses, men advanced in years, come as spokesmen to the Carthaginian leader, expressing to him that, taught by the calamities of others a useful lesson, they would rather experience the friendship than the strength of the Carthaginians; they would, therefore, be obedient to his orders, and furnish supplies and guides for the expedition, and hostages for the good faith of their promises. Hannibal, when—by neither rashly trusting in them, nor disdaining them, lest, being rejected, they should become openly hostile—he had answered graciously, and received their hostages, and possessed himself of the supplies, which they had themselves brought down into the road, follows the leaders of them in compact marching order, not as among a people brought into peaceful subjection. The first body consisted of the elephants and the cavalry: he himself followed with the strength of the infantry, anxiously watching all things around. When they came to a narrower road, subject on one side to overhanging heights, the barbarians from their ambush attack them at once on all sides, from the front, from the rear, in close combat, and from afar. They roll down enormous rocks upon the marching column: the greatest force of men pressed them from behind. When the front of infantry was turned

against these, it was apparent that, if the rear of the march had not been made strong, a vast slaughter would have been met with in this pass. Even then, they came into extreme peril, and almost destruction; for while Hannibal hesitates to push forward the march through the narrow pass, having no support to his infantry from behind, like that which he afforded to his cavalry, the mountaineers attacking them laterally, broke through the middle of the column, and beset the way; and one night was passed by him without his cavalry and baggage.

*The next day order of March restored. Summit reached on ninth day.*

35. The following day, the barbarians becoming less active in their incursions, the forces were reunited, and the pass was overcome, not without loss, but with more destruction of cattle than of men. After that, the mountaineers engaged them in smaller numbers, and rather in the way of plunder than of warfare—now against the head of the column, now against the tail of it, according as either the ground might be favourable, or as opportunity was given by those who got too forward or who lagged behind. The elephants, while they were urged headlong through the confined tracks with slow progress, still, wherever they went, they rendered the march safe from the enemy, who feared to come near to those strange creatures. On the ninth day, they reached the summit of the Alps, through parts without a track, and errors that were caused either by the deceit of guides, or, if these were distrusted, by guessing at the route, and striking at random into valleys.

*Two days on Summit. Snow. March renewed at daybreak. Hannibal addresses the Army on the march. View.*

The encampment was stationary on the summit for two days: rest was given to the soldiers, wearied with toil and



fighting; and in this time some of the cattle which had fallen down among the rocks reached the camp, by following the track of the march. And now a fall of snow, for the constellation of the Pleiades was setting, added a great terror to men worn with the pressure of so many disasters. When, on the standards being raised at daybreak, the march was proceeding very slowly, through snow that covered everything, and languor and despair was marked in every countenance, Hannibal, going forward in front of the standards on a certain promontory, whence the view was far and wide, and having ordered a halt, displays to the soldiers Italy, and the plains around the Po, lying under the Alps, impressing upon them, "that they are now scaling the walls, not of Italy only, but of the Roman city; that all to come will be smooth and straightforward; that by one, or at the most a second, engagement they will have the citadel and capital of Italy in their possession and control." After this, the column began to get forward; the enemy now not even attempting more than occasional petty thefts. The way, however, was far more difficult than it had been in the ascent (as, indeed, most of the Alps are on the Italian side steeper as well as shorter); for nearly the whole track was precipitous, narrow, and slippery; so that they could neither keep themselves from falling, nor could those who had once tottered a little, and become distressed, keep their footing, but were falling, men and beasts, one over another.

*Broken Path. Fall of 1,000 feet. Attempt to go round.  
Old Snow.*

36. They now came to a much narrower course of rock, and masses of it so upright, that an unencumbered soldier, feeling his way, and grasping with his hands twigs and stumps which stood out about him, could hardly let himself down. This place, naturally very steep before, had by

a fresh fall of the ground been broken away to a depth of about a thousand feet. When the cavalry had come to a stand here, as at the termination of all track, it was reported to Hannibal, who wondered what could be stopping the march, that the rock was impassable: he then went off himself to inspect the spot. There seemed to be no doubt, but that he must carry the march round, though by a long circuit, through pathless places as yet untrodden. But that way was not practicable: for, as there was a shallow surface of new snow lying upon the old snow that was undamaged, the feet of those who first stepped upon it easily rested on the soft snow of little depth. But when this had fallen to pieces by the treading of so many men and cattle, they had then to step on bare ice beneath in the fluid mess of melted snow. Then was a frightful struggling; when, from the slippery ice which would not hold their steps, and the foot tripping up more readily in the declivity, whether in the attempt to rise they had sought help in their hands or knees, they again fell forward, these very supports sliding away from them, there were neither twigs nor roots about, which any one could strain at with the hand or foot: so they only tumbled about on the smooth ice and melted snow. The cattle both cut into the under snow walking upon it, and sometimes plunging about with their hoofs more heavily in the effort to keep themselves up, quite broke through it: so that many, as if snared, became fixed in hardened and deeply compacted ice.

*Repairs. Trees cut. Fire. Vinegar. Four days so spent.  
Three days' rest. Descent to the Plain.*

37. At length cattle and men being wearied to no purpose, the camp was formed near the ridge of the mountain, and a space cleared for that very purpose with very great difficulty: so large a quantity of snow had to be dug up and

removed. Then the soldiers selected for repairing the rock, by which alone a passage could be obtained, for stone required to be broken, having levelled huge trees which were near and lopped them, made a vast pile of timber; and, as a strong wind had arisen calculated to encourage the burning, they set it on fire, and pouring vinegar on to the stone in a glowing state, loosen its substance: thus they lay open with iron the rock hot with the conflagration, and lessen the declivities by gentle turnings, so that not cattle only, but the elephants also could be brought down. Four days were spent at the rock, the cattle being almost worn out with hunger: for the tops of the mountains are mostly bare, and, if there is any feed, the snows cover it. The lower parts have valleys and some sunny hills, and streams near the woods, and at last places worthier of human occupation. There the cattle were turned to pasture, and a rest of three days was given to the men wearied with the repairs. Thence they came down to the plain, where the climate was milder as well as the disposition of the inhabitants.

*On the Force which Hannibal brought into Italy. Livy's  
Argument on the Pass.*

38. In this manner for the most part they arrived in Italy, in the fifth month from New Carthage (according to some writers), the Alps being overcome on the fifteenth day. Authors are by no means agreed on the amount of the force which Hannibal had when he had crossed into Italy. Those who state the most, say that there were 100,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry: those who say the least, state 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. L. Cincius Alimentus, who writes that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, is an author who would most influence me, if he did not make a confusion of the numbers, by reckoning Gauls and Ligurians. With these, he makes out that 80,000 foot and 10,000 horse were brought into

Italy—(probably still more joined him, and so some writers say.) And he states that he heard from Hannibal himself, that from the time he crossed the Rhone, he had lost 36,000 men, and an enormous number of horses and other cattle, when he was in the Taurini, a people which to him, after his descent into Italy, was contiguous to the Gauls. As that is a matter on which all are agreed, I am the more surprised that it should be doubted, by what route he came over the Alps; and that it should commonly be believed, that he crossed the Penine (also that the col got its name from this circumstance): Cælius states that he came over by the col of Cremona: both which passes would have brought him down not into the Taurini, but through the Salassi, who are mountaineers, to the Libuan Gauls. Neither is it probable, that those passages into Gaul were then open: indeed the parts which lead to the Penine, were beset with nations half German; and by Hercules, if any are led by the name, the Veragri, who dwell on that col, know nothing of its being named from the passage of the Pœni; but from him, whom the mountaineers call Peninus, consecrated on their highest summit.

*Insubres at war with Taurini. Hannibal's Army unfit for  
service. He destroys the Taurine town; then proceeds  
against Scipio.*

39. Most opportunely for the commencement of operations, a war had been raised against the Insubres, by the Taurini, a neighbouring people. But Hannibal was unable, for the assistance of either party, to put his men under arms, who were now most conscious of the wretched state they had been brought to, in the effort to repair it. For repose after toil, abundance after want, personal comfort after disease and filth, were in various ways taking effect on their squalid and almost savage-looking bodies. This was a reason

with the Consul P. Cornelius, when he got to Pisæ with his ships, for hastening to the Po, with the army which he received from Manlius and Atilius, being raw soldiers and dismayed with the recent disgraces of their arms, in order that he might bring the enemy to action before he should recover his efficiency.

But when the Consul reached Placentia, Hannibal had already moved from his encamped position: and had taken by storm one town of the Taurini, the chief place of that people, because they would not come readily into his alliance; and he would have associated with himself the Gauls of the Po, not by fear only but by inclination, had not the arrival of the Consul suddenly overpowered them, when looking out for the opportunity of deserting his cause. Hannibal too now moved from the Taurini, thinking that the Gauls, hesitating which party to follow, would follow him, being on the spot. And now the armies were almost in sight, and the commanders brought together; not yet sufficiently known to, but impressed each with some admiration of the other. For the name of Hannibal had become very famous among the Romans even before the destruction of Saguntum: and Hannibal looked upon Scipio as a superior man from the fact that he had been chosen to take command against him. Moreover each had increased such opinion in the other; Scipio, that having been left behind in Gaul, he was ready to meet Hannibal when he had come over into Italy: Hannibal, by his daring enterprise to cross the Alps, and the fulfilment of it.

## APPENDIX C.

### *Encounter with Scipio on the Po.*

THE error which I have combated as affecting the line of march to the Alps, is not the only instance in which learned men have caused confusion by misinterpreting the words *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*. As some have converted the Rhone into the Isère, so others have converted the Po into the Tésin. Polybius, telling of events in the valley of the Rhone, speaks of the Rhone as "the river." When the valley of the Po becomes the scene of operations, he speaks of the Po as "the river." A contrary opinion has been expressed by those who in other matters are my allies, De Luc and Cramer. Both have pronounced it to be the Tésin: De Luc favouring the left bank, Cramer the right bank.

De Luc writes (2d edit.):—"On voit clairement que l'armée Romaine étoit encore sur la rive gauche du Tésin lorsqu'elle eut avis de l'approche de l'armée d'Annibal; celle-ci avoit donc déjà traversé cette rivière entre Novare et Milan pour se réunir aux Insubres qui étoient alors en guerre avec les Romains, et qui devoient être les plus puissans alliés des Carthaginois. Au moment de la bataille, les Romains avoient nécessairement, comme le dit Polybe, le Tésin à leur gauche, et les Carthaginois l'avoient à leur droite; ce qui fixe l'emplacement de la bataille un peu au-dessus de Pavie, sur la route de Milan." P. 233.

This notion of the engagement being on the left bank of the Ticinus is contradicted by the context of the history, which shows that Hannibal never crossed that river, but was pre-

vented from doing so, and had to give up his pursuit of the enemy, and to retreat up the Po, in order to find a fit place for transporting his army.

Cramer, in his *Ancient Italy*, i. 55, says:—"Polybius informs us, that Scipio had crossed the Po, and was employed in throwing a bridge over the Ticinus, for the purpose of passing that river also. Having exhorted his troops, he marched along the Ticinus: while the Carthaginian army, which had now come up, was advancing to meet him on the same bank of that river." Cramer explains, that Hannibal was marching up the right bank of the Ticinus: and (p. 56) "that Scipio, having crossed that river at a considerable distance above its junction with the Po, was moving parallel with the current;" so that, after his defeat, he had to retreat up the river and regain his bridge; over which Hannibal could not follow him. His opinion is, that "these operations of Hannibal, as they are reported by Polybius (iii. 66), are perfectly natural and intelligible, if we understand the action to have taken place on the right bank of the Ticinus." P. 58.

As I consider all these marches to be told as along the Po, I will quote the narrative. We read in the 64th chapter:—"Scipio about this time, having already crossed the river Po, and being further resolved to cross the Ticinus, gave orders for a bridge to be made by those to whom this service belonged; and, assembling the rest of his forces, addressed them." After the address, the history, c. 65, proceeds thus:—"On the following day, both put forward along the river, προηγὼν ἀμφότεροι παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν, on that side of it which is towards the Alps, the Romans having the stream on their left hand, the Carthaginians having it on their right." This river is the Po. Cramer construed it the Ticinus.

The plain of the Po has become the scene of operations. Hannibal reached the plain of the Po before he turned his

arms against the Taurini. When Scipio landed in Italy, the plain of the Po was named as the object of his march. He has now crossed the river, and crossed the Ticinus also. The side of the river on which the armies are seeking each other, τὸ πρὸς τὰς Ἀλπεις μέρος, shows where they were: though Cramer considered this circumstance to indicate the right bank of the Ticinus, it seems to me to suit the left bank of the Po: and is in accordance with the author's descriptions where the Alps are spoken of as the northern side of the great plain, and the Po is said to bisect it, running from west to east.

The narrative proceeds thus:—"On the next day, finding that they were coming near to one another, each encamped and waited: and on the day after that, the two commanders, taking with them all their cavalry, and Scipio his javelin men also, pushed forward over the plain, each hastening to survey the force of his adversary." The conflict is then described: and in c. 66, Scipio's retreat "in haste to regain the bridge by which he had crossed the Po." Hannibal pursued "as far as the first river and the bridge over it." He found that the bridge had been rendered unserviceable, and made prisoners six hundred Romans who had not got back over it. Then, "hearing that the rest of the Roman force had already made a great start forward, he turned round again, and marched along the river in the contrary direction, hastening to find a place on the Po where he might make a bridge. In the second day he halted, and having bridged a crossing with vessels belonging to the river, he committed the transport of the army to Asdrubal, and immediately passing over himself transacted business with emissaries from the neighbouring districts, who were ready for him. Having given to all a hearty reception, when he had got his forces over from the other side, he led them forward along the river in a direction contrary to the prior one: for now he marched down the stream, hastening to come up with the enemy."



This narrative tells three movements of Hannibal, all *παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν*: 1. his first advance, which, after the conflict, was continued in pursuit to Scipio's bridge on the Ticinus: 2. his march back in search of a place for crossing the Po: 3. his onward march after crossing. To know one is to know all: for the second was retrograde to the first: and the third was retrograde to the second. The contrast between the second movement and the first is in these words:—*μεταβαλλόμενος αὐθις εἰς τὰναντία παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, σπεύδων ἐπὶ τόπον εὐγεφύρωτον ἀφικέσθαι τοῦ Πάδου*. The contrast between his third movement and the second appears by these words:—*παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὴν ἐναντίαν ποιούμενος τῇ πρόσθεν παρόδῳ· κατὰ ῥοῦν γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν, σπεύδων συνάψαι τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις*. No one doubts that the river now crossed was the Po, or that the march after crossing it was down the Po: this was contrary to the prior march, which therefore was up the Po: and that was contrary to the first march, which therefore was down the Po.

It is said that this battle was always called the "pugna ad Ticinum"; but Polybius himself, as remarked by Schweighæuser, refers to it in the tenth book as *ἱππομαχία περὶ τὸν Παδόν*. When Cramer wrote about the Ticinus, he was arbitrating on the disputes of Italian antiquaries, whose contest was, whether the armies met on the right bank or the left bank of the Ticinus, and for determining this question they were searching for vestiges of Scipio's camp and bridge up that river as far as Sesto Calende. These ingenious persons could not have desired a better arbitrator: but, as in this matter they happened all to be wrong, my friend need not have decided in favour of any of them. His error resembles that of Gibbon, who, in treating the main question, only performs an arbitration between the Penine and Cottian passes, blind to the possibility of a third candidate.

## APPENDIX D.

### *On the Battle of the Trebia.*

IT is curious that Niebuhr should have forgotten or disregarded the narrative of Polybius which we have just been construing; and should ever have conceived, as he must have done, that Hannibal crossed the Ticinus instead of turning back from it. This casualty in the memory of such a man is so much connected with the incidents which we have just been dwelling upon, that I hope to be excused for alluding to it. It appears, though not from anything which he himself published, that Niebuhr conceived Hannibal to have crossed the Po below Placentia; and to have been encamped on the right bank of the Trebia when the battle was fought on that river. He was in error on both points. Dr. Arnold has followed him on one, and Dr. Liddell on both.

There is in the *Life of Niebuhr*, both that by Madame Hensler, and the later one by the Chevalier Bunsen, a letter written by him to the Count de Serre, of 22nd May, 1823, containing this passage:—"Vaudoncourt's work, though printed at Milan, was not to be got at Rome! I expect that one of Buonaparte's generals will have perceived, what the scholars have not dreamt of, that Hannibal's course before the battle of Trevia, was exactly that of Buonaparte before Marengo; namely, that he crossed the Po below Piacenza, and cut the Roman army off from the road to Rome: the Po and the fortresses were behind him; there-



"fore utter destruction was his doom if he were beaten; but he knew that he should be victorious."\*

Niebuhr may never afterwards have refreshed his conceptions of the text of Polybius, while his imagination continued to be impressed with the illustration from Napoleon. Be this as it may, he announced the same notions in 1829, within two years of his death. In the 10th *Lecture* (i. 176), published by Dr. Schmitz in 1844, there are the following words:—"We find Hannibal on the eastern bank of the Trebia: the Romans cross the river to offer battle: consequently Hannibal, who was on the right bank of the river, must have crossed the Po somewhere below Placentia. We must suppose that the Romans had crossed the Po in the neighbourhood of Pavia; and Hannibal, as all circumstances show, and as I have already observed, some distance below Piacenza. It is said, for instance, that the Romans transferred their camp from the left bank of the Trebia towards the foot of the Apennines, where they were better protected against the cavalry of the Carthaginians, by several low hills rising out of the plain. This and several other things are intelligible only if we suppose that Hannibal crossed the Po somewhere between Piacenza and Parma. Hannibal was encamped south of Piacenza, on the right bank of the Trebia, and the Romans opposite to him on the left bank."

It is almost incredible that Niebuhr can have so forgotten or set aside Polybius, as he did when he made this statement. That he did make it we cannot doubt, seeing how circumstantial it is, and knowing by whom it is reported. Polybius in no way countenances the idea that Hannibal was encamped on the right or eastern bank of the Trebia. And yet it is in

\* Niebuhr's expectations were not fulfilled. General Vaudoncourt had not made Hannibal to cross the Po below Placentia, nor to encamp on the right bank of the Trebia.

accounting for that position, that Niebuhr imagines him to have crossed the Po below Piacenza; a notion which is in plain contradiction of Polybius, who states him to have crossed the Po much above the influx of the Ticinus, describing it circumstantially. If there were any ground for supposing the two armies to have changed places before the battle of the Trebia, it still was not necessary to invent a new place for Hannibal's crossing of the Po.

Dr. Arnold misplaces the combatants at the Trebia, as Niebuhr does: but he accepts Hannibal's crossing of the Po as Polybius relates it: he was aware of Niebuhr's idea on the subsequent position of the armies; for in Note N. to p. 99, he quotes with approbation that letter, in which Hannibal is said to have acted like Napoleon at Marengo, throwing himself between the Romans and the line of their retreat; but on the passage of the Po he has followed Polybius without comment. I will give the reasons for believing that the two armies kept their relative places as natural to retreat and pursuit; and that the Romans crossed the Trebia from the right bank to attack the Carthaginians on the left bank.

Polybius, in telling Scipio's retreat after the first engagement, says that he made the best of his way to his bridge on the Po, first crossing the Ticinus; and that, after crossing the Po, he encamped *περὶ πόλιν Πλακεντίαν*, towards or near Placentia; or, as one might say in sea phrase, off Placentia. *Περὶ* is a word used with much latitude. Strabo says of Vercellæ and Ictumuli, v. 218, *εἰσι περὶ Πλακεντίαν*. This retreat was effected by Scipio with the utmost speed; as well as the push made after him by Hannibal, who had first had to retreat from the Ticinus up the Po. As soon as he came within fifty stadia, he offered battle. Then came the revolt of the Gauls in the Roman camp, on which Scipio retreated across the Trebia: and if the Carthaginian soldiers had not wasted time in the pursuit by stopping to plunder and burn his camp, the

success would have been more complete. A few Romans were slain, and a few made prisoners : but nearly all had crossed the Trebia before the Carthaginians came up with them. Surely this flight over the Trebia by Scipio was from west to east. No crossing of that river by Hannibal is ever mentioned at all. The Trebia has not been mentioned before : and neither here nor elsewhere is there a word which imports that the retreating and the pursuing army had changed places. It is the tale of a continuous retreat ; consistent with what follows, as with what has gone before. Sempronius joins Scipio without interruption. Hannibal communicates with the traitor of Clastidium without interruption. He continues to be on the left bank, till Sempronius crosses the river to attack him.

Both Niebuhr and Arnold, in pronouncing that the battle was fought on the right bank of the Trebia, speak positively of the previous junction of the two consular armies on the left bank. Niebuhr's comment is this :—" We must suppose " that the Romans had crossed the Po in the neighbourhood " of Pavia : it is said that they transferred their camp from " the left bank of the Trebia towards the foot of the Apennines." He should have said, " from the left bank *to the right bank.*" By omitting the latter idea, he represents them as being still on the left bank when Sempronius arrived, and still there when the battle took place. Under this impression as to the army of Scipio, he provides for Hannibal being on the other side, by imagining, in opposition to the history, that he had crossed the Po below Piacenza.

Arnold writes differently : he says that Scipio had, in his original advance to meet Hannibal, crossed the Po at Piacenza : and, speaking of the subsequent retreat, says that " the Romans " recrossed the Ticinus, and then, crossing the Po also, established themselves under the walls of Placentia." Relating Hannibal's passage of the Po according to Polybius, he says this :—" Again descending the river, he arrived, on the second

" day after his passage, in sight of the Roman army, and on " the following day offered them battle. He posted his army " five or six miles from the enemy," and he adds (not from Polybius), " and apparently on the east of Placentia, cutting " off their direct communication with Ariminum and Rome." The reference here is by some mistake given to Polybius. But Polybius gives no hint of " communication cut off," as suggested : and he relates what Dr. Arnold omits ; viz. the revolt of the Gauls, and the consequent retreat of Scipio, when he was driven across the Trebia, and not followed by his pursuer. This is not alluded to : but it is conceived and insinuated, that that retreat was from east to west.

Dr. Arnold fully sympathises with Niebuhr on the difficulty which their notion of the position involves. He says—" It is " not explained by any existing writer how Sempronius was " able to effect his junction with his colleague, without any " opposition from Hannibal. The regular road from Ariminum " to Placentia passes through a country unvaried by a single " hill : and the approach of a large army should have been " announced to Hannibal by his Numidian cavalry soon " enough to have allowed him to intercept it. We only know " that the two consular armies were united in Scipio's position " on the left bank of the Trebia." The cause of Dr. Arnold's perplexity was the gratuitous assumption of that fact, which had been carelessly assumed by Niebuhr. Cramer had worked the battle rightly in his map.

I believe that Niebuhr's illusion was in the fancy about Napoleon, and that Arnold just followed that fancy : but it is possible that the error might be encouraged by what is related of the retreat to Placentia after the battle : though not by a right construction of it. The battle was fought some way up the river : ten thousand Roman infantry fought their way through the Carthaginian centre, and effected their retreat to Placentia : and some may think this to indicate that the battle

was fought on that side of the river to which Placentia belongs. Such an inference would not be just. Wherever the battle was, they would take refuge in that place: if it had been fought on the right bank, the ten thousand would have reached Placentia without crossing the river: as it was fought on the left bank, they retreated down the river till they came to the usual crossing which led to their fortified city. Polybius would have introduced a superfluous fact, if he had alleged that the survivors of the battle had to cross the river before they got to the town: he never deals in unprovoked minuteness. If conflict had attended this retreat of the ten thousand, the Trebia might again have been a feature in the tale: but there was none: they left the field compact and unmolested, ἀθρόοι μετ' ἀσφαλείας and, as the town was held by a Roman garrison (they held it till near the end of the war), that retreating force had no occasion to cross the Trebia, till they came to the usual passage of it leading to that place in the line of travelling down the Po.

The story told by Livy seems to me to correspond in its tenor with that of Polybius: it is damaged only by an incredible anecdote introduced after the battle. On the retreat of the Romans from the Ticinus, Livy says,—“Prius Placentiam pervenire quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos.” This rapidity of Scipio strengthens the argument made from the speed of Hannibal. These words import that Scipio with great speed made good his retreat to Placentia; they do not show where he first placed his camp—this I apprehend must have been west of the Trebia, which was only two miles distant from Placentia. Livy adopts the details of his predecessor, saying that Hannibal found a place for crossing the Po in two days after he turned back from the Ticinus; that, when he marched down, he made his camp six miles from Placentia; that he offered battle which Scipio declined; that on the following night a body of Gauls

deserted to him from the Roman camp; and that the night after that, Scipio marched to the Trebia, pursued by the Carthaginians, and effected his passage of that river. There is no hint that Hannibal ever crossed it, or that the retreat and the pursuer ever changed places.

Niebuhr is at variance with Livy as well as with Polybius: he differs from both, in asserting that the Carthaginians crossed the Po at a lower point than the Romans: he differs from both in not mentioning the revolt of the Gauls in the Roman camp, which caused Scipio's retreat across the Trebia; nor the incident which prevented Hannibal from continuing his pursuit beyond the river. Neither history imports that Hannibal ever got to the right bank before the battle was fought, nor gives any hint that Scipio's communications were interrupted. Livy says, “Sempronius Ariminum pervenit: inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen collegæ conjungitur.” He represents Hannibal the pursuer, as keeping his place in rear of the retreat. “Traditur Hannibali Clastidium: id horreum fuit Pœnis sedentibus ad Trebiam.”

Mr. Bunbury, a very able contributor to Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Geography* 1856, gives from Polybius, under “Trebiam,” an accurate analysis of the successive positions of the armies, describing rightly the field of battle, with the retreat of the ten thousand: and his interpretation of the scene is the more valuable, from his having previously given undue weight to the doubts on the Ticinus, and in the *Dictionary of Biography* 1852, under the word “Hannibal” placed the Roman camp on the left bank. I would say, however, that Mr. Bunbury does not speak from Polybius in what he says of other fugitives driven across the river and joining the ten thousand, and of Scipio repairing to Placentia the following day with the force that had not been engaged.

Livy alone speaks of Scipio's movement: and he attributes it to the night after the battle. The incredible anecdote which

he then introduces is not worthy to cause a doubt on the clear narrative of Polybius, or on that which he has already given himself. He agrees with Polybius from the *ἰστρομαχία* on the Po to the battle of the Trebia, including the retreat of the ten thousand from the field; and says that they reached Placentia. This fact does not show the side of the river on which the action took place: if it was on the right bank, they would not have to cross the Trebia at all: if on the left, there was equal facility of reaching the place, without the folly of crossing the stream near the hostile camp, and venturing into so dangerous a neighbourhood.

The Romans left their own camp and crossed the river to fight. After the battle, the ten thousand "*flumine interclusi*," could not have regained their own camp; and they went off straight to Placentia, which was quite practicable from the field of battle, on whichever side it was. It is not of them, but of the camp garrison and the few who had regained the camp, that Livy tells the following story. "*Nocte insequent, quum præsidium castrorum, et quod reliquum ex magnâ parte militum erat, ratibus Trebiam trajiceret, aut nihil sensere Pœni, obstrepentê fluviâ, aut, quia jam moveri præ lassitudine nequibunt ac vulneribus, sentire sese dissimulârunt: quietisque Pœnis, tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus.*"

Dr. Arnold has related this most improbable incident, for which the editor in mistake refers to Polybius as the authority. After saying that "the legions forced their way through the enemy's line and marched off the field straight to Placentia," he writes thus—"But those who fled towards the river, were slaughtered unceasingly till they reached it. The Carthaginians, however, stopped their pursuit on the bank of the Trebia: the cold was piercing, and to the elephants so intolerable, that they almost all perished: even of the men and horses many were lost; so that the wreck of the Roman

"army reached their camp in safety: and, when night came on, Scipio again led them across the river, and, passing unnoticed by the camp of the enemy, took refuge with his colleague within the walls of Placentia."

What can be more incredible than this story of Scipio electing to pass the river in the vicinity of the hostile camp? The enterprise, as related, would involve enormous danger without any adequate motive to incur it. The torrent, in the morning, had been only just fordable: "*pectoribus tenuerat brumæ tempus et nivalis dies.*" After such a day, the stream would be more swollen: in the attempt to recross after the battle many had been "*gurgitibus absumpti*;" and one cannot conceive that Scipio would voluntarily encounter so fearful an obstacle in the darkness of night, and near the quarters of the more vigorous enemy. The absurdity of such a thing is more striking if we imagine the Roman camp on the left bank. Scipio, in that case, would have been well satisfied that the enemy did not cross to him: he would have moved down on his own side of the Trebia, till the usual crossing of it near the mouth should carry him unmolested to the Roman fortifications.

If we except this topic of embellishment, the whole tenor of Livy's narrative is consistent, and the same with that of Polybius; and the addition of such an anecdote does not prove that his opinion on the field of battle was different from that of his predecessor. The story may, perhaps, justify a remark of Dr. Ukert, which I find in Dr. Thirlwall's review of his work: "Livy, in drawing his accounts from various sources, failed to perceive that he was framing his narrative out of statements that were irreconcilably discordant." (*Phil. Museum*, iii. p. 677.) Dr. Arnold has shown, in a severe comment, how Livy is contradicted by his own anecdotes. (*Life of Arnold*, Letter cclxxxiv.)

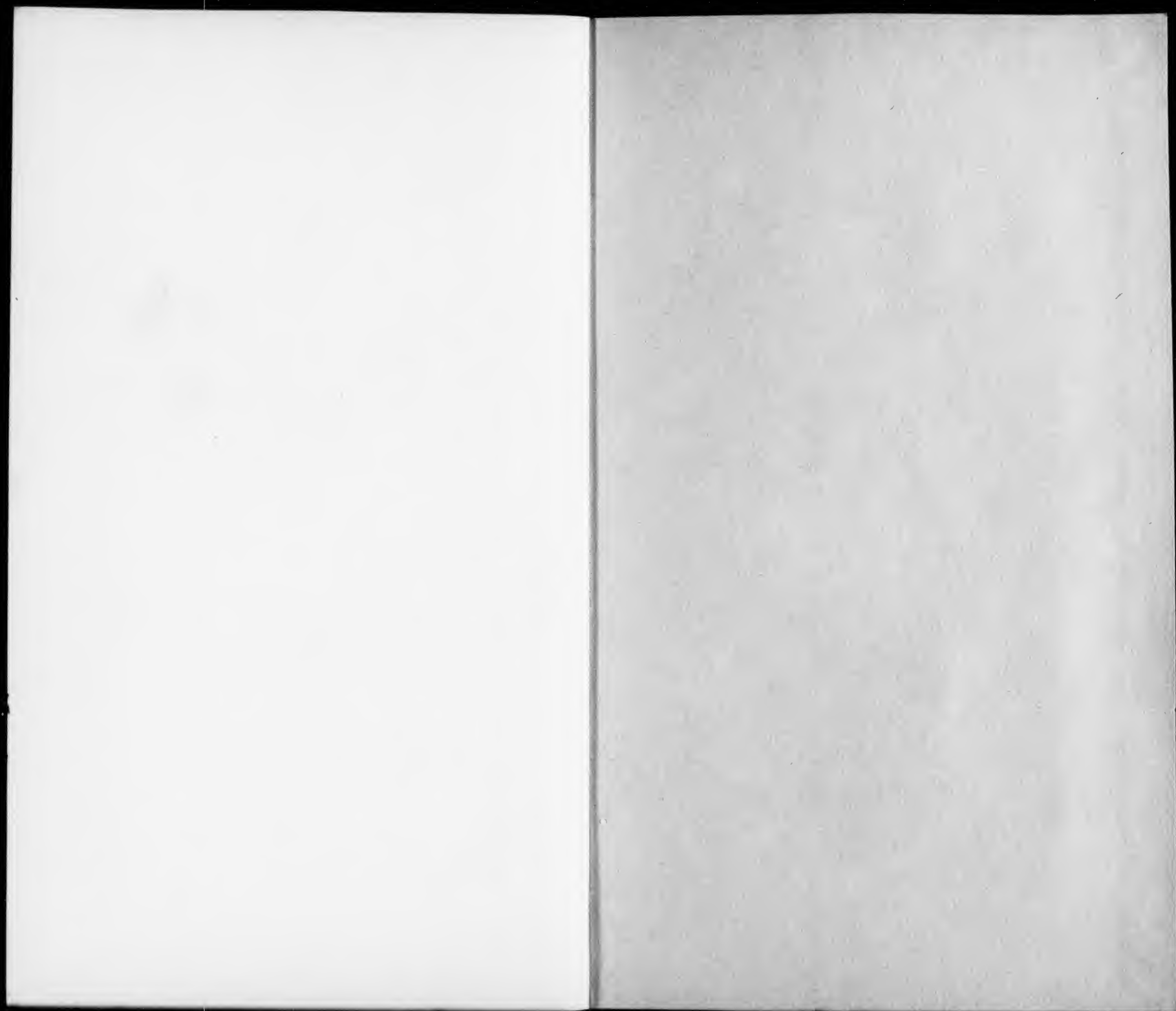
Here, as elsewhere in this controversy, we see how error is

perpetuated by one commentator copying another, without exercising his own judgment. Dr. Liddell (1855), after telling of Scipio's retreat from the Ticinus, says this: "Hannibal, after spending two or three days on the north side of the Po, crossed somewhere below Placentia; and Scipio, not finding his position near that town secure, fell back, so as to place the Trebia between himself and Hannibal. On the left bank of this river he fortified a strong camp, with the purpose of awaiting the arrival of Sempronius. Hannibal followed the Romans, and encamped in view of them on the right bank of the Trebia." No part of this statement has the authority of Polybius or Livy; while the author omits that which they do relate, namely, the revolt of the Gauls in the Roman camp, which led to the flight of Scipio across the Trebia. He follows Niebuhr, not the ancient historians. If Niebuhr had lived to write the history of those times, he would perhaps have examined the authorities again.

The author of a recent work on the campaigns of Hannibal, Colonel Macdougall, being satisfied on Hannibal's position as certified by Niebuhr and Arnold, says: "It was a masterly manœuvre; for Hannibal placed himself between Scipio and the advancing army of Sempronius: he doubtless did so with the intention of interrupting the latter. Why he did not execute that intention, it is impossible to explain." As such manœuvre never took place, the failure of its object need not be accounted for.

THE END.





COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY  
0026055392

NOV 15 1953

874.04

L414

2

JUN 7 1944

